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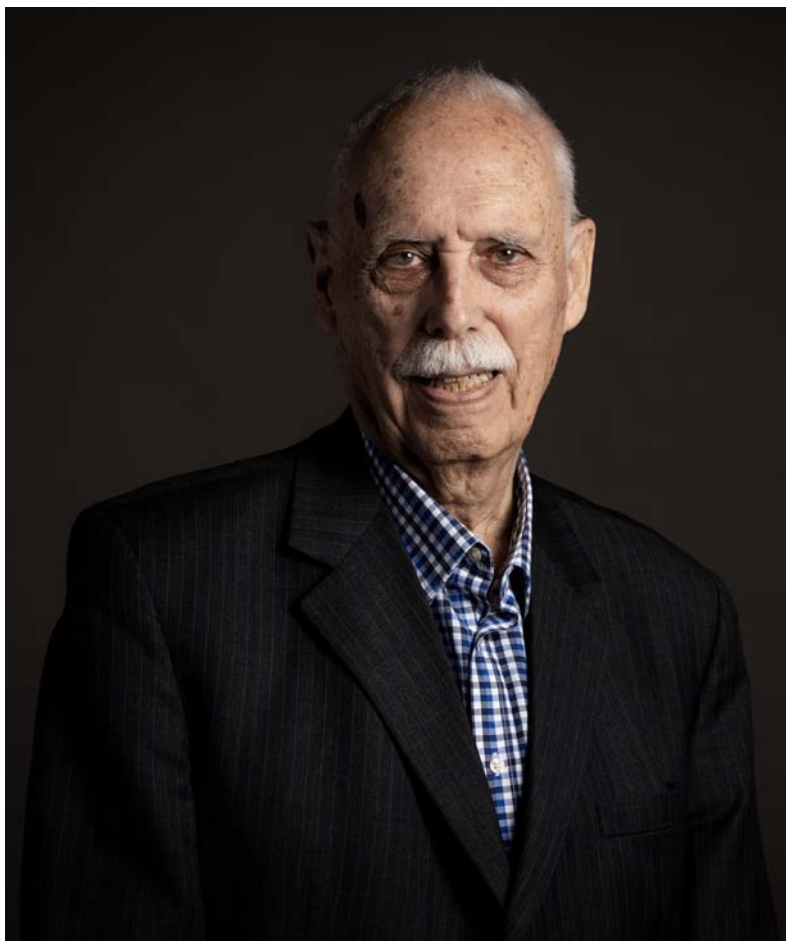
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Academician András Róna-Tas

# Historical Linguistics and Philology of Central Asia

*Essays in Turkic and Mongolic Studies*

*Edited by*

Bayarma Khabtagaeva

*with the assistance of*

Zsuzsanna Olach



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## Preface

There is a well-known Buryat proverb that states “Баршаар шабиие таниха, шабяар багшые таниха,” i.e. “A pupil is known to his teacher, and a teacher is known to his pupil.” This proverb sums up succinctly and appropriately the character and personality of Professor Róna-Tas. He boasts a prominent academic lineage. His teachers included eminent scholars: Louis Ligeti, expert in Mongolic Studies and Sinology, Németh Gyula, expert in Turkic Studies, and the renowned ethnographer Gyula Ortutay. Besides Oriental Studies, his specializations include Ethnography (1955), and he defended his doctorate and later PhD dissertations in Tibetan and Mongolian Studies (1958 and 1964). As a consequence, during his long career Professor Róna-Tas has acquired a broad perspective of many fields of Central Eurasian Studies, covering diverse fields such as linguistics, philology, ethnography and history.

Forever engraved in my mind is Professor Róna-Tas's dictum that without Turkic linguistics no research is possible in Mongolic linguistics, while without knowledge of Mongolic languages no study of Turkic languages can be undertaken. Moreover, research on linguistics is unthinkable without a grasp of philology and vice versa. Everything is interconnected.

Professor Róna-Tas's broad outlook was a constant feature not simply of his research, but also of his teaching and general involvement in academia. He was not only the founder of the Department of Altaic Studies at Szeged University (1974), a former rector of Szeged University (1990–1992), the president of the Hungarian Accreditation Committee (1992–2001), and holder of other highly ranked positions, but also a Professor responsible for supervising a large number of students of Altaic, Turkic, Mongolic and Tibetan studies. More than once during my career as a student and academic I was taught that no research work is possible without teaching, and that when a researcher is engaged in teaching he or she is always on the cusp of new discoveries, experiencing constant growth and evolution. Somebody once informed me that Professor Róna-Tas even managed to establish his own school, his ‘Tas-kent’. Everyone who studied directly under him or who even simply attended his courses, knew him to be an excellent Scholar and a brilliant Teacher. And when he recently announced that he would like to teach an intensive online course on the Khitan language for both Hungarian and foreign orientalists next semester, we, his ‘young’ colleagues, could only admire his energy and love for teaching.

Exactly ten years ago, when Professor Róna-Tas was celebrating his 80th birthday, I was the main organizer of an international workshop called *West Old Turkic: Turkic loanwords in Hungarian*. Many famous scholars were invited

to take part, but unfortunately not all of them were able to join. I am glad, however, that this time several of those colleagues and friends have contributed to the present volume. Because of my involvement in organizational matters at the time, I myself was unable to give a presentation, and thus I am delighted to be awarded this new opportunity 10 years later. On behalf of all his students and colleagues, my role as an editor grants me the great honor to present this volume to our esteemed professor on the occasion of his 90th birthday.

The present volume includes thirty different papers on historical linguistics and philology in the fields of Turkic, Mongolic, and Altaic Studies. Narrowing down the topics was not an easy task, given the impressively wide-range of interests of our teacher. We thus asked his close friends, colleagues, and students to contribute, and only a few were unable to do so, and only because of the strict publication deadline. There was no other option but to transfer these researchers to a *Tabula gratulatoria*. Here, I would like to express my sincere thanks to all those colleagues and friends, without whose efforts this volume would not have been possible. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Zsuzsanna Olach (Jagiellonian University, Poland) who assisted me in the publication of this work. A special word of thanks is due to Dr. Jens Wilkens (The Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Germany) who kindly helped us in the review process. I am also very much indebted to Professor Alexander Vovin (EHESS/CRLAO, Paris) for agreeing to include the volume in the book series he edits.

Finally, all of us as Professor Róna-Tas's students hope that someday the words of the Buryat proverb will ring true in our own careers.

Happy birthday dear Chuluun bagsh, Isten éltessen sokáig, Tanár úr!

*Bayarma Khabtagaeva*

Szeged, June 5th, 2021

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**PART 1**

***Turkic Studies***





# Pilot Entries of the Chuvash Etymological Dictionary under Preparation

*Klára Agyagási*

## 1 Introduction

The first Chuvash etymological dictionary was published by V.G. Egorov in 1964. An outstanding work of its time, it was also the first etymological dictionary in the history of the Turkic language family.<sup>1</sup> Egorov set the presentation of the Chuvash basic vocabulary as his primary goal, so this work presents the original native vocabulary of Chuvash in 2,600 dictionary entries, although only partially, since borrowed vocabulary is underrepresented in it. Egorov supported the Turkic origin of the words in question with the help of modern cognates from related languages available to him, but he had no opportunity to include data from historical linguistic sources or to use the international Turkological literature. This is why the idea of writing a new Chuvash etymological dictionary emerged in the 1970s as a joint project of the Department of Altaic Studies of the then József Attila University and the Chuvash State Scientific Research Institute. The impetus of cooperation between Szeged and Cheboksary came from two major personalities: on the Hungarian side, Professor András Róna-Tas, Head of the Department of Altaic Studies, and on the Chuvash side, Dr. Mixail Ivanovič Skvorcov, researcher at the Linguistics Institute of the Chuvash State Scientific Research Institute and Associate Professor and former Dean of the I. Ja. Jakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical College.

I was still a student when the preparatory work to coordinate the collaboration between the two parties began. As a first result of the collaboration, a 60-page booklet containing a methodological guide and pilot entries, edited jointly by Skvorcov and Róna-Tas was published in 1980 in Cheboksary (Skvorcov and Róna-Tas 1980), and the Chuvash lexicon was alphabetically split between the two partners. This was followed in 1982 by the collection of the volume *Chuvash Studies*, published in Budapest (Róna-Tas 1982a), with Róna-Tas's monumental study 'The Periodization and Sources of Chuvash Linguistic

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<sup>1</sup> The dictionary was reviewed by Eren (1982).

History' in it. Also in the same year, the volume *Studies in Chuvash Etymology I* (Róna-Tas 1982b) was published, which included among other papers, Róna-Tas's etymological study of the loanwords of what had been proposed as being ultimately of Middle Mongolian as well as Proto-Permiac and Old Udmurt origin in the Chuvash lexicon. (This study later became key to the historical phonological periodization of the Western Old Turkish dialect.) Róna-Tas considered it important that the internationally recognized results of Hungarian Chuvash research from the end of the 19th century be known to Chuvash researchers, therefore he made the most important articles of the outstanding representatives of Hungarian Turkology available to Chuvash researchers. This selection was translated into Russian in Cheboksary and published in a separate volume in 1985 (Róna-Tas and Skvorcov 1985). Subsequently, the momentum for bilateral cooperation was broken. Why this happened is hard to trace back to a single reason. There were personal, infrastructural and financial difficulties on both sides, the combination of which may provide an explanation.

The changed situation was perceived in Cheboksary by Mixail Romanovič Fedotov, who was professor at the Chuvash Philology Department of the Chuvash State Ulyanov University. His career began with work in contact linguistics, in 1965 and 1968 he published a monograph on the historical relations between Chuvash and Finno-Ugric languages in the Volga region (Fedotov 1965, 1968). Fedotov had some insight into the international Turkological literature, as his original training was as teacher of the German language and literature, so he knew German well. Relying mainly on the works of Räsänen (1949, 1957, 1969), and works of Poppe, Ramstedt, Doerfer, and Scherner available to him, he wrote a three-volume Chuvash historical phonology and morphology (Fedotov 1980–1986) and then published a monograph on linguistic relationship between Chuvash and Mari (Fedotov 1990). After these works, he published *The etymological dictionary of the Chuvash language* (Fedotov 1996) in two volumes, unexpectedly for his own Chuvash professional colleagues as well.

Fedotov's new etymological dictionary contains 2,701 lemmas. Most of the words in the basic vocabulary presented by Egorov also appear here as well, but borrowings from the Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga region constitute a novelty and are proportionally important. The lemmas of Fedotov's dictionary consist of five structural units. The first unit is the standard (literary) form and its meaning, which also serves as the keyword, followed by the most important dialectal forms as the second unit. A third, voluminous part contains the derived words formed from the keyword, which in most cases means the representation of the whole word family. The fourth unit contains a list of Turkic equivalents if the word is of Turkic origin, or source language data (mostly in

modern form) if it is a lexical copy copied from another language. Finally, the fifth unit contains a modest number of references in the literature.

The undoubted merit of the dictionary is that it collects the synchronic forms and derivatives of each Chuvash word found at a synchronous level, and that it discusses the lexical source documents of Finno-Ugric–Turkic linguistic relations in the Volga region. Methodologically, however, this work shows no progress compared to Egorov's work. As Fedotov was a self-taught Chuvash language historian and, in addition, he had no access to sources either on the historical phonology of the branch called Bulgarian-Turkic by Gombocz, now referred to as Ogur instead, or the international literature published mainly by Hungarian authors, he could not and did not try to interpret the internal historical connections of Chuvash and Common Turkic linguistic data.

The shortcomings of Fedotov's etymological dictionary were already apparent when the work was published. The lack of knowledge of the results of international Turkological research on Ogur historical phonology was interpreted as a serious disadvantage for the Chuvash also by the then director of the Chuvash State Scientific Research Institute, V.D. Dimitriev. In order to eliminate this disadvantage, Dimitriev re-initiated the Chuvash–Hungarian scientific cooperation, the result of which was the publication *Hungaro-Tschuwaschica* (Dimitrieva and Agyagási 2001). This handbook contains a detailed annotated bibliography of the entire body of Chuvash research in Russian in Hungary from the time of Reguly and Budenz to the turn of the millennium.

However, the continuation of the collaboration was interrupted again, because at that time a large-scale research project was started at the Department of Altaic Studies of the University of Szeged, the aim of which was to identify the source language of the ancient Turkic loanwords of Ancient- and Old Hungarian. The research was conducted for about ten years under the leadership of András Róna-Tas. In 2011 the two-volume monumental work (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011) was published, which discusses the 384 words of the Ogur variety of the Western Old Turkish dialect preserved in Ancient- and Old Hungarian, using the results of Hungarian and international Turkology dating back a century and a half. It presents the occurrence of each word in Old Hungarian written sources and gives the complete Turkological lexical database of each keyword. Based on the phonological interpretation of the data of the written sources of Old Hungarian and Eastern Old Turkic, Róna-Tas reconstructs the contemporary phonology of every Ogur-type Western Old Turkish word that was borrowed in Hungarian. With this procedure, he displays a collection of hundreds of words from the Old Turkic Ogur varieties and makes the Old Turkic words preserved in Hungarian suitable for use as a source of Ogur historical phonology.

After the publication of this work, it became apparent that compiling a new, modern Chuvash etymological dictionary had not been a realistic goal before, in the absence of this synthesis. This work represents the source of historical phonology of Western Old Turkic which can form the basis of a Chuvash historical phonology, at least its chapters concerning the consonant system.

But this is not enough to create a Chuvash etymological dictionary, as it lacked two other, very important issues: exploring the historical relationship between Chuvash and Volga Bulgarian, and elaborating the history of the Ogur vowel system from prehistoric times to the modern Chuvash era.

The solution of the two problems, a comprehensive Chuvash historical phonology was published in 2019 (Agyagási 2019). In this work, based on linguistic sources, it was possible to distinguish three dialects of the Volga Bulgarian language, one of which was the predecessor of Chuvash. Presenting the historical chain of Ogur, Volga Bulgarian, and Chuvash sound changes in chronological order among both consonants and vowels was also successful. This is the condition that must be met if the idea of creating a new Chuvash etymological dictionary arises. The idea came up, and I was indirectly asked to address it, as András Róna-Tas concluded his review of the book with the following statements: “The book potentially includes a Chuvash etymological dictionary. We can only hope that it will be realized soon” (Róna-Tas 2019: 259).

The glossary of the planned Chuvash etymological dictionary has since been completed. Currently, the design process is underway to find the ideal structure for the articles that contains the linguistic database and etymological classification of the entries belonging to the different layers of origin in the most informative way, but at the same time most concisely. Below, I aim to present some types in the hope that contributions from the scholarly community will help shape the final structural forms while reflecting in the most informative way the following objectives:

1. to show in a clear flowchart the order of change of the history of Chuvash words that can be supported by data, and the reconstructed form of the Old Turkic or other source language result, thus assisting further Altaic Studies research;
2. to illustrate the geographical distribution of the etymological equivalents of the word in the Volga region and to point out their historical connections, thus helping further areal linguistic research;
3. use all internal and external sources related to the history of the Chuvash lexicon, taking into account the Chuvash manuscript collection of the 18th century;
4. to include in one place the Eastern and Western European literature relevant to the history of research.



## 2 Etymological Entries

**pāraka** ‘fermented beverage’

← Rus [bráɡa] ‘domašnee pivo’ < ORus < \*b̥rag̥a ← VB<sub>1</sub> \*būray < WOT/VB<sub>1</sub> \*bora+(O)k, cf. WOT/VB<sub>3</sub> \*bura → Mari *pura* ‘beer’, MordM, E *puře*.

VKA: Chuv.lit *pāraka* ‘barda’ (Paas. 100, Ašm. 10: 127); Mari dial P B M U CŮ *pura*, JP JO V *pūra* ‘Bier’ (Beke 6: 2012); MordM, E *puře* ‘Honigbier’ (Paasonen 3: 1852), MordE *braga* ‘Halbbier’ (Paasonen 1: 141), MordE *poza* ‘Halbbier’ (Paasonen 1: 141); Tat. *buza* ‘buza (napitok)’; otxody kartofelja posle gonki spirta’ (TRS); Tat.dial *buza* ‘domašnee pivo’ (TTDS 1969); Bašk. *buza* ‘buza (napitok)’.

T: SibT *buza* ‘ein aus Gerste bereitetes Getränk’; Kirg *bozo* ‘buza (rod domašnego alkohol’nogo xlebnogo napitka)’; Nog *boza* ‘buza’; Krč. *boza* ‘buza’; Gag. *boza* ‘buza (napitok)’; Tt *boza* ‘buza (napitok iz prosa)’. EOT: –.

Rus *braga* ‘domašnee, krest’janskoe, koržanoe pivo’, ‘xlebnij napitok’ (D 1: 122) < ORus 1472 *braga* (DRS 1: 311).

The Chuvash word was copied from a North-Russian dial form *brága* [bráɡa] in the Late Middle Chuvash period. The phonetic structure and the word-stress of the Chuvash word shows its adaptation to the Chuvash structural norms and Chuvash-type rule of accentuation. The Russian and Mari words have Volga-Bulgarian origin. Despite the absence of the word in EOT written sources *boza* and *bora* may go back to common Proto-Turkic origin.

– Doerfer 1965: 337–341; Räsänen 1969: 82; Severtjan 1978: 173–175; Fasmer 1986/1: 205; Agyagási 2009; Anikin 2011: 140; Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 164; Vásáry 2013; Maticsák 2016: 158–159.

**pěrchě ~ pěrchěk** ‘kernel’

< MChuv \*pūrčū ~ \*pūrčūk ~ pīrchī < VB<sub>3</sub> \*pūrčī ~ pūrčīk, cf. also VB<sub>1</sub> \*pīrchī (→ Mari *pârčâ*) < WOT \*bürtiy ~ \*birtiy ~ \*bürtik < bürt- {-Xk}, cf. Hung *börtü* ~ *börtő* ‘grain or small globule of precious metal’ ← WOT \*bürtiy (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 119).

VKA: Chuv. 1785 *нюрчы* ‘zerno’ (Damaskin), 1856 *pírče* ‘zerno’ (Ahlqvist 24); Chuv.lit *pěrchě*, *pěrchěk* ‘zerno, zernyško’; V *pōrchō* *pōrchōk* ‘zerno’, A *pěrchě*, *pěrchěk* ‘zernyško’ (Paasonen 97, Ašm. 10: 236–237); Mari 1785 *нюрче* ‘zerno’ (Serg 182), Mari dial. P B M UJ C Ć *pârče*, M K *prčâ*, UP *pârčâ*, *prčâ*, UJ *prče*, USj *pīrchâ*, JT *pârce*, JO V K *parcâ* ‘ein Korn (Weizen)’ (Beke 6: 1838); Tat.lit. *bōrtěk* ‘krupinka, zerno’, TatM. *bōrtěk* ‘očen’ malen ‘kij’ (TTDS 1969), TatC *bōrtōk* ‘motok prjaži’ (TTDS 1993), TatB *bōrtōk* ‘krümchen, körnchen’; Bašk.lit *bōrtōk* ‘krupinka, zerno’, BaškEdial. *bōrtōk* ‘zernistyj’.

T: Kirg. *bürtük* ‘komoček; zerno’; Nog. *bürtik* ‘zerno’; KarT: *bürtük* ‘Korn’; Uzb. *bürtik* ‘pryšč; vystup; bugorok’; EOT *bürt-* ‘zastavit’ stjanut’, složit’ (DTS 133),

*bürt-* ‘berühren, anrühren, anfassen, ertasten’ (Wilkens 213) < *bür-* ‘stjagivat’, zat-jagivat’ (v obrazovanii skladok)’ (DTS 132).<sup>2</sup>

Chuv *pěřčě* and *pěřčěk* are preservations of different territorial phonetic variants of the Oguric deverbal noun *bürtik* derived from the verb *\*bürt-* ‘put together’ with suffix {-Xk}, which is the WOT variant of the EOT {-Ok}. The Mari dialectal forms are copies of VB<sub>1</sub> *\*přči*.

- Egorov 1964: 157; Räsänen 1969: 93; Ligeti 1977: 146–154; Severtjan 1978: 300; Mándoky 1986: 39–51; Fedotov 1990: 211; Fedotov 1996: 423; Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 119; Agyagási 2020.

### tiněš ‘sea’

← Middle Tatar *\*deñiz* < EOT *teñiz* ‘sea’.

VKA: Chuv. 1733–1734 *tinnis* ‘mare’ (Obs. 52 ob.), 1785 *тіннисъ* ‘more’ (Damaskin), 1856 *tinis* (Ahlqvist 31); A, V *tiněš* ‘Meer’ (Paasonen 169), Chuv.lit. *tiněš* ‘more’; Mari 1733–1734 *téngis* ‘mare’ (Obs. 52 ob.), 1785 *тангжъ* ‘more’ (Serg. 244), Mari dial B *təngâž*, M *dəngəz*, MM *təngəz*, UJ *təngâž*, UP USj US *tòmâž*, CÜ CČ *təngâž*, JT *təngâže*, K *tanğâž* ‘Meer’ (Beke 8: 2720, Moisiso–Saarinen 792); Tat 1733–1734 *dengis* ‘mare’ (Obs. 52 ob.), 1785 *дингизъ* ‘more’ (Damaskin), Tat.lit. *dingěz* ‘more’, TatC *dingěz* ‘fundament, osnova; rodnoj dom, otčij dom’ (TTDS 1969, 1993), TatB *diñez*, *dingez* ‘meer’; Bašk.lit. *dingez* ‘more, morskoj’, Bašk.Sdial. *dingez* ‘osnova’.

T: Kirg. *deñiz* ‘more’; Kaz. *teñiz* ‘more’; Kkalp. *teñiz* ‘more’; Uzb. *dengiz* ‘more’; Tkm. *deñiz* ‘more’; Az. *däniz* ‘more’; Gag. *deniz* ‘more’; Tt. *deniz* ‘more’; Kum. *tenis* ‘more’; EOT cc *teñiz* ‘Meer’, *teñiz* ‘more’ (DTS), *teñiz* ‘sea, ocean’ (Clauson 327), *täñiz* ‘das Meer’ (Wilkens 695); WOT *\*täñir* cf. Hung *tenger* ‘sea’ (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 893–895).

- Egorov 1964: 252; Räsänen 1969: 474; Severtjan 1980: 194–195; Fedotov 1996; Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 893; Axmet’janov 2015: 246.

### vără ‘seed; sperm’

< MChuv *\*vürĩ* < VB<sub>3</sub> *\*urĩ* < WOT *urĩ* cf. Hung. *ür* ← WOT *urĩ* (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 969–974).

VKA: Chuv. 1769 *вьпыры* ‘семя’ (Soč); V *vörö*, A *vără* ‘semja’ (Paas. 201, Ašm. 5: 313); A *värläx*, V *vörlöx* ‘semja, semena’ (Ašm. 5: 320); *äru* ‘plemja, rod; potomstvo’ (Skvorcov); Mari dial W *βârlâk* ‘Samen, Saat, Samenkörner; Geschlecht’ (Moisiso and Saarinen 71); Tat.lit. *űrug* ‘rod’, TatM *ïru* ‘rodnye, rodstvenniki,

2 Because of the pandemic I could not include more Turkic and East Old Turkic lexical sources but this is planned for the final version of the Chuvash etymological dictionary.

rodnja' (TTDS 1969), TatC. *öru* 'sposobnost' k prodolženiju roda' (TTDS 1969), *örlöq* 'semja' (TTDS 1993), TatB *orlok* 'samen, saatkorn'; SibTat *ori*, *uru* 'opuxol'; Bashk.lit. *örüg*, *irüu* 'rod, potomstvo', BaškE. *irüq* 'plod', BaškS. *irüu* 'plod'.

T: Kirg. *uruk* 'semena', *ur* 'narost, naplyv, grib (na dereve)'; Kzk. *ura* 'narst, šiška (na tele)', Kkalp. *urik* 'semja', *urüw* 'rod'; Nog. *urlük* 'semena, semja, zerno'; KrčBlk. *urluk* 'semja, semečko, semena'; Tkm. *urug* 'rod'; Az. *ur* 'narost, opuxol', šiška'; Tt. *uruk* 'plemja, rod; sem'ja, semejstvo'; Kh. *hur-* 'spalten, zerschlagen, zerreißen'; Tuv *uru* 'narost (na stvole dereva, na tele); opuxol', *urug* 'rebenok'; Y *urü* 'rodstvennik, rodnja'. EOT *uri* 'syn, malčik, junoša; mužskoe potomstvo' (DTS); *uri* 'mail child, son' (Clauson 1972), *uri* 'Jüngling, junger Mann' (Wilkens 803).

A *vără* and V *vörö* are the regular correspondences of WOT \**uri*, *äru* is from TatM *iru*. Western Mari dialectal *βärläk* is a copy of *värläk* existing in V(Sund.) vernacular.

- Räsänen 1920: 120; Egorov 1964: 42, 49; Doerfer 1965: 47–52; Severtjan 1974: 604–606; Fedotov 1996: 88, 109–110; Tenišev 2001: 116; Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 969–974.

## Abbreviations

Ašm	Ašmarin 1928–1950
Bašk	Bashkirian data cited from Uraksin 1996
BaškE	East Bashkirian dialectal forms cited from Maksjutova and Išbulatov 1967
BaškS	South Bashkirian dialectal form cited from Maksjutova 1970
cc	data from the Codex Cumanicus ed. by Grønbech 1942
Chuv	Chuvash data cited from Skvorcov 1982
D	Russian dialectal data cited from Dal'
dial	dialectal form
DTS	cf. Nadeljaev et al. 1969
EOT	Eastern Old Turkic form
Gag	Gagauz data cited from Baskakov 1973
Hung	Hungarian
KarT	Troki dialect of Karaim cited from Radlov 1983–1911
Kh.	Khalaj data cited from Doerfer and Tezcan 1980
Kirg	Kirgiz data cited from Yudaxin 1965
Kkalp	Karakalpak data cited from Baskakov 1967
KrčBlk	Karachay-Balkar data cited from Tenišev and Suyunčev 1989
Kum	data from Kumandī kiži dialect of Oyrot language cited from Baskakov 1972
Kzk	Kazak data cited from Maxmudov and Musaev 1967

MordE	data from the Erzä dialect of Mordvinian
MordM	data from the Moksha dialect of Mordvinian
Nog	Nogay
Obs	Observationes Historicae in Sibiria. LO AAN SSSR f. 21, op. 5, № 164
ORus	Old Russian form
Paas	Paasonen 1972
Rus	Russian data
Serg	Sergeev 2003
SibT	Siberian Tatar cited from Radlov
SibTat	data from the West Siberian Tatar dialects cited from Tumaševa 1992
Soč	cf. Huzangaj 2011
Tat	Kazan Tatar literary form
TatB	data from the vernacular of Christian Tatars cited from Bálint and Berta 1988
TatC	data from the Central dialect of the Kazan Tatar
TatM	data from the Mishar dialect of the Kazan Tatar
Tkm	Turkmen data cited from Baskakov et al. 1968
Tt	cited from Mustafaev and Starostov 1977
Y	Yakut data cited from Slepcev 1972
VB	Volga Bulgarian
VKA	data from the Volga-Kama Area
WOT	West Old Turkic form

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## The Northwest Karaim Lord's Prayer

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Small religious communities, such as the Karaim minority in present-day Lithuania, are strongly dominated by the prevailing cultural, linguistic, and political systems of their environments. In attempting to maintain their identity, these small communities employ different strategies. The small and hardworking Karaim community living in Eastern Europe and the Baltic region have shown extraordinary resilience in preserving their traditions. The essential constituents of Karaim identity are the Karaite confession and their Turkic vernacular. The Karaites are readers of the Hebrew Bible and do not accept the Talmud or other non-Biblical traditions. They translated the Hebrew Bible into the native language of their congregation so that followers could also read the texts in their vernacular. For more about the Turkic Karaim Bible translations, see Jankowski (2009), Németh (2020).

The Karaites separated from mainstream rabbinic Judaism a long time ago. Tapani Harviainen notes, "In the interpretation of their religion, modern-day Karaims are inclined to stress that irrespective of the Jewish background and the importance of the Old Testament, they nevertheless profess an independent religion which should not be confused with Judaism" (2003: 832). The congregations of the Turkic-speaking Eastern European Karaites, the Karaim, who settled in this region about six hundred years ago, dissociated themselves more and more even from the Oriental Karaites. In the twentieth century, the period addressed in this paper, their congregations were in effect roofless, i.e. lacked essential contact with the Karaites outside Eastern Europe.

From early on, the Karaites were open to integrating elements of other religions into their religious practice. These copied features today characterize the communities' customs and traditions, as their divine services demonstrate.

On days of prayer, the congregation in Trakai, the *ĵimat*, gathers in the courtyard of the *kenesa*, the house of prayers. When invited by the *hazzan*, the religious and administrative leader, they enter the *kenesa* with notable solemnity. On the threshold to the prayer room, the men prostate themselves and while kneeling begin to chant the Lord's Prayer in Karaim. The men then take their seats on the ground floor, while the women proceed to the gallery. The *hazzan*'s greetings open the service, which mainly consists of chanting the statutory prayers, David's psalms.

In addition to the genuine Karaite traditions signifying their self-differentiation from the rabbinic practice, elements of Islam and Christianity are also clearly discernable in the Karaim service. Daniel Frank notes, “Like other forms of Karaite literature and practice, their liturgy and mode of prayer display marks of conflict with rabbinic Judaism, while exhibiting traces of acculturation to Islam. Thus, like Muslims—but not like Rabbinites—they perform regular prostrations and also spread their hands during worship, citing biblical precedents” (2003: 560). The linguistic influence is also attested by Karaim religious terms of Arabic origin such as *ḡimat* ‘congregation’ and *ševayat* ‘mercy’.

For the last six centuries, the Karaim community in Trakai has lived in a predominantly Christian environment. The integration of the Lord’s Prayer into the Karaim liturgy is evidently a rapprochement to their Christian neighbors. As will be argued here, this has not affected the religious integrity of the Karaim. The Karaim prayer is a genuinely new text reflecting features of the Christian model but accommodated to the Karaim liturgy.

Lars Johanson’s Code-Copying Model provides a framework for describing contact-induced changes in languages (see e.g. Johanson 2021: 172–176). One of the basic tenets of the theory is that copies are never identical to their models; they are always adapted to the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of the copying language. For instance, the Karaim copied the Slavic word *žila* ‘vein’. The copy has a different phonological form, *žila*, adapted to the Karaim structure, and denotes a sort of whip used in the school, the *midraš*, to discipline pupils. “Der Fleiß der Schüler wurde durch reichliche Anwendung einer Art Peitsche aus ungegerbte Haut, *žyla* genannt, angespornt” (Kowalski 1929: xiv). Through copying something basically new is created. This analysis of copying processes is also applicable to the case of the Karaim translation of the Lord’s Prayer.

The Lord’s Prayer is regarded as the most important Christian prayer. However, as is known, all of its elements are found in the holy texts of the Jewish religion, e.g. in Amidah and Kaddish prayers; see Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck (1922), and a short comment in Péter Hubai (1990). The Karaim translation, a work of highly knowledgeable Karaims, is a masterpiece of creative copying and accommodation to the Karaim divine service. The Karaim text is a unique version of the prayer and functions as a genuine element of the Karaim liturgy.

The Lord’s Prayer has been translated into numerous Turkic languages. Usually, the translations serve missionary purposes or are used in Turkic-speaking Christian communities. Ananiasz Zajączkowski (1948) compares seven Turkic translations, most of which are based on the longer version in Matthew 6:9–13; cf. Didache 8:2. Julian Rentzsch (2017) analyzes the texts of the prayer in Oghuz

languages. For our topic, the West Kipchak renderings are the most relevant. An early example of these is found in *Codex Cumanicus* from the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries compiled by Italian and German Christian missionaries and written in Roman script. The original transcription text allows for different readings. It is presented here in Vladimir Drimba's transcription (1973: 259).

Codex Cumanicus

- (1) *Ata-miz kim kök-tä-sen,*  
father-POSS1PL who heaven-LOC-2SG  
*alyšli bol-sun senij at-ij!*  
blessed become/be-VOL3SG you.GEN name-POSS2SG
- (2) *Kel-sin senij xanliχ-in,*  
come-VOL3SG you.GEN kingdom-POSS2SG
- (3) *bol-sun senij tilemeg-ij*  
become/be you.GEN wish-POSS2SG  
*nečik kim kök-tä alley yer-dä!*  
how who heaven-LOC so earth-LOC
- (4) *Kündegi ötmäk-imiz-ni biz-gä bugün ber-gil!*  
daily bread-POSS1PL-ACC we-DAT today give-IMP2SG
- (5) *Dayi yazuq-lar-imiz-ni biz-gä bošat-qil*  
and sin-PL-POSS1PL-ACC we-DAT forgive-IMP2SG  
*nečik biz bošat-ir-biz bizgä yaman et-xen-ler-gä*  
how we forgive-AOR-1PL we-DAT evil do-PN-PL-DAT
- (6) *Dayi yek-nij sinamaq-in-a biz-ni küwür-mä-gil,*  
and devil-GEN attemp-POSS3SG-DAT we-ACC drive-NEG-IMP2SG
- (7) *Basa barča yaman-dan biz-ni qutxar-yil!*  
but always evil-ABL we-ACC save-IMP2SG  
*Amen!*

For the sake of comparison, two other old Kipchak versions of the prayer will be added, the so-called *Kun miatyánk* 'Cuman Lord's Prayer' from Hungary (Appendix 1) and an Armeno-Kipchak translation published by Edward Tryjarski (1979–1980) (Appendix 2).

The Karaim translation is the only one of its kind, due to the fact that it was created to be used in the divine service of a non-Christian community. It is written in the northwestern Karaim variety, spoken today in Lithuania. The history of its origin is not public; no information on this topic can be found in the literature (Dan Sapira 2003: 681). It first appears in a Polish-Karaim bilingual prayer book written by Szymon Firkowicz, the *Uttu Hazzan* (the Great Hazzan), and published in 1935 with the approval of the highest Karaim authority Hakhan Seraya Shapshal. In the introduction, Firkowicz thanks some professors, among others the famous Turcologists Tadeusz Kowalski and Ananiasz Zajączkowski for helping him with the translations into Polish. It is most probable that Firkowicz also consulted these scholars and the highest Karaim authority Hakhan Seraya Shapshal concerning the translation of the Lord's Prayer. This is interesting since these Turcologists were familiar with the already existing translations, and also with *Codex Cumanicus*.

Firkowicz's booklet—comprising altogether 32 pages—includes the northwestern Karaim and Polish versions of the prayers in a Latin orthography based on the Polish script. It comprises prayers for daily use on different occasions such as in the morning and evening, before and after eating, before and after studying, and before going to sleep. It also gives information about the religious feasts. The Turkicized names of the feasts are provided with the Hebrew originals in Polish orthography, e.g. *Chydzý maccałarnyn* (‹piesach›), *Chydzý aftałarnyn* (‹szawuot›), *Chydzý atačychłarnyn* (‹sukkot›), and *Boszattých kiunni* (‹kippurim›). These Karaim names were most likely recently introduced in order to reduce the number of Hebrew elements in the language. This was strongly advocated by Shapshal (Kizilov 2008) and was more consistently realized in Trakai, the northwestern community, than in Halich, the southwestern community. Firkowicz also lists the Karaim names for seasons, months, days of the week, and points of the compass. All these items of information are necessary for users of the Karaim calendar. Polish translations accompany the Karaim expressions. The last text is the Karaim translation of Psalm 91 which the congregation regularly sings at the end of the service to the melody of the corresponding Polish song *Kto się w opiekę odda Panu swemu*.

In Firkowicz's booklet, the prayer *Our Father in Heaven* is integrated into the daily prayer with the title *Ingir da tan kołtchasy* 'Evening and Morning Prayer'. The accompanying Polish translation accurately renders the Karaim text and therefore deviates from canonical Polish versions.

See the northwestern Karaim translation in Turcological transcription, which will be used here in our analysis. Palatalization of the consonants is marked by an apostrophe and a dot under the suffix vowels render near-high lax vowels.

Firkowicz (1935: 6–7)	The Karaim translation in Polish
1 <i>Atamyz ki kiokliardia,</i> <i>machtawtu bothej birligi adyjny,</i>	<i>Ojcze nasz, któryś jest w niebie</i> 'Our Father who is in heaven' <i>niech będzie pochwalona jedność</i> <i>Imienia Twego,</i> 'let the unity of Your name be praised'
2 <i>da kip bothej bijligij</i>	<i>niech się utwierdzi królestwo Twoje</i> 'let Your kingdom become strong'
3 <i>da klagij kiokliardia johartyn</i> <i>da jer üštiunia aszahartyn.</i>	<i>i wola Twoja jako na niebie,</i> 'and Your will as in heaven' <i>tak i na ziemi.</i> 'so also on Earth.'
4 <i>Kiuńdiagi öt'miagimiżni biergiń</i> <i>biżgia,</i>	<i>Chleba naszego powszedniego daj nam</i> 'Give us our daily bread'
5 <i>da boszatchyn bar jazychłarymizny.</i>	<i>i odpuść nam nasze winy.</i> 'and forgive our sins.'
6 <i>Tiuż jołłaryjdan azasztyrmahyn</i> <i>biżni,</i>	<i>Nie pozwól nam zejść z Twoich ścieżek</i> <i>prostych i błędzić na manowcach,</i> 'Do not lead us away from Your way and onto the wrong way'
7 <i>anczach kutcharhyn biżni azhyr-</i> <i>tuwczudan,</i> <i>ameń.</i>	<i>ale zbaw nas od kusiciela,</i> 'and save us from the seducer. <i>Amen.'</i>

Firkowicz (1935)

- (1) *Ata-miž*            *k'i*    *k'ök'-lär'-d'ä*    *maxtavlu*  
 father-POSS1PL who heaven-PL-LOC worshipped  
*bol-yäy*                    *b'ir'l'ig'i*                    *ad-ïy-niñ*  
 be(come)-OPT3SG unity/oneness-POSS3SG name-POSS2SG-GEN

- (2) *da k'ip bol-γäy b'ïl'ig'-ïy*  
and strong be(come)-OPT3SG kingdom-POSS2SG
- (3) *da k'läg'-ïy kök'-lär'-dä yoyartïn*  
and wish-POSS2SG heaven-PL-LOC above  
*da yer üs't'-ïn'-ä ašayartïn.*  
and earth on-POSS3SG-DAT.LOC below
- (4) *K'ün'däg'i öt'mäg'-ïm'iz'-n'ï b'er'-g'ïn' b'iz'-g'ä,*  
daily bread-POSS1PL-ACC give-IMP2SG we-DAT
- (5) *da bošat-χïn bar yazïχ-lar-ïmiz-nï.*  
and forgive-IMP2SG all sin-PL-POSS1PL-ACC
- (6) *T'üz' yoy-lar-ïy-dan azaštür-ma-γïn b'iz'-n'ï,*  
straight way-PL-POSS2SG-ABL lead astray-NEG-IMP2SG we-ACC
- (7) *ančax kutχar-γïn b'iz'-n'ï azyürtüvčü-dan,*  
but save-IMP2SG we-ACC seducer-ABL  
*ameñ.*

The languages of *Codex Cumanicus* and the Karaim version are both Kipchak Turkic varieties. This is clearly shown by their linguistic features. A linguistic comparison will not be undertaken here, but some differences will be noted. For comments on the language of *Codex Cumanicus* in comparison to northwestern Karaim, see Kowalski (1929). In the first three petitions, the Kuman text uses voluntative forms in {-sIn}, e.g. *bol-sun* 'let (it) be(come)', *kel-sin* 'let (it) come'. In the rest of the text, when addressing God, it shows imperatives in {-GIl}. The Karaim version has optative forms {-GAy} in the first three wishes, e.g. *Bolyäy* 'May (it) be(come)', and imperatives in {-G!l} in the following parts. In Karaim prayer books, the voluntative is mostly used to render orders, instructions such as *D'in'yes'is'ï bašlasïn* 'The leader of the prayer should begin', *B'üt'in' jïmat b'ir'dän' oχusun* 'The whole congregation should read together'. In *Codex Cumanicus* the genitive marker is {-n!n} and the possessive of the second person is {- (n)In}. In northwestern Karaim the corresponding markers are {- (n)In} and {- (I)y}. Lexical differences include *Codex Cumanicus* *χanlıχ* vs. Northwest Karaim *b'ïl'ig* 'kingdom', *tilemeg* 'wish' vs. *k'läg'* 'will', *basa* vs. *ančax* 'but', *abyšli* 'blessed' vs. *machtawtu* 'praised'.

The northwestern Karaim translation differs from other translations, even other Kipchak translations (see Appendices). We wish to demonstrate that the

aim of these deviations is to construct a text that is primarily based on the Karaims' own prayers. The resulting Karaim text is an achievement of Karaim scholars with profound knowledge of the theological and philological issues involved.

The Lord's Prayer according to Matthew 6:9–13 contains seven petitions. As Strack and Billerbeck's (1922) authoritative commentaries demonstrate, each element of this Christian prayer is found in Jewish religious sources. Examples of correspondences with Karaim prayers will be given below.

The Karaite version preserved the rabbinic Deuteronomy 6:4 and the declaration of divine unity, "but the three paragraphs of the *Shema* have been replaced with a florilegium of verses" (Frank 2003: 560). As already mentioned, Firkowicz includes the prayer *Our Father in Heaven* in the evening and morning prayer, as a declaration of God's unity and accordingly to fill the function of the *Shema*; see more below. Frank refers to a 'reform' assigned to a Byzantine Karaite, Elijah b. Moses Bashyachi (d. 1490), who "introduced three paragraphs of the Rabbinite *Shema*" into the Karaite morning service (Frank 2003: 568, fn. 43) as a sign of rapprochement with the Rabbinite Jews, who were in the majority in Byzantium. Thus, choosing a prayer, often a self-written one, for proclaiming God's unity, has been a Karaite practice performed with different intentions (Frank 2003: 574).

The first significant dissimilarity between the translations concerns the first petition. In all other languages, including the seven Turkic languages analyzed by Zajaczkowski (1948), the second line refers to God's name as 'your name'. This is not the case in Karaim, where the text refers to the unity or oneness of God's name. See the Latin, Polish, and Russian translations for comparison. These languages have been used in the multilingual Karaim communities.

'hallowed be your name'

Latin *sanctificetur nomen tuum*

Codex Cumanicus *alyjšli bolsun seniñ atıñ!*

Armeno-Kipchak *ari dir at'ing séning*

Polish *święć się imię Twoje*

Russian *да святится имя Твое*

Karaim *maḡtavlu bolyäy b'ir'l'ig'i adīynñin*

'blessed be the unity (oneness) of your name'

The wording 'the unity of your name/the oneness of your name' has correspondences in Jewish hymns, first of all in the prayer *Shema Yisrael* שמע ישראל

‘Hear Israel’, which emphasizes the uniqueness or oneness of God (for Karaim Hebrew hymns see Tuori 2016: 90). This is also a substantial element of the Karaim liturgy. Harviainen quotes the principles of the Karaite faith according to Jacob b. Benjamin Duvan’s *Catechism* published in 1890 in St. Petersburg: “... (3) that the Creator has no similarity, he is absolutely one in every respect and there is no oneness as his oneness” (2003: 839, fn. 39; see also Duvan 1890 and Harviainen 2008). This manifestation of God’s oneness, “Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one”, is rendered in Karaim as, for instance, *Ešit’k’in’ Jisrael, k’üč’l’ü T’en’r’im’iz’ b’iz’n’in’, b’ir’d’ir T’en’r’i* ‘Hear Israel, our powerful God, God is one’ (Firkovičius 1998/1: 53).

Mykolas Firkovičius’ Karaim prayer book contains a number of occurrences of God’s name without using a word for ‘uniqueness’, for instance, *maḡtavlu da siylanyan bolyäy adī T’en’r’in’in’* ‘glorious and hallowed be the name of God’ (Firkovičius 1998/1: 37). This shows that the function of the prayer in the Karaim liturgy is similar to the role of the rabbinic prayer *Shema Yisrael*. As pointed out above, the Karaite version had a tendency to replace the *Shema* with its own verses. Olach (2017: 233–234) discusses several examples of Karaim translations which deviate from the original text in order to emphasize the concept of the sole God in the Karaim text.

Another motivation for using the formulation ‘the unity of your name’ may have been to signal an antitrinitarian position, that is, to clearly mark the difference between the Karaim prayer and the Christian prayer based on the trinitarian conception of God.

Here we would like to mention a fascinating attempt by Christian antitrinitarians to approach Judaism. The Szekler Sabbatarians were a movement that grew out of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church. Their ambition was to converge with Judaism. In their prayer book, written by Simon Péchi, the unity of God is emphasized with the following words: “Egy vagy te Ur Isten és egy az te neved is” ‘You are one, Lord, and your name is also one’ (Péchi 1914: 190). About the nature of God they proclaimed: “Egyetlen egység, elérhetetlen felség” ‘One single unit, one unattainable Dignity’ (Guttman and Harnos 1914: 435). It is easy to see the parallel between the Karaim and the Sabbatarian formulations.

The second deviation from the canonical Lord’s Prayer is observable in the second petition.

‘Your kingdom come’

Latin	<i>adveniat regnum tuum</i>
Codex Cumanicus	<i>kelsin senin ḡanliḡin</i>
Armeno-Kipchak	<i>k’elḡay ḡanliḡinḡ sening</i>



Polish	<i>przyjdź królestwo Twoje</i>
Russian	<i>да приидеи Царство Твое</i>
Karaïm	<i>da k'ip bołyäy b'yl'ig'iy</i> <i>da k'l'äg'-iy k'ök'-l'är'-d'ä yoyartin da yer üs't'-ün'-ä</i> <i>ašayartin</i> 'may your kingdom be(come) strong and your will be strong in heaven above and on the earth below'

The eschatological formulation 'Your kingdom come' is avoided in the Karaïm text. It is replaced by the expression "May your kingdom be(come) powerful". Strack and Billerbeck (1922: 418) write that the word 'to come' seldom occurs in corresponding formulations. Instead the thought is rendered by the German verbs *offenbart werden*, *sich offenbaren*, and *erscheinen*. The optative expression *k'ip bołyäy* is construed syntactically with the third petition "and may your wish (be(come) strong) in heaven above and on the earth below". The Karaïm translation into Polish includes the verb *się utwierdzi* 'to get strong'. Yearning for messianic salvation is a central topic in Karaite thought as well. Thus the avoidance of the verb 'come' may be motivated by the article in the Catechism mentioned above which states that God has "neither beginning nor end" (Harviainen 2003: 839, fn. 39). It is a coincidence that this line, the second petition, is missing in *Kun miatyánk* (Appendix 1).

The translation of the fourth petition does not require any comment.

The fifth petition is defective in Karaïm. The translation contains only the first part, "forgive us our trespasses". The same wish is frequently expressed in Karaïm prayers, e.g. *Bošatxin g'un'äxl'är'im'iz'n'i da yazıxlarımizn'i* 'Forgive our sins and faults' (Firkovičius 1998/1: 36). Asking for forgiveness for all sins is included in Eighteen prayers in the Jewish Siddur.

The second part, "as we forgive those who trespass against us", is missing. Strack and Billerbeck (1922: 421–422) do not comment on this part of the prayer. A possible explanation would be that this thought does not occur in this formulation in Karaïm prayers, although the thought itself is not at all alien to the Hebrew Bible. Henryk Jankowski (p.c.) suggests that a comparison of God's mercy to human mercy might sound like profanation to the religious Karaïms.

The Armeno-Kipchak version employs the word *borč* 'debt', which is a possible rendering of the original meaning (Strack and Billerbeck 1922: 421–422).

'and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who  
trespass against us'

Latin	<i>et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris</i>
Codex Cumanicus	<i>Dayi yazuq-lar-imiz-ni biz-gä bošat-qıl nečik biz bošat-ir-biz bizgä yaman et-xen-ler-gä</i>
Armeno-Kipchak	<i>bošat bizga bizim borçumuznu nečik' biz bošatirbiz bizim borçlularimizgay</i>
Polish	<i>i odpuść nam nasze winy, jako i my odpuszczamy naszym winowajcom</i>
Russian	<i>и остави нам долги наша, якоже и мы оставляем должником нашим</i>
Karaim	<i>da bošat-χin bar yazıχ-lar-imiz-ni</i> 'and forgive us all our sins'

The sixth and seventh petitions are expressed in *Codex Cumanicus* as in the canonical translations. This is not the case in Karaim, where it is reinterpreted as “Do not let us (collectively) deviate from your righteous way!”. The Karaim word for ‘evil’ is represented in *azyırtuvçu* ‘seducer’, a *nomen agentis* derived from the verb *az-* ‘to go astray’, ‘to loose one’s way’, modified by causative suffixes *az-γir-t-* ‘to lead astray’, and a *nomen-agentis* suffix *azyırt-uvçu* ‘one who leads astray’, i.e. ‘seducer’. The verb *az-* was used in this religious meaning in Manichean texts. The verb *az-aš-* goes back to the reciprocal form *az-iš-* with a lax *ı*. Its meaning is ‘to deviate collectively’, ‘to be confused collectively’, ‘to make mistake collectively’. This suits perfectly to the context in which the object is ‘we’. The reciprocal verb form *az-iš-* is found, e.g. in Turkish, with a reading ‘to grow vehement’, ‘to become worse’. The Karaim translation is thus superior to standard translations, e.g. in English, which can be interpreted as if God would ‘lead into temptation’. The Karaim translators avoided this undesired ambiguity in a most thoughtful way.

‘and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil’

Latin	<i>et ne inducas nos in tentationem sed libera nos a malo</i>
Codex Cumanicus	<i>Dayi yek-niη sinamaq-in-a biz-ni kütwür-mä-gıl ançax kutıar-γin b'iz'n'i azyırtuvçu-dan</i> ‘do not drive us into the devil’s temptation, but rescue us from the seducer’
Armeno-Kipchak	<i>saxla bizni ĵamandan abray sinamaıından</i> ‘save us from the evil, protect us from its temptation’

Polish	<i>i nie wódź nas na pokuszenie; ale nas zbaw od złego</i>
Russian	<i>и не введи нас во искушение, но избави нас от лукаваго</i>
Karaïm	<i>T'üz' yoy-lar-ÿy-dan azaštir-ma-ÿin b'iz'-n'i ančax kutxar-ÿin b'iz'n'i azyrtıvčü-dan 'Do not let us (collectively) deviate from your righteous way, but save us from the seducer.'</i>

Finally, the full acceptance of the prayer by the northwestern Karaïm congregation should be pointed out. The Karaïm *Our Father in Heaven* occupies a prominent role in Mykolas Firkovičius' prayer book in Karaïm, published in 1998, which replaced the Hebrew *Siddur*. Under the title *Alajych kiwñliariniñ jer-gialiari* 'Order of the Daily Prayers' the prayer *Atamyz ki kiokliardia* 'Our Father in Heaven' is printed on a separate page under the heading *Har tiefillanyn bašlyhy da sonhusu* 'The Beginning and End of all Prayers (*tefillah*)'. The following instruction is added: *Bašlejdohon—jarty kieniesaha barlary kirsinliar da čioğiup ochusunlar* 'At the beginning—on the way into the *kenesa* everybody shall enter and having prostrated himself recite'.

Outsiders often express amazement when hearing that the Lord's Prayer is recited by the Karaïm in Lithuania. This article has argued that the Karaïm copy of the Lord's Prayer, *Our Father in Heaven*, has been fully integrated into the framework of the Karaïm liturgy. It is a new prayer demonstrating the creativeness of code-copying. Harviainen comments: "... the employment of the *Pater Noster* (*Atamyz ki kiokliardia*) in Karaïm as the initial prayer of the *kenesa* liturgy has been criticized from a Jewish viewpoint, but for the Karaïms themselves this is no longer relevant. Similar cases are the borrowing of a number of Roman Catholic hymns (earlier some Rabbinate hymns were introduced into the Karaïm liturgies) as well as the mention of Jesus and Muhammed, accepted as prophets by the Karaïms" (Harviainen 2003: 839).

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## Appendix 1

The so-called *Kun miatyánk* ‘Cuman Lord’s Prayer’, following István Mándoky-Kongur (2012).

This version reflects remnants of the language of the Kuman groups who settled in Hungary in the 13th century and were Christianized. According to Mándoky-Kongur, some groups maintained their Kuman vernacular until the end of the 16th century. The prayer was orally transmitted in many different variants up to the 20th century, often by people who did not understand it. Mándoky-Kongur explains several features as copies from Hungarian. A critical commentary on this reading is not within the scope of the present study. The Kuman version of the prayer is reconstructed as follows (2012: 138).

### *Kun miatyánk*

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| 1        | <i>biziŋ atamiz kim-siŋ kökte</i><br><i>sentlenssin seniŋ adiŋ</i>                |
| 2        |   |
| 3        | <i>düšsün seniŋ köŋlün</i><br><i>nečik kim jerde alay kökte</i>                   |
| 4        | <i>biziŋ ekmegimizni ber bizge büt-bütün künde</i>                                |
| 5        | <i>ilt biziŋ minimizni</i><br><i>nečik kim biz de iyermez bizge ötrü kelgenge</i> |
| 6        | <i>iltme bizni ol jamanga</i>   |
| 7        | <i>qutqar bizni ol jamannan</i>   |
| Doxology | <i>sen barsiŋ bu küčli bu čin iyi teŋri amen</i>                                  |

## Appendix 2

An Armeno-Kipchak translation.

Edward Tryjarski found an Armeno-Kipchak translation of the prayer in the Czartoryski Collection, ms. no. 2412, folios 129–130 (Tryjarski 1979–1980: 897). His transliteration is here.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>atamiz bizim k'i kokta sèn</i><br><i>ari dir at'ing sèning</i> |
| 2 | <i>k'elgay xanliŋiŋ sèning</i>                                    |
| 3 | <i>bolsun èrking sèning</i><br><i>nèčik' kokda alay jerda</i>     |

- 4            *ot'makimžnī k'undalik' bër bizgay damay bukun*  
 5            *bošat bizga bizim borčumuznu*  
               *nëčik' biz bošatirbiz bizim borčularimžgay*  
 6            *bërma bizni dušmanning snamažinay*  
               *saxla bizni jamandan*  
 7            *abray sinamažindan*  
 Doxology   *sëningdir xanlx u kuč haybat'*  
               *mëngi mëngilik' amën*

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## Turkic Lexical Borrowability in China

*Marcel Erdal*

The present paper tries to test the validity of the Leipzig–Jakarta list, a 100-word list published in 2009 by Martin Haspelmath (then Leipzig) and Uri Tadmor (then Jakarta), by documenting it for Uyghur, Salır, Western Yugur and Kök Munchaq, which are indigenous to China. It is presented to Professor András Róna-Tas, who taught us to investigate the Turkic languages globally, combining the diachronic and the areal perspective.

The Leipzig–Jakarta list is intended to replace the Swadesh list from the 1950s. Its purpose is to test the degree of chronological separation of languages by comparing words that are judged to be the ones most resistant to borrowing. The Swadesh list was based mainly on intuition, whereas Haspelmath and Tadmor gave ‘experts’ on forty-one languages from across the world a uniform vocabulary list and asked them to provide the words for each item in the language on which they were an expert, as well as information on how strong the evidence is, that each word was borrowed. The 100 concepts that were found in most languages to be most resistant to borrowing formed the list. The only Turkic language among the forty-one is Sakha (Yakut), with information provided by Brigitte Pakendorf and Innokentij Novgorodov. There is no Mongolic language on the list. As a Tungus language, there is Oroqen (spoken in Inner Mongolia and Heilongjiang), with information by Fengxiang Li and Lindsay J. Whaley. Novgorodov (who is himself Yakut) subsequently cooperated with scholars working on some Kipchak and on other Siberian languages on documenting the data of the Leipzig–Jakarta list for these languages. One conclusion of that work was, e.g., that Crimean Tatar was found to be an Oghuz and not a Kipchak language. We need to avoid the error which can lead to such a wrong judgment: There are loans among Turkic languages beside loans from languages of other genetic affiliations such as Russian, Arabic or Mongolian. Lexemes borrowed from Turkic languages different in their phonic features need also to be recognized as loans: Just as Tatar loans in Chuvash do not show the characteristic features of the Bolgar-Chuvash branch of Turkic, the Ottoman loans in Crimean Tatar do not show the characteristic Kipchak features of the language and are still not an indication of Oghuz affinity. The primary means for determining genetic affiliation of languages and dialects are the morphology and the phonic classificatory features found in the basic lexicon.

Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Kazan Tatar, which are also spoken in China, are not included in this study, one of the reasons for their exclusion being that most of their speakers live outside and west of China. Lexical documentation for the languages I am looking at is clearly not at the same level, with Uyghur a written language and best documented. The other three are only recorded orally, with no standardization. The access to the questions is not easier for Uyghur, as we have sociolects and varieties to choose among. Many open questions remain, as there is no one-to-one relationship between the English terms on the list, and the ones of the languages we are looking at. Not all translations of the English term are listed. Lexical divergence need not always be due to borrowing: There is no single obviously Proto-Turkic term for 'ant', e.g., which is on the Leipzig–Jakarta list, with two or three terms vying for this status. Inherited words can often look like borrowings and borrowings (also from Mongolic) as inherited words; the 'etymological dictionary' of Sevortjan et al., on which the work of Novgorodov and colleagues is based, is woefully inadequate as a source of information.

Are the 100 terms of the list 'strongly resistant to borrowing' also in Uyghur, Salır,<sup>1</sup> Western Yugur, and Kōk Munchaq, as they are said to be for the 41 languages chosen by Haspelmath and Tadmor? The 100 terms are expected to show conservative historical behavior. The material should also indicate whether Salır is genetically Oghuz and Western Yugur a Yenisey Turkic language, as claimed, and might also be indicative for the exact genetic status of Modern Uyghur. The list is presented below in Table 3.1.<sup>2</sup>

Let us first discuss the data of each language separately. **Uyghur**—or rather its predecessor Chaghatay Turkic—borrowed *tuxum* 'egg', *gōš* 'meat', *jīgār* 'liver' and *sayā* 'shade' from Persian and *isim* 'name' and *šamal* 'wind' from Arabic—and these Arabic loans could also have come through Persian. Note that the original Turkic counterparts of most of these terms, *ät* 'meat', *bayır* 'liver', *kölängä* 'shadow', *at* 'name' and *yel* 'wind', have been retained, but have narrower, altered or metaphorical meanings. This is also the case with *ulux*, marginal synonym of *čoy* 'big', of ultimate Chinese origin; ultimately deverbal *büyük* was in use in Chaghatay and now survives only in the literary language. Uyghur further borrowed *šora* 'to suck' and *aγamča* 'rope' from Mongolic. It follows that 9 % of the Modern Uyghur 'borrowing-resistant terms' were

1 The (few) speakers of this language without university education which I met called their language Salır and not Salar.

2 The languages and dialects mentioned with abbreviations are Teleut (Tel), Yakut (Yak), Türkmén (Tkm), Azeri (Az), Old Turkic (OT), Ottoman (Osm) and Chinese (Chin). St stands for standard varieties of languages mentioned.



TABLE 3.1 Uyghur, Salır, Western Yugur and Kök Munchaq terms on the Leipzig-Jakarta list

No. <sup>a</sup>	Word	U.	T.	S.	Y.
1	fire	ot	ot	ot	ot
2	nose	burun	xaay	purn, purnı	Gaŋərəq
3	to go	bar-	bar-	var-	bar-
4	water	su	suw	su	su
5	mouth	eŋiz	aas	aŋız, aŋzi	aħs, dəmsəy
6	tongue	til	dıl	dıl	dəl
7	blood	qan	xan	Gan	qan
7	bone	söŋäk	söök	sinix	səmək
9	2 SG pron.	siz / sän	sen	sen	sen
9	root	yiltiz	dazıl	ö/ozex, umja	yeldəs / yeltəs
11	to come	käl-	gel-	gel-	gel-
12	breast	kökis / ämčäk	emix	emčix/emjux	yeməy / eməy
13	rain	yamyur	jaaşkun	yaymur	yaymər
14	1 SG pron.	män	men	men	men
15	name	isim, at	at	ad	at
15	louse	pišt	bit	pid	bəšt
17	wing	qanat	zalyın <sup>b</sup>	Ganat	qenat / qanaht
18	flesh/meat	göš	et	et	guhš, yay, eht
19	arm/hand	biläk / qol	xol	el, Gol	ələy, Gol, qar
20	fly	čiwin	seek	pox jıuyın	Gara jıvən
21	night	kečä	dün	geš / geje	yıŋər, tune
22	ear	qulaq	kulak	Gulax	qulaq
23	neck	boyun	mıyın	boyın, boynı	möyen / möen
23	far	yıraq	ırak	yırax	ozaq / uzaq
25	to do/make	qıl-	kıl-, iste-	et-	Gəl-, et-
26	house	öy	öwx	oy / öy	yü
27	stone/rock	taş, qıya taş	daş, kaya	daş, Gaye / Gaya	das, Gaya
28	bitter	aččiq	aјux	aјı / aajı	örjüt, or
28	to say	dä-	aytı-	dı-, yaša- / yiša-	dı- / de-
28	tooth	čiš	dış	tiš	dəs
31	hair	čač	başdık	saј / saš	šaž / saž
32	big	čoŋ	ulux	јatux / јatux, ullı	bezek
32	one	bir	bir	bır / bir	bər
34	who?	kim	kım	kem	kəm
34	3 SG pron.	u	ol	u	gol, ol, a

- a These numbers refer to the terms 'rank' in the list: The terms closer to the beginning are considered to be less likely to be loans than the ones appearing further on. Some words on the list have the same rank: The words for 'blood' and 'bone' both have rank 7, e.g., because the 41 languages chosen by Haspelmath and Tadmor on average borrowed the words with these two meanings to the same degree. Transcriptions and spelling have been 'normalized' to accord with what is often found in western Turcological publications.
- b *salqm* is a common Mongolic and Turkic term denoting 'wind' and not 'wing'; it might just be that the phonetic similarity between the two English terms led to an error, especially since the letter *d* has the shape of Latin *g* in Cyrillic script.

TABLE 3.1 Uyghur, Salır, Western Yugur and Kök Munchaq terms on the Leipzig–Jakarta list (*cont.*)

No.	Word	U.	T.	S.	Y.
36	to hit / beat	soq-, ur-	xak- / kak-	doy- / döy, vur-	soq-, per-
37	leg / foot	put	but, daman	injix, ayax	but / bət, azaq
38	horn	müngüz	myes	moŋıs / moŋas	moŋəs
38	this	bu	bo	bu	bu
38	fish	beliq	balık	balux	yər
41	yesterday	tünügün	düün	geje	toyn
42	to drink	iç-	iş-	iş-	əş-
42	black	qara	xara	Gara	Gara
42	navel	kindik	kin	gindix	kəndək
45	to stand	tur-	dur-	dur-	dur-
46	to bite	čişlä-	ızı-	čille-/ čile-	dəsde-
46	back	arqa	oorka	arxa	ahrGa
48	wind	šamal	šuurkan	yel	yel
49	smoke	is, tütün	iş	tüdün	əs
50	what?	nimä	jöge	ne+, neh+, naŋ	neye
51	child (kin)	bala	ool	bala	mula
52	egg	tuxum	jumurka	yumuda / yumhte / yumutta	oya, bala
53	to give	bär-	ber-	ver-	ber-
53	new	yeŋi	jaa	yaŋı	yaŋə
53	to burn (intr.)	köy-, yan-	örte-, kıp-	koy- / köy-	kuy-, taŋna-, tam-
56	not <sup>c</sup>	ämäs	emes	emes	emes
56	good	yaxşı	ekke	yaxşı	yaxš / yaxši
58	to know	bil-	bil-	bil-	bəl-
59	knee	tiz	disgäk	düz	dəz
59	sand	qum	elesin	Gum	qum
61	to laugh	kül-	katkıra-	kuli- / küli-	kul-
61	to hear	aŋla-	dıŋna-	aŋna-, dıŋna-	aŋna-
63	soil	tupraq	doburak	torax	durvaq
64	leaf	yopurmaq	yalbı	yahrax	lahpǰəq
64	red	qizil	kızıl	Gızıl	Gəzəl
66	liver	jigär	baar	ba:yr	ba:yr
67	to hide	yoşur-	jaŋır-	yaşır-	yahsər-
67	skin / hide	terä	geş	ti:re	terə / ter
67	to suck	äm-, šora-	em-, sor-	em-	em- / yem-, sor-
70	to carry	toşu-	daŋı-	daşı-	yünna-
71	ant	čümülä	kımskayak	GımsGan	šoryəvahjən / šoryohjən
72	heavy	eyir	aar	a:yr	saləy
73	to take	al-	al-	al-	al-
74	old	qeri	kırgan	xarı, xarı kiş	qarə/qar

c Turkish has no word counterpart of English ‘not’, verbs being negated by the suffix *-mA-* integrated into the translations, which we have supplied. Proto-Turkic *tägül* ‘is not’, negating nominal predication, has not survived in the languages reviewed here.

TABLE 3.1 Uyghur, Salır, Western Yugur and Kök Munchaq terms on the Leipzig–Jakarta list (*cont.*)

No.	Word	U.	T.	S.	Y.
75	to eat	yä-	ji-	yi-	yi-
76	thigh	yota, san	dünmök	lasgan, san	bezäk bıt
76	thick	qelin	kılın	xalaŋ	qalən
78	long	uzun	uzun	uzın / uzun	uzun
79	to blow	(šamal) čiq-	ünö-	čix-, fur-, xot-	un-
80	wood	yayač, otun	yiyaš	aşaš, odın	yəyaš / yiyaš / yayaš, odəŋ / odən
81	to run	yügür-	jügürü-	yühgur-, šügür-	jüyür-, Gayla-
81	to fall	čüş-	düş-, düje-	čiš-, diuš-	duhs- / tus-
83	eye	köz	karak	goz / göz	göz / gıoz
84	ash	kül	kül	kuli / kül	kul
84	tail	quyruq	kuduruk	Gurux	Guzuruq
84	dog	išt	ıt	id / išt / šit	əšt
87	to cry, weep	yiyla-	ıxla-	yayla-	yiyla- / yilya-
88	to tie	bayla-	bayla-	bayla-	bala-, kul-
89	to see	kör-	gör-	gor- / gör-, ušir-	Gara-, gör-
89	sweet	tatliq	tapdıx	dahli	dadəy, ten
91	rope	aşamča	aşamjı	urxan	yehp
91	shade, shadow	sayä, kölängä	saya, kölənjkı	yelienj	kuleye / kelehge
91	bird	quš	kuš	Guš	Gus
91	salt	tuz	dus	duz	duz
91	small	kičik	biji	kiji	kəčiŋ
96	wide	känri, kən	alkı	kuan	keŋ
97	star	yultuz	odun	yuldus / yultus	yəldəs / yuldus
97	in	ičidä, +DA	iš+, +DA	iš+, +DA	əš+ <sup>d</sup>
99	hard	qattiq	kadıx	xıtdı / xaddı	qatdəy / Gahdəy
100	to crush, grind	miji-, ez-	šimji-, dajrı-	yen-, tumde-, čimje-	niele-, bəhs-

- d The Turkic counterpart of English *in* is not a (pre- or) postposition but a suffix. This is not the place to discuss the relationship of the locative suffix +DA to the noun *ič* ‘the inside’ (and modern variants), nor the morphologization of this noun in Yellow Uyghur.

borrowed—a high percentage when compared to Old Turkic including Old Uyghur (Erdal 2019), where this list shows no loans at all. East Middle-Turkic Chaghatay, on the other hand, does already have the borrowings which we here see in Uyghur, including *aşamçı* and *joŋ* (variants better reflecting the source languages): As far as the core lexicon is concerned, Modern Uyghur appears to be the continuation of Chaghatay.

The abbreviation Tu. in the list refers to **Kök Munchak**, the Tuvan variety spoken in Northern Xinjiang. Originally Persian *saya* ‘shadow’ appears to have been taken up only by this variety but not in standard South Siberian Tuvan: It is present in two of its contact languages, Kazakh and Uyghur, and not evi-

dence for any direct contact with Persian. All other evident loans, *šuurkan* 'wind', *aryamŋi* 'rope', *elesin* 'sand', *odun* 'star', *biji* 'small' and *katkira-* 'to laugh', come from Mongolic (the last one a re-borrowing). So does the pronoun signifying 'what?', evidence for a strong influence indeed. *xaay* 'nose', *yalbi* 'leaf' and *dünmök* 'thigh' (Standard Tuvan *dönmäk*), for which I could not find other Turkic cognates, might be borrowings. *xaay* and *dazıl* 'root' are in use in Standard Tuvan as well (*xaay* also in Tofa), but the local dialect differs from Siberian Tuvan in several items; *dazıl* is a South Siberian word, found also in other Turkic languages of that region. Among the languages discussed here, the widespread word for 'house, home' gets a coda stop only in Sayan Turkic: *ög* in Standard Tuvan, *öwx* in Kök Munchak. Kök Munchak *oorka* and Standard Tuvan *oorka* 'back' are best connected with the Old Uyğur word which can be read either as *ogurga* or as *ogurka* 'backbone'; other modern languages have a nasal instead of the first velar. There is, among the Turkic languages, an alternation of variants with nasal and non-nasal consonant also for the word for 'shade, shadow', which was retained in Kök Munchak beside borrowed *sayä*: Kök Munchak and Standard Tuvan differ concerning the word for 'shade, shadow', which is *köleŋki* in Kök Munchak, with a nasal as in Uzbek, in Karakalpak and in Modern Uyğhur *köleŋge*. But Standard Tuvan and Tofa *xölege*, Bashkir *külägä* and Old Uyğhur *köligä* have no nasal. In Noghay and Khakas *köletki* and Altay Turkic *kölötki* we find /t/ instead, Kumık *gölentki* shows /nt/, and in other Turkic languages /n/ and Ø or /t/ and Ø alternate. Tatar varieties have all three, Ø, /n/ and /t/. The explanation for this variation in the word for 'shade, shadow' is that the terms are original -*gA* derivatives from either *köli-* 'to shade' or *köli-n-* 'to be or stay in the shade' or *köli-t-* 'to put something in the shade'. Proto-Turkic clearly had all three -*gA* forms, and they appear to have survived one beside the other in sub-branches such as Eastern Kipchak or Sayan Turkic.

One interesting feature of **Salır** is that it incorporates the 3rd person possessive suffix with two-syllable names of body parts, *purın*, *purnı* for 'nose', *ayız*, *ayzi* for 'mouth', *boyın*, *boynu* 'neck', when there is a high second vowel (which gets syncopated); see Bang 1921 for this phenomenon. Salır *yeliŋ* 'shade, shadow', *yen-* 'to crush, to grind' and *kuan* 'wide' are loans from Chinese and *las-gan* 'thigh' must also be a borrowing. Pointing at a number of Oghuz features, scholars have assigned Salır to that genetic branch of Turkic. In our group of lexemes, the onset /v/ of *var-* 'to go', *ver-* 'to give' and *vur-* 'to hit' is a clear Oghuz characteristic, as is the loss of coda /g/ in *aŋi/a:ŋi* 'bitter', *kiji* 'small', *xıtdı* 'hard', *dahli* 'sweet' and *ullı* 'big'. The presence of single syllable *el* 'hand' and *ne* 'what' and the dominance of *et-* over *qıl-* for 'doing' are also typically Oghuz. Salır lexemes like *öy* 'house', *köy-* 'to burn' (Proto-Oghuz *köyün-*) and *yašır-* 'to hide' and

the onset of the pronoun *men* 'I' appear to show non-Oghuz influence shared by Turkmen (which also uses the verb *köy-*). *uzun* is the general word for 'long' but the Salır variant *uzın* is found also in Turkmen *uzın*, showing the special connection between these two languages. *sinix*, the Salır word for 'bone', is unlike the Turkish term *kemik*, but Turkmen *sünk/süyek* and Azeri *sümük* show that it must originally have been the general Oghuz word.<sup>3</sup> Salır *fur-*, used for the blowing of the wind, is a cognate of Turkish and Azeri *üfür-*. *men*, the Salır word for 'I', is not only common Turkic but also found in Azeri and Turkmen; in this case Turkish *ben* is the archaic variant, and not the others. The /u/ in *yultus* 'star' must have existed in Proto-Oghuz in spite of the Turkish and Turkmen forms, as Azeri has preserved it. Turkic *yügür-* 'to run', the source of Salır *yühgur-*, is no longer found in Turkish but was in use in Ottoman and still exists in Azeri and Turkmen. In view of all this, lexical items which are not typical of Oghuz languages or do not show phonetic features of the Oghuz group should be loans. Such lexemes are *gindix* 'belly' and *GımısGan* 'ant' and the replacement of *tägül* 'is not' by the morphologically transparent *emes*. The /ŋ/ in Salır and Yugur *moŋıs* is found in the Dīvān Luyāti 't-Turk, in Chaghatay and in Modern Uyghur and Uzbek and thus follows a Muslim Eastern Turkic tradition, whereas Old Uyghur and general Turkic /y/ (including Tuvan) as well as Oghuz /yn/ point at Proto-Turkic /ñ/. *šügür-*, a variant of the verb signifying 'to run', is more likely to reflect the Modern Uyghur onset change of /y/ to /j/ before high front vowels rather than an indication of any connection with the Siberian or Kipchak area. The secondary onset /č/ of *čille-* 'to bite' and of the variant *čiš-* (< *tüš-*) of the Salır verb 'to fall', and *tire* 'skin', which does not accord with Oghuz *\*tāri* but with the Uzbek, Modern Uyghur and Yugur forms of the lexeme, show further South-Eastern influence. Such influences get areal explanations, which Oghuz features do not. That *kem* 'who' should be borrowed from Yenisey Turkic is less likely than for it to be an archaic form not connected to Oghuz; *kem* appears to have been the original nominative stem of this pronoun. The dialect of the Salgurs mentioned by Maḥmūd as an Oghuz tribe could surely have retained some archaic features when they crossed the Amu Darya eastwards, before the convergence of the Turkmen dialects.<sup>4</sup>

What do the items of the Leipzig–Jakarta list of the Turkic languages in China say about the connections of **Western Yugur**? *qar* 'hand, arm' and *Gara-* 'to see' are loans from Mongolic, *ten* 'sweet' from Chinese *tián* (with the orig-

3 The /m/ in the Yugur term does not, of course, show any connection with the Azeri one; the labialization due to the vowels is sure to have taken place independently.

4 I should mention that I have found descriptions of the other Turkmen dialects but not of the Turkmen Salır dialect, which might still differ in such features.

inal Turkic lexeme kept as well); *niele-* ‘to crush, to grind’ is from its Chinese near-synonym *niē* treated as a nominal.<sup>5</sup> *guhš* ‘meat’ shows that the language appears, at some stage, to have had some connection with Chaghatay Turkic or Modern Uyghur (which has *göš*). *yər* ‘fish’ should be related to Chinese *yú*; the Beijing variety *yúer* (pronounced *yúr*) is more similar but is unlikely to be directly relevant. I am unable to connect *örjüt* and *or*, both signifying ‘bitter’, and *Gayla-* ‘to run’ with any Turkic word and take them to be loans as well.

The words *Guzuruq* ‘tail’, *azaq* ‘foot’ and *bezək* ‘big’ show the /z/ < /\*d/ typical of Yenisey Turkic. *Gayərəq* ‘nose’ has counterparts in other Siberian Turkic languages, in the Teleut dialect in the Altay Republic and in Yakut. The /h/ in *bahs-* ‘to crush’, *Gahdəy* ‘hard’, *duhs-* ‘to fall’, *yahser-* ‘to hide (tr.)’, *ahrGa* ‘back’, *eht* ‘meat’ and *yehp* ‘rope’ shows that the vowel preceding it was a short one, as opposed e.g. to *das* ‘stone’, *at* ‘name’, *ot* ‘fire’, *qan* ‘blood’ or *dəs* ‘tooth’, whose vowels were long in Proto-Turkic; this is akin to the characterization of Proto-Turkic short vowels in South Siberian languages by getting them followed by a glottal stop. In the Uyghur and Western Yugur word for ‘louse’ (Tuvan *bit*) and the Uyghur, Salır and Western Yugur word for ‘dog’ (Tuvan *it*, as in Old Turkic), a /š/ has cropped up before the coda /t/. This /š/ is the result of palatalization affecting the /h/ mentioned above as an indication of preceding Proto-Turkic short vowels—a palatalization caused by the high unrounded vowels preceding the dental. The phenomenon of the consonant reflex of vowel shortness thus includes South-Eastern Turkic Modern Uyghur and is not limited to Siberia. The verb ‘to suck’ (67) and its nominal derivate (12), the word for ‘evening’ (21) and the noun ‘rope’ (91) start with vowels in other languages but have here added an onset /y/; this appears to be a characteristic feature of this language. The proximal demonstrative *gol*, shown in Erdal 1990 to be connected to the Chuvash proximal demonstrative *ku*, is evidence for the independent, non-group status of Western Yugur. *per-* ‘to beat’, *tam-* ‘to burn (intr.)’, *kul-* ‘to tie’, *ələy* ‘hand’ and *olur-* ‘to sit’ are particularly archaic: Only Old Turkic has *bär-t-* and *tamūt-*, and Old Turkic *köl-* (Irq Bitig) and *olor-* survive only in Khakas dialects and Yakut respectively, and the latter in Chuvash *lar-* as well. The word for ‘hand’ otherwise survives in its full form only in Lobnor Turkic (which became a dialect of Uyghur) in the meaning ‘finger’; the Yakut form of the word is also bisyllabic but has lost the coda velar. Proto-Turkic *\*älig* cannot have come from Salır and Oghuz *el* as some have thought, because there is no evidence that there ever was an appropriate denominal derivational suffix.

5 Modern Uyghur also applies the denominal verbalizer +*LA-* to Chinese verbs.

It is impressive how much of the 100 term list is shared by the languages we have examined, be it as areal loans or as inherited vocabulary, although they belong to quite different genetic branches: *ot*<sup>6</sup> 'fire', *bar-* 'to go', *suv* 'water', *agız* 'mouth', *til* 'tongue', *kan* 'blood', *süñök* 'bone', *käl-* 'to come', *yagmur* 'rain', *at* 'name', *bit* 'louse', *kanat* 'wing', *ät* 'meat', *kol* 'arm', *kulak* 'ear' (replacing *kulkak* at a quite early stage), *boyun* 'neck', original *äv* 'house' in the wide-spread form *öy*, *taş* 'stone' and *kaya* 'rock',<sup>7</sup> *taş* 'stone', *buñuz/buñuz* 'horn', *iç-* 'to drink', *kara* 'black', *tur-* 'to stand', *ber-* 'to give', *yañı* 'new' (independently fronted in Uyghur and Turkish), *bil-* 'to know', *tuprak* 'soil', *bagır* 'liver' (in Uyghur marginalized by a Persian loan), causative *yaşur-* 'to hide (tr.)' (retained also in Turkmen, replaced in Turkish), *äm-* and *sor-* 'to suck', *al-* 'to take', *ye-* 'to eat', *kalın* 'thick', *uzun* 'long', *yügür-* 'to run', *tüş-* 'to fall, descend', *kül* 'ash', *kudruk* 'tail', *it* 'dog', *\*hıgla-* 'to cry, to weep', *bagla-* 'to tie', *kör-* 'to see', *kuş* 'bird', *tuz* 'salt', *iç* 'inside' (in the absence of a Turkic word for 'in'), *katıg* 'hard', *ärmäz* 'is not', *bir* 'one' and the pronouns *kim/käm* 'who', *bu* 'this', *män* 'I' and *sän* 'you' are all found in all four languages; 'breast' is in all four of them a derivate of *äm-* 'to suck'. For 'wood', both *yıgaç* and *otuñ* seem to be in general use: This gives 56 terms retained (though phonetically changed) in all four languages.

Uyghur, Tuvan, Salar and Yugur have all kept *saç* 'hair' but the Kök Munchak switched to a derivate from 'head'. *čibin* 'fly' wins the competition in three of the languages against *siñäk*, (y)ırak 'far' in three of them against *uzak*, *te-* 'to say' against *ayut-*, *kindik* 'navel' against *kin*, *tışla-* 'to bite' against older *ısr-*, *arka* 'back' against a word denoting the 'backbone', *bala* 'child', originally 'chick', against *ogul*, originally 'son', thrice *yaxşı* 'good' (also Turkmen) against original *ädgü* (preserved in Kök Munchak as in Turkish), thrice *tiz* 'knee' against a derivate, thrice *añla-* 'to hear' against *tıñla-*, thrice *karı* 'old' and *tatıglıg* 'sweet' against Tuvan terms: Kök Munchak *kirkan*, Standard Tuvan *kırgan* might come from the participle *karı-gan* from the verb signifying 'to grow old'. We find thrice *kum* 'sand', *kül-* 'to laugh', *köz* 'eye', *kiçig* 'small', *yultuz* 'star' and *nä* 'what?' against Mongolic loans, thrice variants of what appears in Old Turkic as *köligä* 'shadow' against a Chinese loan. In three languages, *açig* 'bitter', *taşu-* 'to carry' and *agır* 'heavy' compete against Yugur words whose origin is unclear to me; in three languages, *yalpırgak* 'leaf' and *täri* 'skin' compete against Tuvan words of unclear origin (Kök Munchak *geš* like Standard Tuvan *keš* < *kiš* 'sable'?). In 26 items, there is an agreement among three of the languages as to the shared

6 In this paragraph I have written the words in their Proto-Turkic form (though without marking vowel length).

7 I take 'stone' and 'rock' to have been linked in one entry by the authors only because the Leipzig-Jakarta list was formulated in English and English often uses 'rock' to denote 'stone'.

item. Without Mongolic influence, 6 among these 26 items would have joined the 4-language accord group.

This gives 82 % of unity or near-unity, no doubt mostly because Haspelmath and Tadmor managed to reach a high degree of conservativeness in their 100 term list, but possibly also through areal convergence.

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## The Каерічі [Каепичи]

Peter Golden

In the winter of 1159–1160, Svjatoslav Ol'govič (d. 1164) in the course of the ongoing intra-Rjurikid struggles for the Kievan throne and to maintain his hold over Černigov, is reported to have gathered his junior comitatus (*molod'*<sup>1</sup>) together with the Berendiči and Каерічі and sent them against the Cuman-Qıpčaq allies of his foe Izjaslav Davydovič (*PSRL* 11: 507, repeated in *PSRL* XXV: 68. Tatiščev 1963–1964/111: 70<sup>2</sup> has a garbled form of the name: Skajavič [скаявич]).<sup>3</sup> Golubovskij (2011: 119) lists them among a grouping of nomadic peoples, who were in service to one of the Rjurikid factions: Berendei,<sup>4</sup> Turnei (recte: Turpei), Koui,

- 1 Old Rus' *molod'*: Sreznevskij 1989 11/1: 169: 'moloděž', molodaja družina,' best rendered as 'junior' or 'lesser comitatus.' Ukr. *molod'* and Belarus. *moladz'* retain the meaning of 'youth, young people' (collective).
- 2 Vasilij Nikitič Tatiščev, 1686–1750, author of the *Istorija rossijskaja*, completed in 1732, but not fully published until 1964.
- 3 See also Golubovskij 2011: 272, n. 496; Rasovskij 2012: 54–55 and n. 82; Golden 1979–1980: 303. Dimnik (2003: 94–96) discusses the background of this Rjurikid internecine strife, without reference to the Каерічі.
- 4 A certain 'Tork' (Торчинъ, Търчинъ) bearing the name *Beren'di* (Береньди), who blinded Vasil'ko Rostislavič (d. 1124), one of the Rjurikid contenders for power, at the behest of his master, Svjatopolk Izjaslavič (1093–1113) instigated by Davyd Igorevič of Volyn, is first recorded in the Rus' chronicles (*PSRL* 1: 261; 11: 235, see discussion in Dimnik 1994: 224–233), ca. 1097–1098; pointing perhaps to a close Tork/Western Oğuz–Berendi connection. Baskakov (1982: 43) rightly rejects the identification of Berendi with the Oğuz tribal name *Bayandur* noted in Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, writing in the 1070s (Kāšġarī 1982–1985/1: 101 and Kāšġarī 2010, 2016/1: 96), read as: بایندر *Bāyundur*. Pilipčuk 2014: 51, who notes the form *Beren'di* cited above and the 'Boren'diči, Berendiči' in that same year (*PSRL* 11: 240), appears to accept the identification of Berendi/Boren'diči/Berendiči with the Bayandur. Linguistically, however, this identification cannot be sustained. The Bayandur/Bayandir [Bayundur] later appear as the ruling clan of the Oğuz Aq Qoyunlu (1396–1508) in eastern Anatolia-Western Iran (Golden 1992: 367–371; Sümer 2016: 167). Gardīzī 1984: 550, notes a tribe بلاندر [blāndr] that has been read as a corruption of بایندر [bayāndur] among the Kimāk. The Oğuz Bayandur/Bayandir may have been elements that joined the Oğuz after the breakup of the Kimāk union (Golden 1992: 202; 2015: 515). Baskakov 1985: 63–64, 130, reviews a number of attempts to fashion an etymology for *Berendei/Berendi*, concluding that it probably derives from *beren* 'orël, berkut; lučšaja stal', sablja, kinžal' + affix *-dej* pointing to 'likeness.' His example, however, is taken from modern languages (cf. Qırġız : *beren* 'odin iz lučšix vidov berkutov; sil'nyj, mogučij, bogatyr', geroj, molodec (služaščij oporoj)' Judaxin 1965: 129; see also Kazakh *berendej* 'slovo

Bouty along with Pečenegs and Torki.<sup>5</sup> They had settled in Rus' territory under pressure from the Cuman-Qipčaq (the Половци of the Old Rus' sources, noted several times as *Kumani*, cf. *PSRL* 1: 234, 396: Кумани рекше Половци), who had become the dominant nomadic presence in the Pontic steppes from the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>6</sup> P.P. Toločko considered the Kaepiči one of the *Tork* tribes (Торци, i.e. Western Oğuz,<sup>7</sup> the Οὐζοι of the Byzantine accounts, see Moravcsik 1958/11: 228) and in light of the notice s.a. 1160, in which they together with the *molod'* of Svjatoslav Ol'govič and the Berendei took part in a campaign against the Cuman-Qipčaq 'somewhere in the region of the Desna,' suggests that they dwelled in the Černigov territory, but cannot exclude the possibility that they came there from the right-bank of the Dnepr. They are noted together with the Berendei, who were part of the Čěrnj Klobuk union<sup>8</sup> located in the Ros' River region, a tributary of the Dnepr (Toločko 2003: 75, 77). Toločko, who also considered them Oğuz, places them along with the Turpey (Турпей, Турпе<sup>9</sup>), Koui/Kovuy (Ковуй, Ковеве<sup>10</sup>) and others in that grouping. Pilipčuk

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stal', bronja' (Bektaev 1999: 100) and *beren* 'kolčuga (iz vysokokačestvennoj stali) ... bulatnyj kinžal; dobryj molodec, xrabryj vojn', Sizdiqova and Xüsayin 2008: 151), all of which would be semantically suitable as tribal names, but are not attested in Middle Turkic and appear to be limited to these two languages.

- 5 Golden (1996: 101–104) briefly touches on these and other peoples associated with the Čěrnje Klobuki.
- 6 Kumekov (1993: 66–67) argues that the Cumans (Quman) represented a separate, but related group or union of tribes, placing them, in the ninth-tenth century in the Aral Sea steppes where they constituted the western branch of the Kimāk-Qipčaq union well before their arrival in the Pontic steppes. The bulk of our sources designate the entire union as *Qipčaq* in one form or another (Golden 2005: 248–250). It is best to refer to them as 'Cuman-Qipčaq'.
- 7 For a recent treatment of these western Oğuz, see Bubenok (2011: 25–40).
- 8 First noted under this name in 1046, the Čěrnii klobuci formed from remnants of Pečeneg and western Oğuz groupings that had remained in the Pontic zone after the tribal groupings from which they derived had migrated westward towards the Danubian borderlands of the Byzantine Empire in the period 1036–1060, following defeats at the hands of the Rus' and pressure from the Cuman-Qipčaq, who entered the Pontic steppe in 1055. They settled in the borderlands of Rus', in particular in the Ros' River zone. As with their confreres in Hungary and the Byzantine Balkan-Danubian borderlands, they were organized as border-guard units of the Rus' princes of Kiev, see Pletněva 1959: 164–165; Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk 1985; Golden 1996: 97–107; Paron 2015: 436–440. Cuman-Qipčaq—Čěrnj Klobuk enmity dated to the later part of the eleventh century (Rasovskij 2012: 21). Pletněva (1958: 218, with Fëdorov-Davydov, 1966: 144, following her) accorded primacy to the Berendi among the groupings of the Čěrnj Klobuk union.
- 9 The Turpey, presumably \**türpey* in Turkic) are first noted s.a. 1150 (*PSRL* 1: 326, *PSRL* 11: 398 and in later chronicles). In 1160, they were living within the territory of the Perejaslavl' principality, perhaps in the upper Al'ta River zone, having been forced to migrate there from their earlier habitat on the Dnepr (Toločko 2003: 76–77; *PSRL* 11: 398). Rasovskij (2012: 54) sug-

(2014: 48) views them as Qipčaq, allies of the Rus' in their conflicts with the Qipčaq led by the clan of Šarukan<sup>11</sup> and the Volga Bulgars; but also takes note of possible Oğuz connections.

- gested that they were of Pečeneg origin. Bubenok (2011: 31) following Baskakov (1985: 66) is willing to connect this name with *Türk*, which poses major linguistic problems. Further suggestions are: *turpey-turpi-turbi*, the latter of which is noted by al-Kāšgarī (1982–1985, 1: 315): *torpi* 'calf in its first year,' but al-Kāšgarī (2010, 2016/1: 342) has: *turbi* 'posledovatel', pomoščnik.' The ms. (al-Kāšgarī 1941: 209) records: تُرْبِي [tʰrbi] defined as التَّبِيع [al-tʰbī] which can mean 'follower, helper' or 'a calf one year old and still following the mother' (Steingass 281; Lane 1968 1/1: 295). Al-Kāšgarī (2014: 179–180 and n. 764) opts for latter: *torpi* 'buzağı' with citations to Modern Uyğur *torpaq*, Qırğız *torpoq*, Kazakh *torpaq* and kindred forms in other modern Turkic languages; the *-q* final found in modern languages Clauson (1972: 533) viewed as diminutive forms from *torpi*. He remarks that Arabic *al-tabī* usually denotes 'a follower,' but preferred its derived meaning 'a calf which still follows its mother ...' Ünlü (2012: 831), however, prefers *turbi* 'uyuntu [?], yardımcı, yâver.' Baskakov (1985: 66) also cites Budagov (1969, 1971/1: 744): طورپای *torpay* 'grubij,' as well as the Uyğur anthroponym *Törpā* (also *DṚSL* 581). These etymological offerings have been summarized in Bubenok (2011: 31). None are convincing. Equally uncertain are the numbers of the Turpey and what kind of social unit they constituted (see Bubenok 2011: 31).
- 10 Noted s.a. 1151 as part of a force consisting of Torks, Berendei and Pečenegs (*PSRL* II: 427, 428, also 518 (s.a. 1162), 544 (s.a. 1170/1171), 639–640 [s.a. 1185 in connection with the famous failed campaign of Igor Svjatoslavič, ruler of Novgorod-Seversk within the Černigov principality, against the Cuman-Qipčaq]); Rasovskij (2012: 55 and n. 83; Toločko 2003: 71, 75). They were also part of the Černyj Klobuk union of the Ros' river region. Baskakov (1985: 65–66, 130–131) derived the name from Old Turk. *qoğu-quğu* > *quwu* ~ *quu* < Mong. *qoŋ* 'lebed' (see *qun*, *quŋ* 'swan,' Lessing 1995: 966) and hence \**qowuy*, 'tribe with a swan totem' (see also Menges, 1979: 61–62, n. 2 with this and other suggestions). However, *quğu* is already encountered in Old Turkic (Clauson 1972: 609 and in al-Kāšgarī 1982–1985/1: 267, al-Kāšgarī 2010, 2016/1: 373) and does not appear to be a Mongol loanword. It was used to denote 'swan' and other birds. The form *quw* (قو), i.e. with the *ğ* > *w* shift typical of Qipčaq of the Mamlūk era, is first recorded in the *Kitāb Bulğat al-Muštāq fi Luğat at-Turk wa'l-Qifjāq* of Jamāl ad-Dīn at-Turkī, composed in the fourteenth (Gajnutdinova 2004: 4) or early fifteenth century and preserved in a manuscript dated 855/1451, see Jamāl ad-Dīn at-Turkī, 1954, 1958/1: xiv, Arabic text: 12, Vocabulaire: 42. The chronology of the *ğ* > *w* shift in Qipčaq is not clear and the Old Rus' sources show signs of it in Tork (Oğuz) as well (unless this name was transmitted by a Cuman-Qipčaq source). Thus, the name of a Černyj Klobuk leader is rendered as Коуньтоувдий, Коуньтоугдъый, Коунтоувдъй (*PSRL* II: 629, 636, 672) \*Küntovdi, \*Küntuğdi, \*Küntuvdi (Küntoğdi, see Rásonyi and Baski 2007/1: 393). Hence, *Qowuy* < *quğu* might be Oğuz, but the connection remains uncertain. Baskakov also suggested a connection with Old Turkic *quba* 'pale, pale yellow, pale grey' (of an animal), 'fair-haired' with respect to humans and animals (Clauson 1972: 581) and thence a connection with ethnonym *Qun*, *Quman* (cf. *qumān* < *qubān* < *quba* or more probably *quğu* ~ *quw* ~ *quw* 'swan') + *mAn* (Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 163) but this much discussed ethnonym remains problematic (Golden 2005: 271–272). See the lengthy discussion in Menges (1979: 73–78) on *Qun*, *Quman*, *Polovcy*, etc. On *qun* (Hung. *kun*), which has given rise to an extensive literature, see the thorough discussion in Róna-Tas and Berta (2011/1: 605–611).

Baskakov, among others, considered the Kaepiči to be one of the western Oğuz tribal sub-groupings,<sup>12</sup> adding the Bout (БOUTЫ) ~ Mogut (Моруты)<sup>13</sup> and Pečenegs to the peoples noted above. Whether the Pečenegs who surface in our sources in this connection referred to those Pečenegs who had remained in their earlier Volga-Ural territory under Oğuz rule or to those who entered the Pontic steppes in the ninth century is unclear. Baskakov adds that they had undergone mixing with the Bulğars and subsequently formed the Čěrnje Klobuki, a term/ethnonym that he associated with the well-known semantically similar Turkic ethnonyms, Qara Börklü, Qara Qalpaq (among the Qıpčaq), and the Oğuz-Turkic-speaking Qara Papax (Baskakov 1982: 39–40). Others have viewed them as ‘Qıpčaq’ (cf. Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 223). Given their close association with the Čěrnj Klobuki, which seems to have been largely Oğuz/Tork in composition (with the notable exception of its Pečeneg elements) this must remain conjectural.

Baskakov’s occasionally problematic attributions and etymologies need not detain us here. His comments on the Kaepiči, however, are worthy of note. He derives this name from Turk. *qay* + *apa* (the latter a term denoting various forms of kinship, male and female, lineage<sup>14</sup> in Old and Middle Turkic, and also as a qualifying adjective in titles, e. g. *inanču apa yarğan tarqan* КТ-W<sub>1</sub>; Aydın 2017: 70; User 2010: 248, 271) or *oba* ‘clan, tribe’.<sup>15</sup> Qay-apa or Qay-oba

- 11 Šaruqan (Rus’ Шаруканъ, Georg. შარუკანი Šarağan-i), late eleventh-early twelfth century, possibly cognate with Hung. *sárkany* < WOT \**šarakan* < \**šarakan*, Old Turkic-Middle Turkic *sazağan* ‘dragon’ (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011/11: 695–697). On the Šarukanids, see Golden (1979–1980: 305–307 and 2006–2007: 37–39).
- 12 Noted by Pilipčuk (2014: 49) who ultimately concluded (2014: 52) that by the twelfth century, they were Qıpčaqized ‘Proto-Mongols’.
- 13 The Bouty appear somewhat later, s.a. 1206, together with the Berendey and Kovuy (*PSRL* x: 51), see discussions of this name and its possible identification with the Moğut (\*Mowut), with *m* ~ *b* alternation, in Baskakov (1982: 43–44 and 1985: 64–65, 131–133), who suggests a number of possible etymologies: Turk. *boğu*–*moğu* ‘byk, vol,’ *buğu* (*olen*’ cf. Middle Turkic *buğu* ‘geyiğin erkeği’ and *buğu* ‘maral,’ Bayat 2008: 79) + *-t*, *bögü* ‘si’nyj, mogučij, geroj, bogatyr,’ Zajaczkowski (1949: 59) also suggested Turk. *mengü*/‘mönğü’ ‘eternal’ > *mogu* citing the *Codex Cumanicus* (Grønbech 1942: 164, see also *Codex Cumanicus* 2015: 766), but the latter only has *meñü*, *meñi* and *meñgü*. These identifications are all speculative. The Moğut are mentioned in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (1967: 51).
- 14 Clauson (1972: 5) *aba/apa/ebe/epe* ‘ancestor, grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, paternal uncle, paternal aunt, elder brother, elder sister,’ Bayat 2020: 17 ‘anne, büyükbaba, amca, baba ...,’ Rásonyi and Baski (2007/1: lxii).
- 15 Clauson (1972: 5–6): *oba* ‘name of a small social unit, possible ‘clan,’ but prob. even smaller, ‘extended family’ ...’ It is recorded in al-Kāšğari (1982–1985, al-Kāšğari 1: 122 and 2010, 2016, 1: 117), where *oba* denotes ‘tribe’ (*qabila*) in Oğuz. As Sevortjan (1974: 400–401), like Clauson, comments, it cannot be excluded that *oba/ōba*, *opa* noted as ‘tribe, clan,’ with

(Baskakov 1982: 44 and 1985: 65, 71, 130). Каери́чи is a Slavicized form of Qay-apa<sup>16</sup> (or Qay-opa), with the Slavic plural ending for tribal names in *-iči* cf. Radimiči, Kriviči, Vjatiči < Old East Slavic: *-ič* masculine patronymic. It was used for some Turkic groups as well, presumably following the forms that were customary for Slavic peoples: Berendiči (Берендичи), Čitěeviči (Читѣевичи) Ulaševiči (Улашевичи). *Каери́чи* would appear to render Turkic \*Qayapa/Qay-opa Oğulları, i.e. 'the sons of Qayapa/Qayopa' or \*Qayapalı(ğ)/Qayopalı(ğ), 'the followers of Qayapa/Qayopa'. Among the Cuman-Qıpçaqs we may note a number of clan, tribal or personal names with the *-oba/-opa* or *-apa* ending: Altunopa, Arslanopa, Ayapa/Ayopa (a later form of Qayopa?<sup>17</sup>), \*Čenegirapa (Ченегрепа), İtoba, Kūčoba [cf. Sudimir, son of Kūčaba, Соудимиръ Коучебичъ], Quloba/Qoloba [قولا, Колобичи/Кулобичи, Kitapora (Китанопа,<sup>18</sup>—

a number of other meanings related to nomadic housing structures, tribal location, pasturages and even outsiders (see also Eren 1999: 303; Çağbayır 2007/1v: 3579–3580; Gülensoy 2011/1: 609; Kumeikov 1993: 59, 61), may be an old borrowing into Oğuz and Old Uyğur. Interestingly enough, its Old Turkic-Middle Turkic attestations appear to be only in Oğuz. Zajączkowski (1949: 39) argues that *oba* in Cuman underwent semantic changes, coming to denote a sign marking the territorial boundaries of a clan, 'a mound made up of stones.' *EDAL* 2: 1059 views these as two distinct terms derived from \*Altaic \**óp* 'heap of stones,' cf. Mong. *obuğa* 'heap, heap of stones, grave hill,' Middle Mong. *obo'o*, Proto-Turk \**ōpuř* 'rough, uneven ground' and \**óp* 'clan, family,' Mong. *obug*, Turk. \**ōpa*. Pritsak (1952: 59) viewed Turk. *oba* as cognate with Mong. *obuq* ~ *omaq* ~ *oboğ* ~ *owoq* (see also Lessing 1995: 598: *obuğ* 'family, clan tribe's surname'; *obuğ-a(n)* 'pile, mass; heap of stones'). *EDAL*, while rich in material, has often been criticized for its linkages. Atwood (2010a: 65–66), citing various traditional definitions of Mong. *owog* (e.g. 'a smaller, more clearly kin-based unit'), concluded (p. 83) that *obuğ* and *ayimağ/ayimaq* did not develop the meanings of 'clan' and 'tribe' respectively until the Qing-Manchu era, *obuğ* ceasing 'to be just a surname' and began to mean a body of people sharing the same name and affiliation.' *Obuğ*, under Qing/Manchu and ultimately Chinese usage, was used to reflect the term 姓 *xìng* 'surname; patronymic family name; descendant' (Kroll 2015: 510). Chinese accounts, however, use *xìng* to render such Turkic (clan or tribal) groupings as the On Oq (Ten Tribal groupings)/十姓 *Shí xìng* of the Western Turks, the Toquz Oğuz/九姓 *Jiǔ xìng* etc. in the Pre-Činggisid era (Golden 2012: 159, 166).

- 16 Menges (1979: 61, n. 1) gave preference to *-opa*, *-apa* 'father' and compares it with the Old Turk title noted in the *Xin Tangshu* 215.a.3 (see Chavannes 1969: 164, n. 3) 阿波 *ābō* EMC ?a pa LMC ?a puā (Pul.: 23 [170:5], 40 [85:5]). The *Xin Tangshu*, a product of the Song era, was authored by Ouyang Xiu (d. 1072) and Song Qi (d. 1061), completed/presented in 1060 (Wilkinson 2018: 694). As a non-Sinologist using translations, with occasional checking in the original texts, references to chapters etc. I have given chapter references in keeping with the forms noted in the translations.
- 17 Zajączkowski 1949: 40, n. 32a; Rásonyi 1966–1969: 111; Pritsak 1982: 333, 335 (Аена); Pilipčuk 2014: 49. Some of the problems of this identification are noted in Golden 1984: 70–71, n. 82.
- 18 Deriving from Qitan, cf. the Cuman-Qıpçaq leader, Kytan [Кытанъ] noted in the events of 1095 (*PSRL* 1: 227). *Kitanopa* appears, along with other Cuman-Qıpçaq leaders who were

see Baskakov 1985: 84), Terteroba [Терътробичи], Toqsoba/Toğsoba [طقسبا طقصب، Токсобичи], Urusoba (See Zajączkowski 1949: 38–41; Golden 1995–1997: 108–109, 111, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120). Names ending in *-oba/-opa* or *-apa* were not limited to the Cuman-Ųipčaq. Among the Pečeneg chieftains in Hungary in the latter half of the tenth century, we find Tonuzoba (*Thonuzoba*, Györfly 1990: 109–110, 306; ‘de terra Byssenorum venit quidam miles de ducale progenie, cuius nomen fuit Thonuzoba’).<sup>19</sup>

*Kaepiči* < *Qay-apa* or *Qay-opa* was, thus, a name borne by a clan leader or the name of a tribal grouping based on the ethnonym *Qay*. Personal names based on ethnonyms are well known (cf. Китанора [Китанопа] noted above and others<sup>20</sup>). However, it is not clear from our sources whether \**Qay-opa* [-oba]/*Qay-apa* is an anthroponym or a kind of title indicating that its bearer is the leader of a grouping of *Qay*.

killed in the events of 1103 (*PSRL* I: 279; Zajączkowski 1949: 37–38). Sinor (1995: 263–264) presents an overview of this name, noting ‘four basic forms: *Kitan*, *Kitay*, *Katay*, *Katan*.’ Pace Sinor (1995: 266), китанопа does not appear in the *Slovo o Polku Igoreve*, but merely in Baskakov (1985: 84–85), which includes the Turkic words in the *Slovo* and in many other Old Rus’ sources. In Orxon Turkic runiform script this name was rendered as 𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸 *Qitʾaṇ* (eg. Küli Čor-E<sub>5</sub>; KT-E<sub>4</sub>; Aydın 2017: 137, 52). Shimunek (2017: 115) views this as representing *qitan*; Chin. 契丹 *Qidān* (EMC *kʰit tan*, Pul.: 248 [37:6], 70 [3:3]), Old Tibetan *ge-tan* and *ge-tang* (Venturi 2008: 24; Shimunek 2017: 117, 174) and in the Khitan Small Script: *qid.ún* (Kane 2009: 163–164), Old Khitan: *qʰitaṇ* (Shimunek 2017: 89, 199–200), see full discussion in Róna-Tas 2016: 157–169, who concludes that *qitan*, *qitai* and (pl.) *qitas* (< sing. *qita*?) are the forms found in Khitan texts.

19 Györfly 1990: 109 derives this name from Turk. *toɳuz* ‘pig,’ see Clauson 1972: 527) + *apa*. *Toɳuz* is attested as an anthroponym (see Rásonyi and Baski 2007/2: 778), but Tonuzoba/Tonuzapa et varia, is not noted among the Pečeneg tribal names recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his *De Administrando Imperio* (Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1967: 166–170), ‘a ragged patchwork’ with a variety of hands involved and carelessly edited by Constantine, see the comments of Howard-Johnston 2000: 301–336) completed ca. 952 and hence contemporaneous with Tonuzoba. The latter, then, would appear to be either a personal name or the name + title (*apa*) of a clan chieftain. Pritsak (1975: 221) maintained that Tonuzoba was the name of the Pečeneg ruling clan and was a Turkicized form of the ‘well known Iranian charismatic clan the ‘Boar’s family’ (\**parsa-/varāz-*) ...’ On Tonuzoba and his descendants, see Yücel 2020: 352, 448–449, 451, 473. The *Gesta Hungarum* (cited in Györfly 1990: 109) an anonymous work of ca. 1200, from which information on Tonuzoba derives, merely notes that he was a ‘certain soldier (*miles*) of ducal descent (*de ducale progenie*).’ There is no mention of Tonuzoba being the ruling clan of the Pečenegs. Important for our purposes is that names/title ending in *-oba/-apa* were not exclusive to the Cuman-Ųipčaq.

20 Cf. *Kuman* (Куман, *PSRL* I: 279), *Qazar*, *Hazar*, *Bay-Qazar*, *Čul-Qazar*, *Ųipčaq*, *Xipčaq-bay*/*Ųipčaq-bay*, *Ųirğiz*, *Ųirğiz-bay*, *Ųitay*, *Xitay-Behadur*, *Ųitay-Buqa*, *Nayman-bay*, *Nayman-tay*, *Oğuz-Bilgä* (Rásonyi and Baski 2007/2: 449, 455–457, 459, 562, 576, etc.).

*Qay* does not lend itself to a straightforward explanation on the basis of Turkic. In Old Turkic, *qay* meant 'street' and is a borrowing from Chinese 街 *jiē* EMC *kaij/ke:j* (Pul.: 153). Perhaps closer is Middle (Qipčaq) Turkic *qay* 'hail together with rain' (yağmur birlikte yağın dolu), recorded in the early fourteenth-century *Kitāb al-Idrāk*, 1931: 74, (Arabic) 77 [قاي]), preserved in Čağatay, *qay* as 'rain mixed with snow' (Ünlü 2013: 597; Budagov 11: 30, notes Osm. *kay* 'sil'nyj veter, burja, škval'<sup>21</sup> and Čağatay *qay* 'dožd', padajuščij s snegom' as in Ünlü, also Paçacıoğlu 2016: 353. Budagov cites another meaning 'sud'ba, predznamenovanie,' unnoted in Ünlü). In keeping with the category of ethnonyms based on powerful forces of nature, Németh (1991: 87–88) proffered an etymology of this name, based Turk. *qay* 'snowstorm.' *Qay*, it may be noted, stems from *qād* 'a snowstorm' noted in al-Kāšğarī (11: 375), where only the verb *qādmaq* is recorded: *är qādti* 'the man died in a blizzard.' It is preserved today in Southwestern/Oğuz Turkic languages (Anatol. dialect. *kay*, Trkm. *ğay*, Clauson 1972: 593; Gülensoy 2011/1: 481–482 and Çağbayır 2007/111: 2488). Al-Kāšğarī further comments that a dialect feature, the *d* > *y* shift,<sup>22</sup> is found among the Qay as well as the Yağma, Tuxsi, Qipčaq, Tatār, Čömül and Oğuz. Thus, *Qay* from Turk. *qay*- < *qad*- would seem possible. The Qay are not to be confused with the Oğuz clan/tribe (*batın, qabıla*) Qayı(ğ), clearly noted as Qayığ, not Qay, by al-Kāšğarī (1941: 40, 517; al-Kāšğarī 1982–1985, I: 101, II: 234; al-Kāšğarī 2010, 2016, I: 96, II: 311; see discussion in Köprülü 1943; 1944; 1925/2007; Eberhard 1947; Golden 2006–2007, esp. p. 21, n. 41). Since the dialect feature noted by Kāšğarī was shared by the Qipčaq and Oğuz, along with others, we cannot tell if the Turkic spoken by the Qay was Qipčaq, Oğuz or some other variant of Turkic. Al-Kāšğarī cites only two specific examples of Qay words: *qirñāq* 'slave girl' (found also in Yabāqu, Čömül, Basmil, Oğuz, Yimāk and Qipčaq) and *qāt* 'the berry of any thorny tree,' but in Yimāk, Qipčaq, Tatar and Čömül denoting 'the fruit of any tree whatsoever' (al-Kāšğarī 1982–1985/1: 353 [ms.238] II: 223 [ms.508]; Karahan 2013: 399, 423–424, who notes that *qirñāq* survives today in Oğuz, largely in Turkish dialects and Türkmen, but was used in Old Ottoman<sup>23</sup>).

21 Cf. Çağbayır 2007/111: 2488: *kay* [kād, kāy, قاي] 'Kar; kar fırtınası, tipi; Yaz yağmuru; Yağmur öncesi esen sert rüzgâr; bora, fırtına.'

22 Thus, *qadıñ* 'bitch' becomes *qayıñ*, etc.

23 Eren 1999: 239; Tietze 2016–2018/IV: 184. Clauson 1972: 661 notes it in Middle Qipčaq and Čağatay. Karahan suggests a relationship with Qırğız *qırqın* (actually *qırqın qız* a collective term for 'girls, daughters,' Judaxin 1965: 476) and Čuvaš *hürhüm* [xärkän / xärxäm / xärxän] < *qırqın* 'slave-girl.' Fedotov 1996/11: 333, noting Čağatay *qırqın* 'černye nevol'nicy,' Tatar and Baškir *qız-qırqın* 'devočki, devuški' i molodicy, historically 'nevol'nicy, služanki (zaxvačennyye na vojne i prevraščennyye v rabyn)' while also noting Osm. *qırqın* 'podavlenyj, pobeždennyj.' See also Blagova 2000: 237, 240–241. There does not appear to be any relationship between *qirñaq* and *qırqın*.

Al-Kāšġarī lists the *Qāy* among the ‘nomadic peoples,’ including also the Čöml, <sup>24</sup> Yabāqu, Tatār and Basmīl, <sup>25</sup> who speak Turkic well, but also have their own languages (al-Kāšġarī 1982–1985/1: 83, 85). Unfortunately, al-Kāšġarī does not cite any examples of the ‘other’ language of the Qay. Their bilingualism may date to the periods when they were under Türk rule. The Basmīl may have continued to speak a form of WOT/Oğuric (Golden 2006–2007: 34–35), distinct from EOT. The identification of these peoples poses, in some instances, more than a few problems (Golden 2015: 526–527). The Basmīl, led by their *İdoq/İduq Qut* and the Tatars (cf. Otuz Tatar, Toquz Tatar) are known from the Orxon Türk inscriptions (BQ-East<sub>25,29</sub> and KT-S<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>4,14</sub>, BQ-N<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>5,12</sub>, Aydın 2017: 89, 91; 47, 52, 55) where they are often listed alongside the Khitan/Qitañ<sup>26</sup> and Tatabī/Tatawī, more on them below) and from the Uyğur runiform inscriptions (Terxin/Taryat-S<sub>4</sub>, N<sub>2,4</sub>, Šine Usu-S<sub>4,7,12,13</sub>, E<sub>1,3,6,8</sub>, W<sub>2,8</sub>, Aydın 2018: 43, 47, 48, 60, 61, 62; 54, 55, 56, 57, 63, 65), erected ca. 753 and 758/760 respectively. Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 140) suggest that the Qay are recorded in the Terxin/Taryat inscription, N<sub>3,4</sub>. However, the text is open to a variety of readings: *toŋra da ... baš qay aw<a> baš üč qarluq ... toquz bayırqu aq baš ara basmıl toquz tatar* (Aydın 2018: 47, 48, and User 2010: 160 view them as a tribe), *toŋra ęde ... lq liq qay liq ąva liq* and *toquz bayırqu aq baš qay ąva basmıl toquz tatar* (Ölmez 2018: 81, 84, who views it as a personal name) or *toŋrada baš (?) qaybaš (?)* and *toquz bayarqu, qayra basmıl toquz tatar* Kljaštornyj (2010: 39, 42–43) suggests ‘Baš Qaybaš (?)’ from the Toŋra tribe’ in a listing of tribes and peoples including the Toquz Oğuz, Basmıl and Toquz Tatar. Thus, it is unclear from the fragmentary text whether *Baş Qay* refers to a tribe or a person.

24 They are perhaps, the 處蜜 Chù mì EMC *te<sup>hi</sup>ä’ mjit* LMC *tš<sup>hi</sup>ä’ /tš<sup>hi</sup>yä’ mjit* (Pul.: 60 [141:5], 213 [142:8]) of the *Jiu Tangshu* and other Chinese sources (Chavannes 1969: 21; 28; 31–33 et *passim*) who were part of the Türk realm, although this is far from certain. Pelliot (1929: 222) read it Čöml, Čümül, \*Čömil, Harmatta (1992: 266) as: \*Čöml.

25 The Basmıl 𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰤 B<sup>sm</sup>l, Chin. 拔思母 Bāsīmū EMC *bait/bet si/sit maw* LMC *pha:t sz maw* (Pulleyblank: 27 [64:5], 291 [61:5], 219 [80:1]), 拔悉密 Bāxīmi EMC *bait/bet sit mit* LMC *pha:t sit mit* (Pulleyblank: 27 [64:5], 330 [61:7], 213 [40:8]), *peat sjet mjet* (Jiu Tangshu 2005: 378); MC *beat sit mit* (Kroll 2015: 6, 484, 304), Middle Old Tibet. *basmel* (Venturi 2008: 28; Shimunek 2017: 115), ruled during the Türk era by a branch of the Ashina, the Türk royal house, and briefly successors of the latter (742–744) until they were toppled by the Uyğurs, are noted by the *Liaoshi* 42, 29b (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 95) as consisting of two groups during the eleventh century, one ‘outer’ and the other ‘near’ to the Khitan/Liao Empire. One of these groupings, it would appear, figured in the Qay-Qun migration (see below). Tišin 2014: 132 reads the name as *Basmal*.

26 *Khitan* (< *Qitan*) has become the most common version of this name in the recent literature and will be used here, except when quoting a specific text.



Al-Kāšgarī's comments on the bilingualism of the Qay and the identification of the Inner Asian Qay with the Tatabi/Tatawī, as can be seen from the matching of Chinese accounts with events noted in the Türk inscriptions, as well as the presence of an individual or grouping bearing the name *Kitanopa*, noted above, point us to the Para-Mongolic or Serbi-Mongolic milieu from which the Khitan/Qitañ and Qay/Tatabi/Tatawī emerged and to which we should turn.

## 1 The Qay<sup>27</sup>

The Qay derived from the 東胡 Dōnghú,<sup>28</sup> the two principal groupings of which were the 鮮卑 Xiānbēi,<sup>29</sup> i.e. *Sārbi/Serbi* and 烏桓 Wūhuán.<sup>30</sup> The Xianbei/Serbi and Wuhuan were pastoral nomads and hunters, who also practiced (millet) agriculture. The Chinese accounts describe them as divided into 邑落 *yìluò*

- 27 I have discussed the Qay previously (Golden 1985 [1987]: 16–22; 2005: 254–256, and 2015: 527–529) and would like to expand on some aspects of the question in this article, paying particular attention to attested anthroponyms, titles and clan/tribe/group names.
- 28 'Eastern Hu', a term that appears as early as 307 BCE, very probably denoting a large grouping of related tribes, living to the east of the Xiongnu, who were often termed *hú* 胡 (Taskin 1984: 39); Schuessler (2007: 281): *hú* 胡 MC *ɣuo* OC *gâ* LH *ga* 'Steppe nomads ... etymology unknown.' Atwood (2015: 047–049) argues that *hú* (*gâ*, *ga*), a term frequently used for and by the Xiongnu was, in fact, *gai*. 奚 *\*ɣei* was simply a new transcription of it because 'the original Qa(i) had become unrecognizable to Chinese ears and eventually a new Chinese transcription was needed.'
- 29 OC *\*s[a]rpe* MC *šen.pje* (Baxter and Sagart 2014: 261–262, 346): 'Sārbi.' LH *sian-pie*, MC *šjān pjie* (Schuessler 2009: 248 [23–21a], 177 [7–29a]), EMC *sian pjiā/pji*: *\*Sārbi/\*Širvi/\*Sārvi* (Pul.: 334 [195:6], 31 [24:6]; Pulleyblank 1983: 452–453). Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 165–166, n. 730), suggest that this ethnonym or exonym may consist of Mong. *\*sir(a) ~ \*šir(a) ~ šar(a)* < Proto-Mongolic *sira* 'yellow' + Altaic *\*béje* 'man, self, body'; PTung., Mong. *\*beje* 'person, man,' EDAL 1: 335, 11: 1264) > Mongolic and 'probably' Tunguso-Manchurian postposition *-bi ~ -vi* denoting 'person, people ... one's own.' In Tabgac and Khitan a *se- > ši-* shift occurred as reflected in Late Khitan *širbi*, 'a perjoration of the name of the *\*Širβi/\*Širwi* < Serbi 鮮卑' (Shimunek 2017: 288).
- 30 烏桓 Wūhuán: OC *ʔâ wân* LH *ʔa yuan* MC *ʔuo ɣwân* (Schuessler 2009: 51 [1–28a], 268 [25–16a], 267 [25–12f]; de Crespigny 2010: 227, n. 43). Pulleyblank (1983: 446, 452–454) identified EMC *ʔo-ɣwan* < *\*ʔâ-ɣwân* with the Avars (see below). See, however, the name under which they are recorded in the Chinese sources: 柔然 Róurán OC *nu nan*, LH *nú nán*, MC *níjəu níjjan* (Schuessler 2009: 180 [13–48a], 258 [24–36ab]); EMC *nuw nian* (Pul.: 267 [75:5], 264 [86:8]); MC *nyuw nyen* (Kroll 2015: 389, 383); *\*ziu zian* (Hoong 2005: 13). On the ongoing contentious 'Avar' problem, see Golden (2013: 43–66) and Pohl (2018). Yıldırım (2015: 61–63) attempted to connect *Rouran* with Mod. Turkish *cüce* 'dwarf; chicklet' but this is a loanword from Fārsī *jūja* 'chicklet' (Çağbayır 2007/1: 838). The history of the Wuhuan is discussed in detail by de Crespigny (1984: 355–416) and briefly by de Crespigny (2010: 227–236).

'settlements',<sup>31</sup> each under a 小帥 *xiǎoshuài* 'lesser chief' led in turn by an elected 大人 *dàrén* 'elder, chieftain' (which Xu 2005: 125 renders as 'supreme chieftain,' *Hou Hanshu*<sup>32</sup> 90.2994) who settled affairs. This was initially not a hereditary position, but by the late second century, after the death of the paramount Xianbei leader, 檀石槐, *Tánshíhuái*<sup>33</sup> (131?–181/136–180), the position of *daren* became hereditary with lineal and lateral succession. Several hundred or thousands of 落 *luò*<sup>34</sup> formed a 部 *bù* 'tribe'<sup>35</sup> (*Hou Hanshu* 90.1a, 228.120.1a; Taskin 1984: 63; Xu 2005: 42–43; Kyčanov 2010: 64, 68). An early 'Serbi' leader, [柯]比能 *[Kē]bǐnéng*,<sup>36</sup> is noted in the period 233–237 (Taskin 1984: 51, 54, 163, 324–325, n. 14; Xu 2005: 25–26, 42, 73, 91). The Serbi spoke a language that was 'collaterally related to Proto-Mongolic,' a language/language grouping that Janhunen (2003: 391–402) termed 'Para-Mongolic.' Shimunek slightly rephrased the nature of this relationship by describing Mongolic and Para-Mongolic as 'divergently related' and terms them the 'Serbi-Mongolic Language Family,' 'separate branches of a single language family' and dates 'Proto-Serbi-Mongolic,' the distant ancestor tongue to ca. seventh century BCE to ca. second century BCE. The Donghu were speakers of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic. 'Old Serbi' (ca. second century BCE–second century CE) was spoken by the Xianbei/Serbi from the era of Tanshihuai to Kebineng (Shimunek 2017: 14–17, 68, 76, 415). He gives an analysis of the remnants of the Middle Serbi language (ca. mid-third century–ca. ninth century CE) on pp. 121–168 of his study. According to Shimunek (2017: 68–77 with schema of Serbi-Mongolic periodization), Pre-Proto-Mongolic is dated to ca. second century BCE–ca. seventh century

31 邑落 *yìluò* 'village, settlement; tribe' (Ošanin 1983–1984/IV: 357).

32 *Hou Hanshu* by Fan Ye (d. 445), completed 445 (Wilkinson 2018: 694).

33 OC *dân dak gruī*, LH *dan dzak yuəi, yuəi* (Schuessler 2009: 256 [24–23e], 69 [2–17a], 291 [28–11]); NLOC *dařdagǵway* to be reconstructed as *dardaway* or *daldaway*, son of 投鹿侯 *Tóulùhóu* OC *dô rôk gô*, LH *do lok go* (Schuessler 2009: 150 [10–21c], 159 [11–16a], 146 [10–6a]); NLOC *duruggu* (Shimunek 2017: 46–47).

34 落 *luò* 'dwelling, habitation, refuge, haven, shelter' (Ošanin 1983–1984/II: 527 [2288]).

35 部 (*bù*) denotes 'portion, section ... division', etc. (Kroll 2015: 30, also Ošanin 1983–1984/II: 776 [3487]). Xu (2005: 118) remarks that *bù* 'does not necessarily mean 'tribe', it possibly means 'part', 'section' or 'unit'. See discussion in Togan (2015: 88–117).

36 OC *kâi piʔ/pih, bih nâi/nâh, nâh*, LH *ka < kai piʔ/piʔ, biʔ nâ(ŋ)/nâh* MC *kâ piʔ 4/ piʔ 4, biʔ 4 nâh/nâh* (Schuessler 2009: 210 [18–1a], 284 [26–38g], 116 [16–18a]); Shimunek (2017: 51) notes him as someone who united 'several Serbi clans around 225 A.D.' and n. 71, 76: NLOC *\*kʰaypyiyɣʷdax* = Old Serbi *\*qʰaypirdax* or 'more likely' *\*qhayppirdax*, which he compares with Modern Written Mong. *qabir*- 'to grind one's teeth, strike, argue, quarrel with others' + (Middle Mong.) *-dag* ('habitual verbal noun suffix'), but given that *qabir*- is found only in Modern Written Mongol, concludes that 'this etymology remains at the level of speculation.'

CE, followed by Proto-Mongolic (ca. seventh-early tenth century CE), the latter associated with the 蒙兀 Měngwù [LMC \*məwŋʷgwar] / 蒙瓦 Měngwǎ [\*məwŋʷgwai], a distinct ‘separate’ subgrouping of the 室韋 Shìwéi;<sup>37</sup> the latter were largely Serbi-speaking. Serbi may well have possessed its own writing system, but no texts in it have, thus far, been found. (Shimunek 2017: 121–122). Tabḡač, Tuyuhun/Togon and Khitan are ‘all daughter languages of a common proto-language, Proto-Serbi-Mongolic,’ which had contacts with speakers of ‘Late Old Chinese, Japanese-Koguryoic, Tibeto-Burman and possibly Indo-European’ attested by ‘shared lexical items.’ Contact with Turkic came subsequently (Shimunek 2017: 284, 384, 414–415). The language of the Qay should be included among the Serbi languages.

The Serbi, coming from an earlier homeland in ‘southeastern Inner Mongolia and the Liao-hsi region,’<sup>38</sup> migrated to Mongolia after the Xiongnu had been defeated by the Han during the reign of Emperor Hé (漢和帝 Hàn Hé Dì 89–105 CE) and fled (*Hou Hanshu* 90.2986, see Shimunek 2017: 412–413; Taskin 1984: 45, 71; Taşağıl 2020: 217–228 [on the course of the wars against the Xiongnu]). They practiced agriculture, raised pigs and hunted wild boar, were skilled archers on horseback, made baskets and products from Chinese silk (Shimunek 2017: 414).

The Qay, first recorded as the 庫莫奚 Kùmò Xī (see below),<sup>39</sup> are mentioned earliest in the *Weishu*<sup>40</sup> (100.2222, see Taskin 1984: 142; Xu 2005: 163; Atwood

- 37 室韋 MC *šjet jwei*, (Schuessler 2009: 299 [29–15j], 192 [28–5a]); EMC *cit wuj*, LMC *šit yj* (Pul.: 285 [40:6], 320 [170:0]); 室韋 Shìwéi *cit yjui* (*Tangshu* 2005: 346). Shimunek (2017: 64) regards Shìwéi: \**širwi* / \**širβi* as a later rendering of Serbi. Cf. Late Kitan \**širbi* ‘slaves’ (a pejorative form of the endonym \**širβi*—by this time ‘a heterogenous multi-lingual, multi-ethnic confederation.’) The languages spoken by the ‘dominant tribes’ of the Xī/Qay, Khitan and Shiwei were closely related, if not dialects of a common Serbi tongue, although other languages (including Mongolic and Tungusic) were present in the union, as Shimunek (2017: 64–65) notes. Already Pelliot (1920–1921: 326–331) identified the Shiwei with the Xianbei/Serbi. See also Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 165, n. 730). The *Jiu Tangshu* (199.5356) and *Xin Tangshu* (219.6176) both note the Shiwei as a ‘collateral branch’ (別種 *bié zhǒng* ‘separate clan/tribe’) of the Khitan (Xu 2005: 176) and hence of the Qay as well.
- 38 Shimunek (2017: 414) further refines this as ‘eastern and southern Inner Mongolia, possibly extending into Amdo, northeastern Inner Mongolia, and the territory of present-day northeastern China.’ Rykin (2019: 288) following Janhunen (1996: 232) places the ‘ultimate homeland’ of the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic linguistic community ‘in the western half of Southern Manchuria’, in the territories of the Khitan and Kumoxi, south of the Shiwei. Of the Mongolic languages today, Dagur, in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, is deemed to descend from a Serbi (Khitanic) language (Shimunek 2017: 67–68; Rybatzki 2020: 24).
- 39 To prevent confusion, Xī is used to transcribe 奚 to distinguish them from the 霫 Xī (on the latter see below).
- 40 By Wei Shou (d. 572) published/presented to the court in 551–554 (Wilkinson 2018: 694).

2015: 049, 062, n. 44) in Inner Mongolia-Manchuria (Liaoning region) extending to Hebei, where they are noted as deriving from a ‘separate branch’ of the eastern 宇文 Yǔwén.<sup>41</sup> They were defeated in 344 (Weishu 103.2305; Taskin 1984: 142, 366, n. 2; Xu 2005: 5–7, 10, 88–89, 92, 157, 166) by the 慕容 Mùróng<sup>42</sup> (= *baglō*). Both were associated with the Xianbei/Sārbi/Serbi. The Murong, the ‘eponymous clan of one of the most influential clans in Serbi history,’ gave rise to a number of states or statelets in northeastern China, the most important—and long-lived—of which was that of the \**Togon*, Chin. 吐谷渾 Tǔyùhún,<sup>43</sup> termed in Tibetan *Azha*, deriving from the western Xianbei. They became an important regional power from the third century until they were roundly defeated by the Tang in 635 (Beckwith 1987: 17–22; Marsone 2011: 50), but continued on in subordinate roles into the eighth century. They spoke a form of Middle Serbi (Shimunek 2017: 50, 54; 169–172). In 388, the Northern Wei/Tuoba/Tabgač administered a crushing defeat to the Kumo Xi and Khitan ‘tribal complex’ deriving from the Yuwen, resulting in their becoming separate entities (Weishu 100.2222, 2223; Taskin 1984: 142, 154; Xu 2005: 6–7, 28, 157–158, 165–167, 208, 258, 263–264, 268; *Beishi* 94, 14v<sup>o</sup> Mullie 1976: 80).

The Yuwen had come to the fore under 葛烏菟 Gěwūtú,<sup>44</sup> who lived in latter half of the first century CE. He was chosen as their ruler (主 *zhǔ*, *Zhoushu* 1.1, Xu 2005: 26, 88–89; Taskin 1984: 45, citing the *Xin Tangshu* 50.71.48a). The

- 41 OC \*[ɣ]<sup>w</sup>(r)aʔ \*mǝ[n], MC *hjuX mjun* (Baxter and Sagart 2014a: 142, 116); OC *waʔ mǝn* LH *wa<sup>B</sup> mun* (Schuessler 2009: 50 [1–23h], 332 [33–36a]); EMC *wuaʔ mun* (Pul.: 382 [40:3], 323 [67:0]); Shimunek (2017: 43, 53): NLOC \**waʔm<sup>B</sup>bar*.
- 42 OC *mǎh!loŋ* LH *ma<sup>C</sup> joŋ* MC *muo<sup>C</sup> jiwoŋ* (Schuessler 2009: 74 [2–40h], 166 [12–11a]) OC \*(C)m<sup>ʔ</sup>ak-s \*[ɣ](r)oŋ MC *muH yowng* (Baxter and Sagart 2014: 226, 357/Baxter and Sagart 2014a: 160, 154); EMC *mǝ<sup>h</sup> juawŋ* LMC *muǎ<sup>h</sup> jywŋ* (Pul.: 220 [61:11], 267 [40:7]); Shimunek (2017: 50): NLOC \**mbaglō*.
- 43 LH *t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>B/C</sup> kok ɣuǝn* MC *t<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>B/C</sup> kuk ɣwǝn* (Schuessler 2009: 53 [1–36d], 158 [11–14a], 335 [34–13b]); *Togon*, EMC *t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup> juawk ɣwǝn* LMC *t<sup>h</sup>uǎ<sup>h</sup> jyw<sup>k</sup> xhun* Pul.: 312 [30:3], 385 [150:0], 135 [85:9]), Shimunek (2017: 183, 196) transcribed into Old Tibetan as *t<sup>h</sup>ugon*, Northern EMC *t<sup>h</sup>ɔkyuawgyoʔ* and 退渾 Tuihún in Sui-Tang era = LMC *t<sup>h</sup>wǝɣwǝn* = \**t<sup>h</sup>ɔɣwǝn*, which Shimunek compares with Mong. *toyǝn* ‘gyrfalcon.’ Vovin (2015: 157–166) demonstrated that that Tuyuhun ‘has more Para-Mongolic than Mongolic features.’ Vovin gives preference to EMC readings rather than LH.
- 44 OC *kǎt ʔǎ lâ* LH *kat ʔa da* (Schuessler 2009: 230 [21–11], 51 [1–28ad], 56 [1–46c]); EMC *kat ʔǎ do* (Pul.: 106 [140:0], 325 [86:6], 312 [140:8]). Shimunek (2017: 43) suggests: Northeastern EMC \**karǎdo*. The *Xin Tangshu* (71b.48a; Taskin 1984: 365, n. 1) says Gewutu, a descendant of the *chanyu* of the Southern Xiongnu, became the ruler of the Xianbei. According to the *Zhoushu*, 1.1 by Linghu Defen, completed/presented in 636 (Wilkinson 2018: 694), 普回 Pūhuí OC *phǎʔ wǎi* [Baxter: *wǎj*] LH *p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>B</sup> yuǎi* MC *p<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>B</sup> ɣwǎi* (Schuessler 2009: 60 [1–64a], 292 [28–4a]), NEMC *p<sup>h</sup>oɣɣway* (Shimunek 2017: 43) a successor of Gewutu gave his people the name *Yuwen* meaning ‘celestial sovereign’ (Shimunek 2017: 43 reconstructs

Yuwen for a time constituted a major force among the eastern Xianbei. When the Xianbei ruler Tanshihuai, who emerged after the collapse of the Xiongnu in 155 CE, divided his territories, in 166, into three zones, east, west and center, the Yuwen were in control of the eastern zone (*Qidan quozhi*<sup>45</sup> 1979: 20, with the comments of Taskin based on *Hou Hanshu* 90.15a, see also Taskin 1984: 52, 365, based on *Xin Tangshu* 50.71b.48a). They, or their leading clan, were said to be of 匈奴 *Xiōngnú*<sup>46</sup> origin. Indeed, the *Weishu* (103.2304) expressly states that their language differed sharply from that of the Xianbei (Taskin 1984: 45, 51–52, 365–366; Xu 2005: 26, 89–94, 97; Marsone 2011: 35, 39). They ruled “parts of northeastern China, from the mid-third to the late fourth century.” Shimunek (2017: 53–54) refers to the Yuwen as ‘Serbi’ and considers their language to be ‘divergently related to Tabghach and other Serbi dialects ... unless ... the early Yü-wen may have shifted from a ‘different’ language to Serbi.’ Taskin (1984: 52–53) views the Kumo Xi and Khitan as Xianbei groupings ruled by the Xiongnu-derived Yuwen. The Chinese accounts are not entirely clear. In any event, Shimunek (2017: 76) considers them speakers of a Middle Serbi

this term as \**waʃ* [or *ʃk*] *ʃbər*). He had a son 莫那 *Mòna* OC *māk* LH *mak na*<sup>c</sup> MC *māk nā*<sup>c</sup> (Schuessler 2009: 74 [2–40d], 215 [18–12]), var. 莫珪, *Mòguī*, 莫魔 *Mòguī*/*Mòwěi* {魔 *guí*, alt. *huì* becomes *wěi*, when used in personal names} OC *māk kwé* ? LH *mak kue*? MC *māk kiwei*? (Schuessler 2009: 74 [2–40d], 122 [7–8abc], 魔 has not yet been reconstructed. On this personage, see Xu 2005: 26, 27, 85; Marsone 2011: 35, 190, n. 95). He is reported to have brought the Yuwen to 遼西 *Liaoxi*. A number of Yuwen chieftains ruling 318–385 are noted: 悉獨官 *Xīdúguān* OC *gê dôk kwân* LH *ge dok kuan* MC *ɣiei duk kwân* (Schuessler 2009: 120 [7–1d], 158 [11–12i], 265 [25–1a]), 侯豆歸 *Hóudòuguī* OC *gô dôh kwai* LH *go do*<sup>c</sup> *kui* MC *ɣəu dau*<sup>c</sup> *kjwei* (Schuessler 2009: 146–147 [10–6a], 149 [10–16a], 291 [28–2a]), 乞得龜 *Qǐdéguī* OC *khət tək kwā* R! LH *kʰiət tək kui* < *kwiə* ~ *ku* MC *kʰjət tək kjwi* 3 (Schuessler 2009: 305 [30–1f], 108 [5–11d], 93 [4–6a]), 逸豆歸 *Yìdòuguī* OC *lit dôh kwai* LH *jit do*<sup>c</sup> *kui* MC *jiet dau*<sup>c</sup> *kjwei* (Schuessler 2009: 300 [29–19a]), 149 [10–16a]), 乞特歸 *Qǐtèguī* OC *khət dək kwai* LH *kʰiət dek kui* MC *kʰjət dək kjwei* (Schuessler 2009: 305 [30–1f], 98 [4–26h], 149 [10–16a]). Accounts of Yuwen origins differ slightly. The *Liaoshi* (63.949, 63.951) places Houdougui, nine generations after Mona as the ruler who following a crushing defeat of the Xianbei at the hands of the Murong (344), ‘broke up into’ (散) the Yuwen, Khitan and Kumo Xi (Wittfogel and Shêng 1949: 1–2, n. 9, 470; Taskin 1984: 51, 365–366, n. 1; Xu 2005: 5, 7, 27, 90, 92; Marsone 2011: 35, 190, n. 97 [after the defeat by the Murong], ‘forma le clan des Yuwen qui se composait des Khitan et des Kumo Xi’).

45 By Ye Longli, dated 1247.

46 Among the recent reconstructions of this much discussed ethnonym, see Atwood, 2015: 045, who opts for an original: \**Xoŋa(i)*), which he derives from a hydronym Old Chin. \**hoŋ-nā*, \**Xoŋa* or var. \**Xoŋai*—The river in question is the Ongi in southern Mongolia. Beckwith (2018: 53–75), suggests *Xiōngnú* 匈奴: OC \**Suyda* ~ \**Suyla* < ‘Eastern Scythian dialect forms’ \**Suyda* ~ \**Suyla* ultimately going back to ‘Scythian’ ~ \**Skula* < Proto-Iran. \**skuḍa* ‘shooter, archer.’ He concludes that the Xiongnu were Scythians.

dialect. Descendants of the Yuwen founded the short-lived 北周 Northern Zhou (557–581) dynasty, which succumbed to the 隋 Sui (581–618, see Xiong 2009: 384).

The *Weishu* (100.2222, cf. also the much later *Liaoshi*<sup>47</sup> 63.951, Xu, 2005: 27–28, 97–99, 163, 175; Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 84, n. 4; Taskin 1984: 135, 142) reports that the 庫莫奚 *Kùmò Xī* were a ‘collateral branch’ (別種 *bié zhǒng*, Liu renders it as ‘ein besonderer Stamm von den Ost-Hu’), of the eastern section of the Yuwen.<sup>48</sup> The later *Beishi* (94.3126), says much the same (Xu 2005: 97–98; Shimunek 2017: 61). The *Suishu*<sup>49</sup> (84.1881; Taskin 1984: 143) and the *Xin Tangshu* (219.6173, Taskin 1984: 148, 369, n. 1) underscore their Donghu > Xianbei origins. The Xiongnu under their 單 *chányú*,<sup>50</sup> 冒頓 *Mòdùn*<sup>51</sup> (*Hou Hanshu* 90.1a/90.2979; Taskin 1984: 63; Xu 2005: 124–125, 164; Taşağıl 2020: 43–46), administered a crushing defeat, ca. 206/207 BCE, on the Donghu, resulting in their breakup into the Wūhuán and the Xianbei, the former seeking refuge in the 烏丸 *Wūwán*/烏桓 *Wuhuan*<sup>52</sup> Mountains, from which, according to the *Hou Hanshu*, they took their name. They alternated as subjects of the Xiongnu

47 By Tuotuo (Toǵto), d. 1355, completed/presented in 1344 (Wilkinson 2018: 694).

48 The *Beishi* (94.3126), by Li Yanshou, completed/presented in 659 (Wilkinson 2018: 694), repeats this terming them ‘a collateral branch of the eastern section of the Hu, the Yuwen’ (Xu 2005: 163; Liu 1958/11: 564, n. 63, 4). The *Zhoushu* (49.7a in Liu, noted above, Taskin 1984: 144) also notes them as a ‘separate tribe’ (別種 *bié zhǒng*) of the Xianbei, which is repeated in the *Tongdian* by Du You, d. 812 (Wilkinson 2018: 718 (200.5484); Liu 1958/11: 564, n. 634; Xu 2005: 163). The *Jiu Tangshu* (199.5354), however, derives them ‘from a collateral branch of the Xiongnu’ (Taskin 1984: 144; Xu 2005: 164). The *Jiu Tangshu* by Liu Xu (d. 946), was completed/presented in 945 (Wilkinson 2018: 694).

49 By Wei Zheng (d. 643) completed/presented in 636 (Wilkinson 2018: 694).

50 Denoting supreme leader, a title later replaced by Qaǵan. 單于 previously usually rendered as Shanyu = OC \**dan wa*, LH *džan wa*, MC *ǰǰǎn ju* or OC \**tân wa*, LH *tan wa* MC *tân ju* (Schuessler 2009: 255 [24–21az, a], 50 [1–23a], Baxter and Sagart 2014: 331: *tan hju*); EMC \**džian wuǎ* (Pul.: 48 [30:9], 381 [7:1]). Numerous attempts have been made to find various Inner Asian titles (*jabǵu*/*yabǵu*, *tarxan*) in these reconstructions. Most recently Beckwith (2009: 387, n. 7) suggests that the OC reconstruction rendered ‘something like’ \**darǵa* and then \**danǵa* which he compares with the later Činggisid-era Mongol title *daruǵači* in Yuan China (*daruǵa* elsewhere). Baxter and Sagart (2014: 260, 331) have: MC *dzyen.hju* < W. Han *dar-fiʷa* (< OC [*d*]ar + *cʷ(r)a*). Vovin (2020: 315–322) based on a Xiongnu inscription in Chinese characters has: 單于 Early Han *dar fiʷa* = 1\**darqʷa* which he derives from Yeniseic \**tar* ‘North’, \**qʷa* ‘ruler’ (see also Vovin 2007: 181–184).

51 OC \**māk tũns*, LH \**māk tuən*<sup>c</sup> (Schuessler 2009: 113 [5–37a], 336 [34–17j]), Beckwith 2009: 387, n. 8 = \**baǵtur* > \**baǵatur* of the Chinese accounts, cf. Beckwith and Kiyose (2018: 154): MC \**māk twən*<sub>3</sub> < OChi. *m̐baǵatur* Old. Iran. *Baga* ‘god, lord’; + unidentified morpheme \**tur* ~ \**twir*, a Central Eurasian culture word *bayatur*/*bogatur*. OC \**māk tũns*, LH \**māk tuən*<sup>c</sup> (Schuessler 2009: 113 [5–37a], 336 [34–17j]).

52 烏丸 *Wūwán* and 烏桓 *Wūhuán* render the same forms: OC ?*ǎ wán* LH ?*a yuan* MC ?*uo*

or the Han (whom they periodically served as cavalry forces), often functioning as a buffer between the Han and the Xiongnu. 曹操 Cáo Cāo (d. 220, the de facto power-holder behind the Later Han) killed the Wuhuan leader (de Crespigny 2010: 227 terms his polity ‘a loose confederacy’) 蹋頓 Tàdùn,<sup>53</sup> the nephew and successor of 丘里居 Qiūlǐjū<sup>54</sup> (d. ca. 193), in 207 (*Hou Hanshu* [90.1a8a], *Sanguo zhi*<sup>55</sup> [30.1a–7b], Taskin 1984: 68, 69, 80, 83–85, 369, n. 1; *Xin Tangshu* [219.6173], Taskin 1984: 148, 369; Xu 2005: 100, 164 in notices on the Wuhuan, Xianbei and Kumo Xi respectively). Following Tadun’s defeat and death,<sup>56</sup> the Wuhuan ‘lost importance.’ Some remained an occasionally troubling element in the Chinese steppe border zone; some stayed in the Liaodong region, yet others may have been incorporated into the Koguryō state and substantial numbers were settled within China proper. Their history, as de Crespigny noted, ‘would be continued only as part of the Xianbi confederacies and the great empires that followed them’ (de Crespigny 1984: 414–416). Shimunek (2017: 57) suggests that elements of them became part of the Serbi, noting that their ethnonym, 烏丸 Wūwán appears in the *Weishu* (113.3008) as the name of a Serbi clan. The name is also subsequently found among Tabgač surnames (Hao 2020: 526). Whether they served as the or a source for the Rouran/Avar, as Pulleyblank in his reconstruction of their name implies (see above), remains an interesting conjecture. Most relevant from our perspective, they may also have been a source for the Qay. The *Jiu Tangshu* (199.5354), as was noted, describes the Xī as ‘a collateral branch of the Xiongnu’ (Taskin 1984: 144; Xu 2005: 164). The *Xin Tangshu* implies a connection of the Xī with the Wuhuan (*Xin Tangshu* 219.6173, Taskin 1984: 148; Xu 2005: 164). Xu (2005: 163–165) argues on the basis of the notices on Tadun that the ‘Kumo Xi or at least part of the Kumo Xi were probably the descendants of the Wuhuan who submitted to, and were under Yuwen control, even though the evidence I can provide is limited.’ Interestingly, Middle Khitan notes the Qay as *Qai Awr.ñ*, which may be a compound form of Qay and [Wuhuan] Awar (Shimunek 2017: 423, 437–438, n. 99; Kane 2009: 73 reads it as *qi.ii.ñ*). While

ywân/ 烏桓 Wūhuán OC ?â wân LH ?a yuan MC ?uo ywân (Schuessler 2009: 51 [1–28a], 268 [25–16a]/267 [25–12f]; de Crespigny 2010: 227, n. 43; Shimunek 2017: 82, 146); NWei \*âγwā and NLOC \*âγwār, respectively.

53 OC *dâp tûns* LH *dap tuən*<sup>c</sup> Schuessler, 2009: 343 [35–7b], 336 [34–17j]; EMC *tʰap/tʰap twən*<sup>h</sup> LMC *tʰap tun*<sup>h</sup> (Pul.: 299 [157:8], 84 [181:4]); Shimunek 2017: 56; NLOC \**daptoŕs*.

54 OC *khwə R!* [Baxter: \**kʰhjə*] *rə?* [Baxter: \**C-rjə?*] *ka?*, *kah* LH *kʰu < kʰwuə R!* *liʰ < liəʰ kiə < kia* MC *kʰjəu liʰ*<sup>B</sup> *kjwo* (Schuessler 2009: 95 [4–14a], 100 [4–35a], 46 [1–1c]); Shimunek 2017, p. 55); NLOC *kʰurikka* reconstructed as *khuriqa/kʰuriqa* or *qhuriqa/qhuriqa*, possibly cognate to Middle Mongol *quriqa-n* ‘lamb.’

55 *Sanguo zhi* by Chen Shou (d. 297), compiled 264–280, presented 297 (Wilkinson 2018: 694).

56 de Crespigny (2010: 227–236) has a detailed discussion of Tadun’s defeat.

the Wuhuan connection remains a possibility, what is clear is that in a general sense the Xī descended from largely Serbi-Mongolic-speaking groups of Xianbei-Donghu origin.

This phase of Qay history may be summarized as follows: following the Murong campaign of 344, the Khitan and Kumo Xi components of the Yuwen fled to the 松漠 Sōngmò region of Inner Mongolia<sup>57</sup> and in the aftermath of an attack on them by the Tuoba Wei in 388, they fled yet again and split into two separate groups: the Khitan and Kumo Xi, the latter were west of the Khitan (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 471; Mullie 1976: 76; Taskin 1984: 155; Xu 2005: 7, 27–28, 88–89, 166–167; Marsone 2011: 40). This report is most fully presented in the *Suishu*<sup>58</sup> (84, 19a; Taskin 1984: 142, 143, 155, 366, n. 3; see also Xu 2005: 165 [*Liaoshi* 63.949], 166, 167, 258, 263–264, 268). Xu (2005: 7, 157–158), underscores 388, ‘when the Kumo Xi were defeated by the Northern Wei,’ suffering heavy losses (reported in the *Weishu* 100.2222; Taskin 1984: 142, some four 部落 *bùluò* here denoting ‘nomadic encampments’ were taken as well as 100,000 livestock), as the event that separated the Kumo Xi from the Khitan, both thereafter becoming politically distinct polities, whose history, nonetheless, was frequently intertwined. The *Weishu* (100.222, 2223, repeated in *Liaoshi* 63.951) comments that they ‘were of different origins but belonged to the same ethnic stock’ (Taskin 1984: 155, 186; Xu 2005: 28–29).

The *Xin Tangshu* (219.4b; Taskin 1984: 148, 369, n. 2; Marsone 2011: 192, n. 6) reports that during the period of the 北魏 Northern Wèi/拓跋魏 Tuòbá<sup>59</sup> Wèi/Tabğaç (386–534), the Xī called themselves 庫真系 *Kùzhēnxi*.<sup>60</sup> Eberhard (1942: 41) and Marsone (2011: 40, 192, n. 6, 193, n. 15) note the title of a Xī chief, 虞出庫真 Yúchū,<sup>61</sup> the *Kuzhen* of the Qay. Marsone views *Kuzhen* as ‘un titre de fonctionnaire mal identifié,’ found elsewhere, but did not consider it likely that there was a connection between the title *kuzhen* and Kuzhenxi). They

57 Defined by Xu (2005: 10) as the ‘area south of the Shira Muren and east of the Laoha,’ i.e. where the Shira Muren and Laoha converge. Marsone (2011: 40) notes this region as ‘aux contours mal définis,’ but in the old Xianbei territory. 漠 mò ‘desert,’ as Taskin (1984: 366, n. 3) comments, denoted the Gobi.

58 By Wei Zheng (d. 643, presented to the court/published 636 [Wilkinson 2018: 694]).

59 OC *tâk bât* LH *t<sup>h</sup>ak bat* MC *t<sup>h</sup>âk bwât* (Schuessler, 2009: 69 [2–17m], 237 [21–31bc]); EMC *t<sup>h</sup>ak bāt/be:* t LMC *t<sup>h</sup>ak p<sup>h</sup>ia:* t (Pul.: 314 [64:5]), 27 [64:5]. Beckwith, 2005: 9–12, posits *t<sup>h</sup>akbat* = *takbat* = \**takbar*. The metathesized Turkic *Tabğaç* form undoubtedly came from Rouran/Avar. The Tagbač language was a Middle Serbi dialect (Shimunek, 2017: 121–168).

60 EMC *k<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ein y<sup>h</sup>ej<sup>h</sup>* LMC *k<sup>h</sup>uō<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>sin x<sup>h</sup>jiq<sup>h</sup>* (Pul.: 175 [53:7], 401 [109:5]). 系 *xi* would appear to be another way of rendering *qay*. Marsone (2011: 192) considers it possible that 庫真系 is a scribal error for 庫莫奚 *Kùmò Xī*.

61 EMC *juă<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>eyt* LMC *nyă<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>eyt* (Pul.: 382 [142:7], 59 [153:11]).



inhabited the (former) Xianbei lands some 4000 *li* from Chang'an, bordering on the Khitan lands in the northeast and with the Türks in the west. This name attached to the Xi, is unique to the *Xin Tangshu*. During the Wei era, the Kumo Xi became simply known as the Xi (Marsone 2011: 61).

The *Weishu* (100.2221) comments, in its report on the Shiwei that they, the Xi, the Khitan and the 豆[荳]莫婁 Dòumòlǒu,<sup>62</sup> the latter a sedentary folk, who lived east of the Shiwei (Taskin 1984: 361–362, n. 7; Xu: 2005: 175; Marsone 2011: 66) spoke the same language and derived from the same 'root,' but represented a different branch.<sup>63</sup> While it seems clear that the Khitan, Qay (Kumo Xi) and Shiwei (Shirwi) descended from the Yuwen (Shimunek 2017: 53) and were 'Serbi'-speaking (with some Mongolic elements), the neighboring Doumolou may represent a different (Tungusic?) ethnolinguistic grouping.

Omeljan Pritsak put forward the theory that *Kumo Xi* represented two peoples, the *Kumo* and the *Xi*. Following Karlgren (1957/1996: 38 [74e], 211 [802a], he reconstructed 庫莫 *Kumo* as Archaic [= OC] *k'o mâg*, Ancient [= EMC/MC] *k'uo muo*, which he read as *K'uo-mâk* = Mong. *qua/quo* 'yellowish' + denominal suffix *-maġ* and identified them with the *Kimāk*<sup>64</sup> viewing the latter as the Turkic version of Mong. *\*Quomaġ*. 奚 Xi he reconstructed as *yai* (Karlgren 1957/1996: 232 [876d] *g'ieg*, *yiei*) noting this as the pronunciation in the seventh–eighth centuries and rendering *Qay* (Pritsak 1982: 331–333).<sup>65</sup> Zuev (2002: 67) saw in

62 LH *do<sup>c</sup> ma/mak lio/lio<sup>B</sup>/lo/lo<sup>(B)</sup>* (Schuessler 2009: 149 [10–16a], 74 [2–4oad], 151 [10–29, 123a]).

63 Taskin (1984: 135, 154, 155) noting similar statements in the *Suishu* 84, 19b; Xu (2005: 175). 奇首 Qíshǒu [OC *N-k(r)aj lu?* MC *gje syuwX* (Baxter and Sagart 2014: 269, 355, 77, 93, 115, 184, 360); OC *gai lhu?/lhuh* LH *gie < g'ai šu<sup>B</sup>/šuC* MC *gje šjəu<sup>B</sup>* Schuessler 2009: 211 [18–1S], 177 [13–38, 1102a] (noted in the *Liaoshi* 32 4a–b, 37 9a), whom some would identify with Xianbei chieftain 軻比能 Kē[bì]nén OC *khâi pi?/phe?/pi?/pih*, *bih nê* ! LH *k<sup>h</sup>ai pi<sup>B</sup>/pi<sup>C</sup>*, *bi<sup>C</sup> nəŋ* MC *k<sup>h</sup>â<sup>(B/C)</sup> pi<sup>B</sup> 4/ pi<sup>C</sup> 4, bi<sup>C</sup> 4* (Schuessler 2009: 210 [18–10], 284 [26–38g], 116 [6–18a]), d. 229, the 'legendary first ancestor' of the Khitan (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 85, n. 10, 272) is said to have commented to 朮里[裏] Zhú[shú]lǐ OC *m.lut* (~ *\*mā.lut*) *\*m.rə?* MC *zywit liX* (Baxter and Sagart 2014a: 66, 131), [裏] OC *m-lut rə?* < *\*C-rjə?* LH *li<sup>B</sup> < li<sup>B</sup> zuit* MC *lji<sup>B</sup> dźjwet* (Schuessler 2009: 314 [31–17a], 100 [4–35a]); EMC *drwit*, also *zwit li'/li'* (Pul.: 414 [75:1], 188 [160:0]); MC *drwit liX* (Kroll 2015: 617, 262) that the Khitan and Xi understand one another as they speak the same language and are one and the same nation (Marsone 2011: 49, 66, however, suggests that the Doumolou may be a sedentary Tungusic people).

64 Noted in the Muslim accounts, كيماك (Kimāk), cf. Ibn Xurdādbih 1889: 28, 31 (two redactions in latter half of the ninth century); Gardīzī 1984: 549–550 (writing ca. 1050 but using sources from the mid-eighth century, see Czeglédy 1973: 257–267); Golden 1992: 202–205 and the fundamental work of Kumekov 1972.

65 Menges (1979: 71 and n. 10) in keeping with older versions of Karlgren's reconstructions had: *k'uo-muo-yiei* < *k'o-māg-g'ieg* or *k'o-māg-qaj*, Xi coming from *yiei* < *yāj* < *yaj* < *qaj*. Menges also suggested that the ethnonym *Quman* might lie behind *k'uo-muo*, speculating

Kumo (*k'uo-mâk* < *qumag* ~ *qumaj* 'sand, desert'). Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 159–161, 163) suggest, albeit with a note of caution: *\*qo'a-maqai* < *\*qo'a-may-qai* < *\*qo'a-man* + *qay* and ultimately arrive at a possible *\*quba qay* (with *m-b* shift). They also take note of Atwood's reconstruction as *\*komak-ga(i)*. *Kùmò Xī* would appear to represent *\*Qumaj-ġai*<sup>66</sup> or *\*Q<sup>h</sup>um(u)* *\*Qay* or *\*Q<sup>h</sup>umaq* *\*Qay* (Shimunek, 2017: 61, 92, with 奚 *Xī* reconstructed as NEMC *qay*, which is closer to the Qay (قاي) of the Muslim sources)<sup>67</sup> than Pulleyblank's *yej*. I am inclined to agree with Zuev that Kumo may indeed represent something akin to Mong. *qumaj* 'fine sand' (Lessing 1995: 985), i.e. 'desert,' connected to Turk. *qum* 'sand' (EDAL I: 705), cf. WOT *xumaqi* < *qumaqi* 'sandy place' (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011/I: 430–431) (> Hung. *homok*). Their original designation may have been the 'Qay of the desert,' subsequently shortened to Qay.

Axinžanov (1989: 115–118) advanced the theory that the 'Kai' [Kai] are to be connected with the 'Dachong Tazi' mentioned as neighbors of the Khitan by the Chinese envoy Wang Yande (Īzgi 1989: 47; Chin. text: 78 [5a]; Ögel 1961: 175), who visited the region ca. 981–985. Axinžanov translates the name 'Dachong' as

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on a connection with *Qumuq* et var. going back to *quba* and ultimately concluding that it was more likely that this was a composite form: *k'uo-mo* < *quba* + the tribal name *qay*. Pritsak (1982: 329–331) also postulated *Qumân* < *quba* 'pale, pallid', denoting the '(people of) the pale, pallid (steppe/desert)'. The ethnomym *qumân/qūn*, he contends, was the name used by the Turkic Qipčaq for 'their Kimâk Proto-Mongolian master' Marsone (2011: 60), unaware of Pritsak's article, suggested that *Kumo* could be connected with Turk. *qum* 'sand,' the 'Xi of the sands,' i.e. of the desert.

66 Pelliot (1920: 150, n. 2) has *k'u<sup>o</sup>-m<sup>w</sup>ak-yiäi* = *Qomayai/Qumayai*. EMC *k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>o</sup> mak yej* LMC *k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>o</sup> mak xhijaj* (Pul.: 175 [53:7], 218 [140:7], 329 [37:7]). MC *k<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>c</sup> mâk yiei*, (Schuessler 2009: 48 [1–10e], 74 [2–40ad], 120 [7–1d])//*k<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>c</sup> (mâk) hé* [see Schuessler 2007: 273] 何 (ya) OC *\*gâi LH gai*; OC *khâh mâk \*gai LH k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>c</sup> mak gai* (Schuessler 2007: 337, 390 → [518: wú 無 (mju) OC *ma LH mua*], 523); MC *khuH mak hej* (Kroll 2015: 243, 313, 484); MC *khuH mak hej* OC *[k<sup>h</sup>a-s m<sup>o</sup>ak \*g<sup>h</sup>e (dial. for 何 \*g<sup>h</sup>aj?)]/[g<sup>h</sup>e (Baxter and Sagart 2014a: 14, 107, 118). Atwood (2015: 048–053), linked Gay/Qay with 胡 Hú: *\*ga* > *\*gai*, see above, and reads it as *Komak Qai*, commenting that 'perhaps' *Komak* can be identified with the Kimâk. He also compared *Komak* with the *Wüsün* 烏孫 OC *ṽa sün*, LH *ṽa suən*, Schuessler 2009: 51 [1–28a], 339 [34–28e]) title *Kūnmí* 昆彌 OC *kūn me*, LH *kuən mie/Kūnmò*: 昆莫 OC *kūn mâkh/mâk/mrâk*, LH *kuən ma<sup>c</sup>/mak/mak* ([Schuessler 2009: 333 [34–1a], 125 [7–20m], 74 [2–401d, ar]) the *tamja* of the 奚 represented a snake and appeared akin to that of the Oğuz Qayı(ğ), but indicate that Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī clearly distinguished between the Qay and the Oğuz Qayıġ, two distinct entities.*

67 See also Shimunek's comments (2017: 59, n. 118, 92) regarding transmissions of Qay: Middle Tibet. *He*, 'clearly an Old Tibetan transcription of a Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of Chinese 奚, and as *Dadpyi* to the Türks, identified by Clauson (1957) and Ligeti (1971) with attested Old Turkic *Tatabi*' (Tekin 1968: 377), see also Venturi 2008: 22. Schuessler 2007: 523 奚 → *hé* [273] 何 (ya) LH *gai*. OC *\*ga*, Sino-Korean *hay*.

‘the Great Snakes,’ regarding ‘Qay’ [Kai] as meaning ‘snake.’<sup>68</sup> In reality, the text, as found in Īzgi, has: 太子大蟲 Tàizǐ Dàchóng<sup>69</sup> and 大蟲 denotes ‘prince tiger’; 蟲 by itself is a general term for ‘insect,’ ‘birds, animals, moths, worms, maggots, reptiles, snakes’ (Kroll 2015: 54; Ošanin 1983–1984/IV: 986 [151171]). If we view 太子大蟲 Tàizǐ Dàchóng as the Chinese transcription of a foreign name, we have: LMC *thaj*’ *tʃ’ thā*, *thaj*’ *trfiwɨ* (Pul.: 300 [37:1], 420 [39:0], 69 [37:0], 57 [142:12]). As the other names noted in Wang Yande’s report are transcriptions of tribal names or personal titles, we may presume that Taizi Dachong is a transcription rather than a translation. There is nothing to connect this still obscure name with the Xi/Qay. Some scholars have claimed that the ethnonym Qay means ‘slave’ (e.g. Kafesoğlu 2014: 323). This is a misunderstanding. The Chinese character 奚 Xi does indeed mean ‘prisoner condemned to servitude, slave(ry)’ in Chinese (Kroll 2015: 484), but 奚 Xi is used to transcribe a foreign name, not to translate it. As Eberhard (1947: 206) long ago remarked this is an example of the Chinese using a character with a derogatory or deprecatory meaning to render the sound of a non-Han ethnonym.

Chinese accounts of the Northern Wei-era make mention of the 奚 Xi and the 白靺 Bái (‘White’) Xí.<sup>70</sup> In the Tang era, the latter bordered on the 奚

68 The ‘snake’ theory was, seemingly, based on the Middle Mong. *moqai* ~ *moqoi*, however the latter goes back to Common Serbi-Mongolic \**mɔga* ~ \**mɔɔ* > Middle Khitan \**mɔʒ*, (Shimunek 2017: 353, 421; Kane 2009: 118: *mu.ho.o*). The Qay form is unattested but was, undoubtedly close to Khitan *mɔʒ*—and clearly is not *Qay*.

69 Maljavkin (1974: 88, 165, n. 729) has the name reversed: Dachong Taizi. Ögel notes it only as ‘one of the most important Tatar tribes, the T’a-chung,’ which he renders as ‘grosse Insekten’ or ‘Reptilien.’

70 EMC *zip* LMC *ship* (Pul.: 331 [173: 11]). The latter is clearly not *qay*. 靺 *zip/ship* according to Shimunek, ‘could hypothetically render a foreign ethnonym like \**zīp* or \**zīrb*, possibly a dialectal variant of the old ethnonym \**serbi*’ [鮮卑] ‘Serbi.’ They were ‘probably ethnolinguistically related to the Kitans’ and lived ‘north of the Huang River’ (Shimunek 2017: 60, n. 121). The Tibeto-Uyğur document (Venturi 2008: 22) renders Chinese 奚 Xi, 靺 Xi as *He tse* EMC *yej-zip* LMC *xhijiaj-ship* see Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 163–164 < Pul.: 329 [12:2], 331 [173:11]). Maljavkin 1989: 26 (*Xin Tangshu* account of the Uyğurs), 121–122, n. 40, takes note of the accounts in the *Jiu Tangshu* 199B, 1a, 10 and *Xin Tangshu* 217A, 1a, 6, in which the 白靺部 ‘White Xi subdivision (bù)’ are numbered among the tribes comprising the Uyğurs and the fifteen tribes of the 鐵勒 Tiěle EMC *thet-lək*, revised from Pul.: 308 [167:13], 184 [19:9] by Shimunek (2017: 44, n. 32) to: \**ther-lək* \**thiklək*—perhaps a rendering of Serbi-Mong. \**tegreg*, cf. Mong. *terge* [n] ‘cart, wagon’ (Lessing: 805). Eberhard (1942: 47; Eberhard 1947: 207) viewed the 靺 Xi as Turkic and the ‘White Xi’ as belonging to the Tiele (on the tribes of the Tiele, see Chavannes, 1969: 87, n. 3). Tiele (and variants) was the exonym used by the Chinese sources for a people they had earlier called the 高車 *Gāochē* ‘(people of the) high carts.’ See Kljaštornyj (2010: 162–163) summing up many decades of scholarship on this grouping, strengthening the semantic connection.

Xi to the north (*Jiu Tangshu* 199b, 8a; *Xin Tangshu* 19.4b in Taskin 1984: 144, 148), the two were separated by the Šara Muren (Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 156–158). The Chinese accounts on occasion combine and/or confuse the various Xi groupings; often noting the 霰 Xi in the same accounts as the 奚 Xi (Maljavkin 1989: 121, n. 40; Marsone 2011: 207, n. 11; Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 153–157 present data on the ‘White Xi’).<sup>71</sup> The confusion was geographic rather than one of nomenclature as the ‘White’ and ‘Black’ 霰 ‘Xi’ represent a different ethnonym than 奚 Xi (Qay) as the MC forms show. The ‘White Xi’ contained a subgrouping called 都倫紇斤 *Dū[dōu]lún Héjīn*<sup>72</sup> who led by an *irkin/erkin*, and consisted of three tribes: 居延部 *Jūyánbù*,<sup>73</sup> 無若沒部 *Wúruòmòbù*,<sup>74</sup> and 潢水部 *Huángshuǐbù*<sup>75</sup> (and numbered some 40,000 families) (Taskin 1984: 367, citing *Jiu Tangshu* 199b.13b; Maljavkin 1989: 122, n. 41;

71 Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 177–178) note a ‘White Xi’ leader named 厥都 *Jué-dōu* [dū] EMC *kuat tɔ* LMC *kyat-tuǎ* (Pul.: 168 [27:10], 81 [169:9]), which they suggest is Turk. *kürt* < *kürüt* < *körüt* ‘snow -drift’ or *kötü* ‘roof’ (Clauson 1972: 701–702, 739 [*kürtük* ‘snowdrift, deep snow’]), Blagova 1997: 149–150; Čuv. *kert* ‘snowdrift’ and Written Mong. *kör* (Fedotov 1996/1: 282). Another Xi figure mentioned by them is: 合蠟 *Hélà* (EMC *ɣap/ɣap lap* LMC *xhap lap* Pul.: 123 [30:3], 181 [142:15]), noted in the latter half of the seventh century (Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 178–180).

72 EMC *tɔ hwin ɣat kin* LMC *tuǎ lyn xhat kin* (Pul.: 81 [163:9], 202 [9:8], 122 [146:13], 156 [69:0]), Shimunek (2017: 130) renders 紇 *hé* as NWei *ɣor* and 斤 *jīn* as *kiř* = \**ɣorkiř*? Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 174–176, 280) suggest: \**torun* or *törün* (< *törö*- ‘to appear, exist’), *herkin/herkän* or \**ɣerkän* (i.e. the title *erkin/irkin*, which they derive from Turk. *irk-*, Clauson 1972: 221, 225 ‘to collect or assemble’) and connect with Mong. *irgen* ‘people’ from Turkic) = ‘a people which has been created,’ [an] organized people;’ cf. EDAL I: 622: \**ǰürü*- ‘to gather, crowd,’ PTung. *urü*- ‘to gather, collect, crowd, gathering,’ PMong. *ir-*, *irgen* ‘to fill up, to crowd; people,’ PTurk. *irk-* ‘to gather.’ They also suggest that the 霰 Xi may have contained Mongolic elements as well. On *erkin/irkin*, see below. In Middle Khitan *tu.ur/tur-* ‘to die, pass away,’ used honorifically, cf. Mong. *töre-/törö-/törü-* ‘be born’ < Common Serbi-Mongol *tʰorV-* ‘be born’ (Shimunek 2017: 374; Kane 2009: 59, 91). Tʰɔɓɔ.

73 EMC *kiǎ jian bɔ* LMC *kiǎ/kyǎ jian phuǎ* (Pul.: 162 [44:5], 356 [54:4], 43 [163:8]). The 部 *bù* that appears here and in the names that follow most probably is not part of the transcription of these names, but simply represents ‘tribe, subgrouping’ or the like.

74 EMC *muǎ ɲiak mət bɔ* LMC *uǰyǎ/uuǎ riak mut phuǎ* (Pul.: 325 [86:8], 270 [140:5], 218 [85:4], 43 [163:8]). Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 172–173) suggest, with caveats, that this may be reconstructed as \**bučaymur* in which they see Turk. *bučaq/bučğaq/bičğaq* ‘something cut off, segment ... corner’ (Clauson 1972: 294) and perhaps the affix *-mXr*, cf. Mong. *mören* ‘river,’ Turk. *mürän* ‘river’ (EDAL II: 935–936). The Turkic form is unattested, although Turk. *yağ-mur* (-*mur*) ‘rain’ might hint at such a connection, but *yağ-* ‘to fall’ (as in ‘rainfall’) seems to be the operative root (Tenišev 2001: 25). The *-mXr* is a suffix used with both intransitive and transitive verbs Erdal 1991/1: 389–390. In Tabğaç *-mɔr/-mor* is a deverbal noun suffix, cf. Written Mon. *-mur* ~ *-mür* ~ *-mer* ~ *-mar* (Shimunek 2017: 324).

75 EMC *ɣway ɕwi bɔ* LMC *xhuay ɣyǰ phuǎ* (Pul.: 131 [85:12], 290 [85:0], 43 [163:8]).

Xu 2005: 77; Marsone 2011: 72, 210, n. 34 [where the 黑鬻 *Hēi* ('Black') *Xí* are also noted], 250, n. 5; Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 154).

## 2 Internal Structures

The early divisions of the *Xi*/Qay are not overly clear as these groupings periodically reformed or reordered themselves or did so as underlings of more powerful neighbors. The earliest listing of *Xi* tribal components/subdivisions/'tribes' noted in the Chinese accounts report five 部 (*bù*) tribal groupings or units (Liu 1958/1: 124; Mullie 1976: 75–76, 82, 83; Taskin 1984: 29, 143–144; Maljavkin 1989: 157, n. 211, citing *Suishu* 84.19b, 1, 2; *Zhouhu* 49, 21a–21b; *Beishi* 94.19a, 4–5; and the *Qidan guozhi* 1979: 308; Marsone 2011: 62–63). They are noted as initially having submitted to the Türks, but having grown stronger came to divide into five *bù*:<sup>76</sup> 辱紇玉 *Rǔhéyù*/辱紇王 *Rǔhéwáng*/辱紇主 *Rǔhézhǔ*,<sup>77</sup> also a tribal title of the Khitan in the period 618–730 (Liu 1958/11: 565, n. 637; Xu 2005: 76, citing *Xin Tangshu* 219.6168), Mòhèfú (莫賀弗)<sup>78</sup> which appears to render NEMC *magyabur*, \**maɣbur*, a name/title also found as a title in Old and Late Khitan and Shiwei. It derives from Soğd. *βγpwr βayapūr* 'son of God' < Parth. *bag-puhr* 'prince, god's son' (see Shimunek 2017: 62, 203: 280; Gharib 2004: 102 [2582];

76 Eberhard (1947: 208, 209) dated this division into five groupings to as early as 500 or 550.

77 The last form favored by Taskin (1984: 366, n. 1). The similarity of the last character has produced these variants (Maljavkin 1989: 157, n. 211): *Rǔhézhǔ* 辱紇主 (Liu 1958/1: 124: Ju-ho-yü [Rǔhéyù 辱紇玉]), cf. EMC *juawk ɣət teuð* LMC *rywkw xfiət tɕyǎ* (Pul.: 269 [161:3], 122 [120:3], 414 [3:4]). Shimunek (2017: 62 and n. 124) revising Pulleyblank, reads this as NEMC \**ñuawgyortšu* reconstructed as *ñɔʁorču*. The *Suishu* (84: 1881) has 'the erroneous' (so Shimunek) form Ju-ho-wang \**Rǔhéwáng* 辱紇王. The *Xin Tangshu* (43 and 212) records the anthroponym 'Ch'ü-chü' 曲據 [Qǔjù] EMC *kʰuawk kiðʰ* LMC *kiðʰ/kyəʰ* (Pul.: 260 [73:2], 164 [64:13]); NEMC \**kʰuawkki* as a member of this clan (Shimunek 2017: 62, 130 renders 紇 as NWei *ɣor*). The *Xin Tangshu* has the clan name as Ho-chu 紇主 [Hézhǔ] an error for 辱紇主 *rǔhézhǔ*. Marsone 2011: 203–204, n. 104 has: *juawk-ɣət-ɕuǎ* and compares the form *ruhe* with Tungus *nogu* 'ancien'. He cites Otagi who notes Mong. *nügucekü* 'intime, proche parent par un lien d'affection' (Lessing, 1995: *nöküce* 'to become intimate, contract a friendship; to be[come] possessed by a demon'). Marsone adds (204, n. 108) that according to the *Zizhi tongjian* (199.6256) all the leaders of the *Xi* and Khitan have the title *ruhe*zhu. Cf. Mong. *nökür* 'friend, comrade, companion' (Lessing 1995: 593).

78 Cf. the Khitan title: *mofuhe* 莫弗賀 (紇) or 莫賀弗/莫何弗 *mohefu* (Liu 1958/11: 565, n. 637; Xu 2005: 105). Mòhèfú 莫賀弗 EMC *mak ɣaʰ put* LMC *mak xfaʰ fyt/ fut* (Pul.: 218 [40:11]/mù 220 [140:7] EMC *mɔʰ* LMC *muð*, 123 [154:5], 99 [57:2]). Also noted in the *Suishu* 84.7, *Jiu Tangshu* 194b, *Xin Tangshu* 215, a.3 r<sup>c</sup> (Chavannes 1903/1969: 15, 21, 164, n. 3; Liu 1958/1: 181, 11: 556–557, n. 545).

Zuev 2002: 281; Chen 2002,<sup>79</sup> Tišin 2019: 137–138, n. 15),<sup>80</sup> Qìgè (契箇),<sup>81</sup> Mùkūn (木昆),<sup>82</sup> Shìdé (室得).<sup>83</sup> It has been suggested that these ‘tribal’ names were

- 79 Chen 2002: 295–299, 301–302 in a lengthy commentary notes that *βγpwr* is recorded in the Ancient Sogdian letters (early fourth century) to denote the Emperor of China and argues that it was not limited to being a translation of one of the Chinese terms for ‘Emperor.’ Rather, he suggests it was widely used by the nomads of China’s tribal borderlands as a title for their chieftains and had been ‘widely adopted’ in the early fifth century, but ‘waned’ or was devalued by the Tang and Song eras, transcribed in Chinese as *mòhèfú* *mòhèfú* 莫何弗/莫賀弗 (Karlgren 1996: 211 [802a], 19 [1f]/24 [15j], 136–137 [500k]: *māk-yā-pīuat*) and *mòfú* 莫弗 (Karlgren: *māk-pīuat*). It is first recorded as the title of a chieftain of the Yuèqín 越勤 EMC *wuat gin* (Pul.: 388 [156:5], 254 [19:11]) who joined the Tuoba/Tabgāc ca. 402–403. Others bearing this title are recorded among the Rouran and others. Marsone (2011: 204, n. 105), citing Shiratori Kurakichi, notes the reconstruction as *\*mak-ka-pīuet*, which he viewed as reflecting Mong. *bōke* ‘strong’ + Turk. *put* allegedly a Turkic title, which is not attested.
- 80 In contrast, Kubatin (2016: 60, 63), citing *Yīnghèfú* 英賀弗 EMC *?iayŋ ya<sup>h</sup>put* LMC *?iayŋ xfa<sup>h</sup>fyt/fut* (Pul.: 374 [140:5], 123 [140:7], 99 [57:2]) and *mòhèfú* 莫賀弗, noting the latter among the Rouran as well, opts for *\*bayatur*. 英 may well be an error for 莫. Clauson (1972: 313) viewed it as a Xiongnu name: 莫賀咄 *Mòhèduō/duò* OC *mākh/mak/mrāk gâih tút* LH *ma<sup>c</sup>/mak/mak gai<sup>c</sup> tuat* MC *muo<sup>c</sup>/māk/mek / yā<sup>c</sup> twat* (Schuessler 2009: 74 [2–40ad,ar], 212 [18:4j], 314 [31–16h]); *māk ya tuet* (*Jiu Tangshu* 2005: 357), MC *māk haH twot* (Kroll 2015: 313, 158, 97), identifying it with the Xiongnu Chanyu Modun (see above). Kasai (2014: 127) has 莫賀咄 *mòhèduō* EMC, LMC *māk ya<sup>h</sup> \*tət, māk xfa<sup>h</sup> \*tut* for *mayatur, bayatur*, which figures in a number of Türk titles (see also Chavannes 1969: 83–85 et *passim*; Liu 1: 351 and comments of Taskin 1984: 412, no. 40). Chen (2002: 320–324) views *bağ(a)pu(h)r* and *bağatur* as parallel ‘theophoric’ usages, both based on Iranian *bağa*. Dybo (2007: 111) in light of Western Han: *mūh-twānh*; finds the connection with *bağatur* phonetically unacceptable. See Doerfer (*TMEN* 11: 366–377) [817 ٭٭٭ *bahādūr*] for a lengthy discussion. He notes (p. 369) 莫賀咄 *Mòhèduō* as a title found among the ‘Mongolic’ 室韋 *Shiwéi* (i.e. Serbi-Mongolic). *Βαγατορ* is a common component of Balkan Bulgar titles (Slavova 2010: 59–67, 279–280) Cf. Bactr. *μαγατορο* (Sims-Williams 2003: 235).
- 81 OC *khêts < s-kêts ? kâih* LH *k<sup>h</sup>et ka<sup>c</sup> < kai<sup>c</sup>* MC *k<sup>h</sup>ât kâ<sup>c</sup>* (Schuessler 2009: [20–1b], 46 [1–1f]); EMC *k<sup>h</sup>ej<sup>h</sup> ka<sup>h</sup>* LMC *k<sup>h</sup>jiq<sup>h</sup> ka<sup>h</sup>* (Pul.: 248 [37:6], 106 [118:8]). Shimunek 2017: 62) reconstructs this as NEMC *k<sup>h</sup>irka = \*q<sup>h</sup>urqa*.
- 82 OC *môk kûn* LH *mok kuən* MC *muk kwən* (Schuessler 2009: 161 [11–24a]), 333 [34–1a]; EMC *mawk kwən* LMC *mawk kun* (Pul.: 220 [75:0], 179 [72:2]). Shimunek (2017: 62, 147–148, 354) suggests NEMC *mokkoř = \*moqor*, which he views as cognate with Tabgāc *moqorlı* ‘bald.’ The reference here is to 木骨間, which Shimunek: 2017: 354 reads here as Tabgāc *moqoli* (*Weishu* 103.1a; Taskin 1984: 267; Yıldırım 2015: 11–12, 53, 63–65, 69–70, 98–99, 102), Mùgǔlǔ OC *môk kûn ra* LH *mok kuət lia* MC *muk kwət ljwo* (Schuessler 2009: 161 [11–24a], 311 [31–1a], 57 [1–54g]) of the 郁久間 Yùjiǔlǔ EMC *?uwk kuw<sup>h</sup> liǎ* LMC *?uwk kīw<sup>h</sup> liǎ/lyǎ* (Pul.: 384 [163:6], 161 [4:2], 204 [169:7]) clan, who is noted in the *Weishu* as the father of 車鹿會 Chēlùhuì OC *k-ha, ka rôk gôts* LH *t<sup>h</sup>a, kia lok yuas* MC *t<sup>h</sup>ja, kjwo luk ywât<sup>c</sup>* (Schuessler 2009: 38 [1–10a], 159 [11–16a], 240 [22–3a]) who organized his father’s followers into the Rouran. The *Weishu* translates his name as ‘bald’ (see also Yıldırım 2015: 11).
- 83 OC *lhit { \*stjit} tāk* LH *tāk šit* MC *šjet tāk* (Schuessler, 2009: 299 [29–15j], 108 [5–11d]); EMC

based on the titles borne by their chiefs (Marsone 2011: 63). Each tribe was ruled by an *irkin*.<sup>84</sup> Shimunek (2017: 63, 201–202) notes another (early) Xi/Qay title 夷落河 *yiluòhé* EMC *jiaj<sup>h</sup> laj ya* LMC *jiaj<sup>h</sup> laj xfa* (Pul.: 369 [73:2], 204 [140:9], 122 [85:5]), which he reconstructs as *yelak ya* ‘comitatus warrior, lord.’ He also cites a Late Qay title, 吐里 *Tǔ/tǔlǐ*,<sup>85</sup> which was used by the Khitan as well (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 432, 439, 666; *Liaoshi* 116: 1.549, Shimunek 2017: 64). Of the five tribes, the clan of the 阿會 *Ahui*<sup>86</sup> was the strongest and the others obeyed it. They frequently raided the Khitan (Liu 1958/1: 124–125, 11: 538, n. 347; Taskin 1984: 29, 143, 366, n. 1; Maljavkin 1989: 157–160 for detailed discussion; *Qidan guozhi*<sup>87</sup> 1979: 307–308; Xu 2005: 76, 163; Marsone 2011: 62–63. Eberhard 1947: 208 dated their prominence to ca. 500). The Ahui were subsequently considered a ‘tribe.’ Wittfogel and Fêng (1949: 84, n. 4), in discussing the Xi/Qay in the mid-ninth-tenth century, then living south of the Khitan, describe them as ‘a tribal complex’ 部 (*bù*), with ‘a ruling family’ 族 *zú* (‘kin group, sept, families

*cit tak* LMC *šit tǎk* (Pul.: 285 [40:6], 74 [60:8]); Shimunek (2017: 62): NEMC *širtak* = \**širtak* or *širtag*.

- 84 *Irkin*: *sijin* 侯斤 EMC *zi/zi<sup>h</sup> kin* LMC *šfj<sup>h</sup> kin* (Pul.: 293 [9:7], 156 [69:60]; Kasai, 2014: 81, 125–126 for variants); OC *s-rəʔ kən* LH *dziə kiən* MC *dzi kjan* (Schuessler 2009: 99 [4–30 m], 326 [33–2ad, a]). Erdal (2016: 177) suggests: \**hirkin*, see also Venturi (2008: 29) in the Tibeto-Uyğur ms. which notes chiefs with the title *hir kin* of the *Ba yar bgo* (*Bayırqū*) and the unidentified *Hi dog kas*. Dobrovits (2014–2015: 80) proposes a variant *jerkin*. Shimunek (2017: 63, 152, 166, 267, 279) reconstructs the Xi/Qay form as *irkin/urkin* (NEMC *irkir*) and notes Middle Khitan *irgan* [*ir.g.en*] (cf. Kane 2009: 128: 夷離董 *yilijin*: *ri.g.en* ‘tribal chief’), Late Khitan *irgin* ‘official,’ Tabğaç *irgin* \**dıva/dıva* (‘writing document,’ Shimunek 2017: 83, 152–153, 166) ‘imperial secretary’. The *Liaoshi* 63, 4a, s.a. 581–600, reports that the Khitan chieftain, 大賀 Dahe (LMC *dayya* = *dayka* according to Shimunek 2017: 198, 207), ca. 628–730, who had recognized Türk overlordship and ‘divided his people into eight tribes’ was given the title *irkin* by the Türks (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 471), see also lengthy comments on the Dahe lineage (氏 *shi* ‘clan, name used by branches of family with a common surname (*xing* 姓), tracing lineage to a common ancestor’ Kroll 2015: 417) and the confederation it led in Xu 2005: 2, 38–39, 42–43, 65, 75, 105, 108–112 et *passim*.
- 85 EMC *tʰɔʷ/tʰɔʷ<sup>h</sup> liʷ/liʷ* LMC *tʰuɔʷ/tʰuɔʷ<sup>h</sup> li* (Pul.: 312 [30:3], 188 [166:0]). Var. 禿里 *tǔlǐ*, which Wittfogel and Feng thought might be connected with Turk. *töre* [~*törü* ‘traditional, customary, unwritten law,’ Clauson 1972: 531–532], which they connected with [Modern] Uyğur *töre* ‘prince,’ cf. Uzb. (Buxara) term for the son of a khan, titles for descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad (Budagov 1869–1870/1: 390–391), also Kazakh *töre* denoting a person claiming Činggisid descent (Privratsky 2001: 35, 45), Qırğız ‘aristocrat’, but these are more modern, Činggisid and post-Činggisid developments of this term.
- 86 Ā[à]hui: EMC *ʔa ywaj<sup>h</sup>* LMC *ʔa xfuaj<sup>h</sup>* (Pul.: 23 [170:5], 134 [73:9]); Shimunek (2017: 63): NEMC *hayway* = \**away* or \**fiaway*.
- 87 Written by Ye Longli in 1247, based on Song sources (Wilkinson 2018: 863).

tracing descent from a common agnatic ancestor,' Kroll 2015: 633) whose rulers 'were honored with the title of 'king' (*wang* 王): The tribes evolved or developed from 'camps' (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 48).

A different listing of subdivisions/'tribes' is noted in 648/649 when groupings of the Xi/Qay were under the leadership of 可度者 Kědùzhě,<sup>88</sup> who, having submitted to the Tang, was appointed as the *totoq* 'military governor' (Clauson 1972: 453 < Chin. 都督 *dūdū*<sup>89</sup> 'area commander') of the 饒樂 Ráolè<sup>90</sup> region in western Liaoning. He was allowed to adopt the Tang surname, 李 Lǐ, which was used thereafter by Xi/Qay rulers. These five 'tribes' or subdivisions according to the *Xin Tangshu* (219.6173) were: the 阿會 Ahui (see above, also written 阿薈<sup>91</sup>), 處和 Chù [chǔ]hé,<sup>92</sup> 奧失 Àoshī,<sup>93</sup> 度稽 Dùjī[qǐ]<sup>94</sup> and 元俟 [折/析] Yuánsì[zhé/xī],<sup>95</sup> each of these have the character 部 (*bù* 'tribe,' etc.) affixed to their name (Maljavkin 1989: 35, 158, nn. 213–221; Taskin 1984: 29, 143, 149; Xu 2005: 81;<sup>96</sup> Marsone 2011: 75, 209, n. 31; repeated in *Qidan guozhi* 1979: 347, n. 8). A variant of this listing is found in the seventeenth century *Dushi fangyu jiyao* (by Gu Zuyu 1631–1691; Wilkinson 2018: 219), in a notice dealing with the

- 88 EMC *kʰa' dʰ teia'* LMC *kʰa' thuš' tšia'* (Pul.: 173 [30:2], 83 [53:6], 400 [125: 4]), MC *khaX duH tsyaeH* (Kroll 2015: 239, 93, 597). In the *Liaoshi* 39.16.1 he is noted as 可度 Kědù (Maljavkin 1989: 157, n. 211).
- 89 EMC *tɔ tawk* LMC *tuš tawk* (Pulleyblank, 81 [169:9], 82 [109:8]), cf. Old Türk title *totoq* < Chin. (Clauson 1972: 453 and Aydın 2017: 170), *tutuq* in User (2010: 270), and *DTSL*. 593.
- 90 Shimunek 2017: 45, 58: \**ñawlaq* EMC *ɲiaw lak* (Pul.: 264 [184:12], 185 [75:11]) = the Khitan hydronym Niao-lo-ko (Niǎo luó gè 裊羅箇 Old Mandarin \**niawlaka*, Kane 2009: 165–166). The Raole (*ñawlaq*) River is identified with the Šira/Šara Muren (Maljavkin 1989: 154–155, n. 197, 156; Chin. 西喇木倫 Xīlāmùlún Kane 2009: 165). The *Xin Tangshu* 219: 6173 mentions the Qay hydronym 土護眞 Tūhùzhēn EMC *tʰɔ' ɣɔʰ tein* LMC *tʰuə' xhuə' tšin* (Pul. 312 [32:], 128 [149:14], var. of 真 401 [109:5]); *tʰɔʷɔ-čün/tʰɔʷɔ-čün* (Shimunek 2017: 178–179, 315 and n. 47, 375 and n. 493, 494, 397, 454, 458 'Muddy River'—Qay *tʰɔʷɔ* 'mud, dirt' < Common Serbi-Mongolic *tʰay* 'dirt, dust, soil, earth'—a Late OC loanword, *tʰâx* 土 *tǔ* in Tabḡač).
- 91 EMC *ʔa ʔwajʰ* LMC *ʔa ʔuajʰ* (Pul.: 23 [170:5], 134 [140:13]).
- 92 EMC *teʰiəʰ/teʰiəʰ ɣwa/ɣwaʰ* LMC *tšhiəʰ/tšhyəʰ/|tšhiəʰ/tšhyəʰ xhua/xhuaʰ* (Pul.: 60 [141:5], 122 [30:5])/123 [30:5]); Shimunek (2017: 130) transcribes 和 *hé* in NWei as *ɣɔkʰ*. Cf. Mong. *čajan* 'white' (Lessing 1995: 158)?
- 93 EMC *lawʰ eit* LMC *lawʰ sit* (Pul.: 26 [37:10], 282 [37:2]).
- 94 EMC *dɔʰ keʰ/kʰejʰ* LMC *thuəʰ kʰiajʰ/kʰiajʰ* (Pul.: 83 [53:6], 138 [115:10], 247 [115:10]).
- 95 EMC *ɲuan zɛ/zɛʰ teiat/sejk* LMC *ɲyan širʰ tšiat/siajk* (Pul.: 386 [10:2], 293 [9:7] 400 [64:4]/330 [75:4]).
- 96 The presence of five clans/tribes, here termed *xing*, of the Xi/Qay (五姓奚) in 907 on the eve of the coming to power of 阿保機 Ābǎoji LMC *ʔa puawʰ ki* (Pul.: 23 [170:5], 30 [9:7], 137 [75:12]; r. 916–928), the founder of the Khitan state, is noted by the *Zizhi Tongjian* 266.8678–8679 (Xu 2005: 72).



year 552 (Mullie 1976: 79). The *Xin Wudai shi* by Ouyang Xiu (d. 1072, dating to 1060, Wilkinson 2018: 694) has a variant on this list that most probably represents a garbling of an earlier text: 阿會 Ahui, 啜米 Chuòmǐ, 奧質 (var. 奧支 Chuòzhī),<sup>97</sup> Yuèzhì 粵質 or 奧支 Àozhī,<sup>98</sup> 怒 (var. 奴) Nù (Nú)jiē<sup>99</sup> and 黑訖支 Hēiqìzhī<sup>100</sup> (Taskin 1984: 152; Marsone 2011: 250–251, n. 14). The *Liaoshi* (33.387) provides yet another listing of the five subdivisions of the Xi/Qay that submitted to Abaoji as: 遙里 Yáoli,<sup>101</sup> 伯德 Bódé,<sup>102</sup> 奧里 Àoli,<sup>103</sup> 梅只 Méizhī<sup>104</sup> and 楚里 Chǔlǐ<sup>105</sup> (see Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 88; Marsone 2011: 204, n. 107). Baykuzu (2013: 14), notes them as having drawn closer to China after the fall of the Eastern First Türk Qaghanate in 630, implying that these groupings existed already in the seventh century). In 923 Abaoji, following his subjugation of the Xi/Qay, a process that had begun in the early tenth century (*Qidan guozhi* 1979: 41–42), restructured the constituent peoples subdividing the Xi/Qay ‘into six tribes,’ adding on the 墮瑰 Duòguī<sup>106</sup> and placing them under the administration of the 勃魯恩可汗 Bólǔ’ēn Kěhàn,<sup>107</sup> who was given the title ‘king’ and had matrimonial ties with the Khitan royal house (Eberhard 1947: 213 terms

97 EMC *te<sup>h</sup>wiat meĵ’ teiā/tei* LMC *tṣ<sup>h</sup>yat mĵiaĵ’ tṣi* (Pul.: 63 [30:08], 213 [119:0]/404 [65:0]).

98 EMC *wuat tri<sup>h</sup> LMC yat tri’* or EMC *ṛaw<sup>h</sup> teiā/tei* LMC *ṛaw’ tṣi* (Pul.: 388 [119:6], 408 [154:8], or 26 [37:10], 404 [65:0]).

99 EMC *nō<sup>h</sup>/var. nō kəĵ/keĵ* LMC *nuā’/var. nuā kĵaĵ* (Pul.: 228 [61:5]/227 [38:2], 153 [106:4]).

100 EMC *xək kit teiā/tei* LMC *xəək kit tṣi* (Pul.: 124 [203:0], 248 [149:3], 404 [65:0]).

101 EMC *jiaw li’/li’* LMC *jiaw li* (Pul.: 362 [162:10], 188 [166:0]). Wittfogel and Fêng (1949: 89) term them ‘one of the six tribes’ of the Xi (*Liaoshi* 33, 6b–7a).

102 EMC *paik/peĵk tek* LMC *paĵk tək* (Pul.: 41 [9:5], 74 [60:12]). Wittfogel and Fêng (1949: 89): ‘another Hsi tribe’ (*Liaoshi* 37, 4b).

103 EMC *ṛaw<sup>h</sup> li’/li’* LMC *ṛaw’ li* (Pul.: 26 [37:10], 188 [166:0]). They were an amalgamation of ‘three separate tribes’; ‘established in 994’ combining with the 梅只 Méizhī and the 墮瑰 Duòguī, who were part of Abaoji’s reformation of the Xi/Qay tribes in 923 (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 48, 88, 89, 414; *Liaoshi* 2, 3b).

104 EMC *maj teiā/tei* LMC *muaj tṣi* (Pul.: 210 [75:7], 404 [30:2]).

105 EMC *tṣ<sup>h</sup>iā’ li’/li’* LMC *tṣ<sup>h</sup>ā’/tṣ<sup>h</sup>uā’ li* (Pul.: 60 [75:9], 188 [166:0]). Wittfogel and Fêng (1949: 89; *Liaoshi* 33, 7a).

106 墮瑰 Duòguī (LMC *thua’ kuaj*, Pul.: 54 [32:12], 115 [96:10]).

107 LMC *phut luā’ ʔən* (Pul.: 40 [19:7], 200 [195:4], 87 [61:6]). 可汗 Kěhàn is the standard Chinese transcription of *Qaghan*. Marsone (2011: 147, 148, 245–246, nn. 225, 226) notes him and ‘plusieurs clans de qaghan xi’ in the epigraphy of the period, cf. 奚隱可汗 Xīyǐn Kěhàn LMC *xĵiaĵ ʔin’* (Pul.: 329 [37:7], 373 [170:14]) and 胡隱可汗 Húyǐn Kěhàn LMC *xĵiūā ʔin’* (Pul.: 126–127 [130:5], 373 [170:14]). Wittfogel and Fêng note Bolu’ēn, but say nothing of his holding a qaghanal rank. A certain Xiyin is noted as a Yelü, i.e. a member of the Khitan royal clan, and a contestant for supreme power in 981 (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 401, 402, 414–415, n. 56, 418, 539). It is unlikely that the Xi/Qay had a supreme ruler with the title *Qaghan*. Marsone suggests that ‘[c]es noms sont vraisemblablement les surnoms de qaghan ayant réellement existé, et devinrent éponymes de leur descendance.’ The presence of *Kehan*

him the first 'king' of the Xī; Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 88–89, 340, n. 49, 414; *Liaoshi* 2, 3b; 33, 4b).<sup>108</sup> Other Xī/Qay 'tribes' noted are the 撒里葛 Sālǐgē,<sup>109</sup> 南剌 'Southern Kè' and 'Northern Kè' 北剌,<sup>110</sup> the 乙室奥隗 Yǐshì Àowěi,<sup>111</sup> created by the Liao from Xī/Qay captives (Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949: 89–90). In addition to the 'tribes' noted above, Eberhard (1947: 213–214) records some additional groupings before Abaoji's 'reorganization': Diélà(gé) 迭剌(葛),<sup>112</sup> Wūmǎ shān 烏馬山 ('Black Horse Mountain [Xī]'), Wūgǔ 烏古<sup>113</sup> and Yǎojiè 窈介.<sup>114</sup> Shimunek (2017: 207) also notes a Khitan clan bearing the name 芮奚 Ruìxī<sup>115</sup> perhaps connected with the Xī/Qay. The *Jiu Tangshu* (199b, 5a; Taskin 1984: 157) reports that the Xī/Qay and Khitan are frequently at war with one another. As can be seen, the various Qay groupings were periodically rearranging themselves into different unions of families/clans or were being reordered by their imperial (especially Khitan/Liao) overlords (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 48).

### 3 Brief Historical Outline

Following their defeat at the hands of the Murong and then by the Wei/Tabgac in the fourth century, the Xī/Qay had by the mid-fifth through the mid-sixth century become uneasy neighbors of China in the northeastern border 'tribal zone,' tributaries of the Northern Wei, delivering horses and furs to the court and seeking permission to trade at the border. This commerce/tribute was interspersed with occasional raids on Wei lands (Taskin 1984: 142–143; Mullie 1976: 81), e.g. that of 480. The *Weishu* (100, 13b–14a; Mullie 1976: 77; Taskin 1984: 142, 365, n. 8) records this event, in which the Kumo Xi out of fear of preda-

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in these names requires further explanation. In 922, Abaoji rewarded Bolu'en for his assistance in campaigns against the Shiwei, Shatuo and others (Marsonne 2011: 142).

108 Marsonne (2011: 61) cites a stele from 923 that noted numerous marriages between the Xī/Qay ruling house and the imperial house of the Khitan.

109 EMC *sat li'li'kat* LMC *sat li kat* (Pul.: 271 [64:12], 188 [160:0], 106 [140:9]).

110 剌 kè EMC *kʰək* LMC *kʰək* (Pul.: 173 [18:7]).

111 EMC *?it eit ?awʰ ɳwajʰ* LMC *?it sit ?awʰ ɳwajʰ* (Pul.: 367 [5:0], 285 [40:6], 26 [37:10], 321 [170:10]).

112 EMC *det lat kat* LMC *thiat lat kat* (Pul.: 79 [162:5], 181 [18:7], 106 [140:0]).

113 EMC *?əwʰ kəjʰ/ke:jʰ* LMC *?uə kuəʰ* (Pul.: 325 [86:6], 111 [30:2]).

114 EMC *?əwʰ kəjʰ/ke:jʰ* LMC *?jiawʰ kja:jʰ* (Pul.: 363 [116:5], 155 [9:2]).

115 EMC *ɳwiajʰ yej* LMC *ryajʰ xhijaj* (Pul.: 269 [140:4], 329 [37:7]). Shimunek (2017: 207) reads the LMC as *dźwiyay* = \*(an) *ɟuy* or \*(an) *ɟuy* \*qay 'if the clan name is to be connected with the Qay ethnic group.'

tory raids from the territory of the Didòugàn/Didoyu,<sup>116</sup> suddenly attacked the Northern Wei fortified lines (Marsone 2011: 62). The *Weishu* locates the Didoyu at some 1000 *li* west of the Shiwei. Thus, the Xī/Qay, like their neighbors, the Khitan and Shiwei, moved in and out of ‘friendly’ ~ hostile relations with China, often determined by their access to Chinese goods, as well as pressures from their neighbors. After the rise of the Türk Qağānate (552) to their west, the Xī/Qay were initially their subjects as well and are noted as inhabiting the region south of the Great Xingan chain with the Khitan on their southern border on the Šara Muren (Maljavkin 1989: 121, n. 40).

Xī/Qay ‘tribute’-bearing embassies to China continued up to the time of the Sui, then irregularly into the early seventh century. For example, some four ‘tribute’-bearing embassies are noted in the period 629–646. In the course of these interactions, several Xī/Qay chieftains are noted: 蘇 Sūzhī,<sup>117</sup> 可度者 Kědùzhě (d. 660, see above) who became a Tang vassal in 648 (Taskin 1984: 142–143, 145, 148–149; Maljavkin 1989: 35, 157, n. 109, 157, n. 211; Marsone 2011: 72). Cf. also the Khitan chieftains 窟哥 Kūgē<sup>118</sup> and 貪沒折 Tānmòzhé<sup>119</sup> who also submitted to the Tang in 630 (Marsone 2011: 74–75; Xu 2005: 39, 46–48, 168, 192). Another Xī/Qay ‘king’ of this era was 匹帝 Pǐdì,<sup>120</sup> decapitated ca. 660 (Marsone

116 Maljavkin (1989: 121–122, n. 40) argues that the 地豆于 Didòuyú LH *dī<sup>c</sup> ? do<sup>c</sup> wa* (Schuessler 2009: 214 [18–209b’], 149 [10–16a], 50 [1–23, 97a]); EMC *dī<sup>h</sup> dāw<sup>h</sup> wuā* (Pul.: 76 [32:3], 81 [151:0], 381 [7:1]) noted in the territory of the 奚 Xī and in the *Weishu* 100. 2223–2224 as the object of aggression from the Koguryō and Ruru (Rouran) in 479, (see Xu 2005: 30, 159, 160 [where the Didoyu and Kumo Xī are noted separately] 264; Marsone 2011: 42, 44, 62), neighbored the Khitan in Manchuria. They were matched with accounts pertaining to the Tatabi of the Türk runiform inscriptions. Hence, in his view, Didoyu represents a Chinese transcription of *Tatabi*. Marsone (2011: 67, 195, 206, n. 124), however, notes the variant 地豆干 Didòugān OC *draih* ? < *r-lath*, OCB *brjajs* (?) *dôh kâns* LH *dī<sup>c</sup> ? do<sup>c</sup>kan<sup>c</sup>* MC *dī<sup>c</sup> dāu<sup>c</sup> kân<sup>c</sup>* (Schuessler 2009: 214 [18–9b’], 149 [10–16a], 252 [24–2de]); Baxter and Sagart 2014a: 3, 20, 34: MC *dīH duH kanH* OC [*l*]<sup>ʔ</sup>*ej-s* [*N.t*]<sup>ʔ</sup>*o-s* [*k*]<sup>ʔ</sup>*ar-s*; EMC *dī<sup>h</sup> dāw<sup>h</sup> kan* LMC *thī<sup>h</sup> thāw<sup>h</sup> kan* (Pul.: 76 [32:], 81 [151:0], 102 [51:0]) doubtless stemming from the similarity of the characters 干 and 于. They are described as livestock breeders, famous for their horses, but lacking in agricultural products. After a period of troublesome raiding ca. 490, they remained in peaceful contact with China up to the end of the reign of 武定 Wǔdìng (543–550) of the Eastern Wei. The name Didoyu disappears from the Chinese sources after their embassy of 550.

117 EMC *sə teiā/tei* LMC *suā tsi* (Pul.: 294 [140:16]; 404 [65:0]).

118 EMC *k<sup>h</sup>wat ka* LMC *k<sup>h</sup>ut ka* (Pul.: 175 [32:8], 105 [30:7]); MC *k<sup>h</sup>wat ka* (Schuessler, 2009: 314 [31–16q], 211 [18–1pqr]), Shimunek (2017: 208): LMC *k<sup>h</sup>warka* = \**q<sup>h</sup>orqa* “possibly cognate with Middle Mongol *qurīqa-n* ‘lamb’”

119 EMC *t<sup>h</sup>əm/t<sup>h</sup>am mət tciat* LMC *t<sup>h</sup>am mut tsiat* (Pul.: 300 [154:4], 218 [85:4], 400 [64:4]). Noted only in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 193.6082, see Marsone 2011: 207, n. 12; Xu 2005: 168.

120 EMC *p<sup>h</sup>jīt tej<sup>h</sup>* LMC *p<sup>h</sup>jīt tiaj<sup>h</sup>* (Pul.: 237 [23:2], 76 [50:6]).

2011: 77–78). The recognition of Xi/Qay chieftains as ‘kings’ was probably part of a process by the Tang of creating a more orderly system of governance among both the Khitan and Xi/Qay, with the goal of making them more easily managed. Nonetheless, they ‘rebelled.’ They also periodically recognized Türk overlordship, submitting again to the revived Eastern Türk Qağanate in 696/697, when the Khitan had revolted and fought the latter. They maneuvered between the Tang, the Türks and the Khitan, often at war with one or the other (*Jiu Tangshu* 199b, 8a–10a; Taskin 1984: 144–145). Thus, in 710, the Türk Qağan, Qap-ğan (692–716) declared that the Khitan and Xi/Qay/Tatabi had been brought under his control, as did Bilgä Qağan (717–734), but these ‘allegiances’ were in continual flux and Türk and Chinese expeditions were not always successful in bringing them to heel (Liu 1958/1: 221, 225, 349–354; Taşağıl 2019: 356–367). The Xi/Qay chief (長 *zhǎng*<sup>121</sup>) Lǐ Dàpú/Lǐ Dàfù 李大輔/李大輔,<sup>122</sup> a Türk subject in 710, in 716 sent tribute and submitted to the Tang, receiving a Tang princess as a bride. The name of his emissary to the Tang (in 714/715) is noted as 奧蘇梅落 Àosū méilào or 奧蘇梅落 Àosū huǐlào<sup>123</sup> (*Jiu Tangshu* 199b; *Xin Tangshu* 219 in Taskin 1984: 146, 150, 370, n. 12, the latter form probably a scribal error). Throughout the 720s–730s, a series of conflicts between the Tang, Türks, Khitan and Xi/Qay ensued, with frequent switching of sides.

Lǐ Dàpú was killed in 720 in battle with the Khitan (Eberhard 1947: 210) and his brother Lǔsū 魯蘇 succeeded him as the Governor-general of Raole and also received a royal bride. However, by 730, the Xi/Qay had again submitted to the Türks. A Tang attack soon brought them once more under short-lived Chinese rule. In 732, the Xi/Qay chieftain, 李詩瑣高 Lǐ Shī Suǒgāo<sup>124</sup> submitted after a Tang show of force and was given the title of ‘king’ (*wang*) and other rewards. (Taskin 1984: 147). In 735, the Türks defeated the Khitan and Xi/Qay, killing Lǐ Guīgu 李歸國,<sup>125</sup> a ‘king’ of the latter (*Zizhi Tongjian* 214.6812–6813;

121 ‘Načal’nik, komandir, staršij, uvažаемoe lico’ (Ošanin 1983–1984: 862 [9694]); ‘leader, headman [of village]’ (Kroll 2015: 42).

122 EMC *da’/daj<sup>h</sup> bə* LMC *thā’/thaj’ p̄hūǎ* // 輔 EMC *buǎ’* LMC *f̄hijǎ’/f̄hūǎ’* (Pul.: 69 [37:0], 242 [164:7] // 100 [159:7]).

123 EMC *?aw<sup>h</sup> sɔ maj* [or *xwaj’*] *lak* LMC *?aw’ suǎ muaj* [or *xuaj’*] *lak* (Pul.: 26 [37:10], 294 [115:11], 210 [75:7] or 悔 133 [61:7]), 落 (also luò, là 184 [140:9]). *Meilao* was also a Khitan title (Taskin 1984: 162, 367–368, n. 9; Marsone 2011: 219, n. 123) and is very likely a title here too. It has been compared with Uyğur *buirag* (= *buyraq*, Fuzuli and Aliyeva 2008: 58) = Türk and Uyğur *buyruq* (Clason 1972: 387 ‘a title of office, apparently a generic term for all persons commanded by the *xağan* to perform specific duties, civil or military’) < Turk. *buyur*- ‘to order, command.’

124 EMC *ei/ci swa’ kaw* LMC *ši sua’ kaw* (Pul.: 282 [149:6], 298 [96:10], 104 [189:0]) Taskin 1984: 369, n. 16 suggests that Suǒgāo may be a title.

125 EMC *kuj kwək* LMC *kuj kuǎk* (Pul.: 115 [77:14], 116 [31:8]).

Xu 2005: 63). Further discord followed. By 745, the Khitan and Xi/Qay were yet again under Tang rule; the Xi/Qay king (奚王), Li Yánchǒng 李延寵<sup>126</sup> was given the niece of the Tang Emperor as a bride (Taskin 1984: 145–151; Xu 2005: 58, 59, 67, 169–170), an example of ongoing marital diplomacy.

In the course of their maneuvering in and out of submission to the Tang and the Türks, the Xi/Qay appear in the Türk Orxon inscriptions of the first half of the 8th century under the name ᠮᠤᠳᠤᠪᠢ Tatabi/\*Tatawī (KT-E<sub>4,14,28</sub>, N<sub>II</sub>; BQ-E<sub>5,12,23,39</sub>, S<sub>2,7</sub>; Küli [Köli] Čor<sub>17</sub>, Aydın 2017: 52, 55, 60, 68, 81, 84, 88, 95, 96, 97, 137) usually noted in a list preceded by the Qırqız, [Üč] Qurıqan, Otuz Tatar (= the Shiwei) and Qıtañ or simply *qıtañ tatawī bodun* (the Khitan and Tatabi peoples).<sup>127</sup> Noting the Tibetan form *Dad-pyi* (Venturi: 22, 23, 25), Marsone (2011: 61, 203, n. 98 and Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 165–166, n. 730, following Ligeti 1971: 186, n. 7) suggested that ᠮᠤᠳᠤᠪᠢ might be vocalized as *Tatbi*. Clearly, Xi/Qay cannot be a transcription of Tatabi/Tatawī. The origin of the latter name remains obscure.<sup>128</sup> The *-bi* may be akin to the *-bi* in Serbi (Xianbei, Shiwei, see Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 165, n. 730). As we have seen, they were alternately allies and foes of the Khitan. Thus, in BQ-S<sub>7</sub>, Bilgä Qağan notes that ‘when I was 50, the Tatawī separated from the Qıtañ’ (*elig yaşıma tatawī bodun qıtañda adr[ilti]*). Bilgä Qağan complained that ‘the Khitan and Tatabi used to be slaves of the Türks,’ but they were given royal Chinese brides while the Türks were not (*Jiu Tangshu* 194a, 5175; *Jiu Tangshu* 2005: 57, 304; Liu 1958/1: 227). Marital diplomacy, however, was not always successful. After the death of Bilgä Qağan (734), the Khitan and Xi/Qay/Tatabi ‘turned’ to the Tang (Pan 1997: 228). Tang princesses were again dispatched to Khitan and Xi/Qay chiefs, but on occasion did not achieve the desired results. Thus, in 745, the Khitan and Xi/Qay chiefs (the latter was 李延寵 Li Yánchǒng, successor to his father Li Shī Suǒgāo), enraged at Tang policies, both killed the princesses and revolted (*Zizhi Tongjian* 215, 6864, 6868; Xu 2005: 67, 170). Nonetheless, shortly thereafter, peaceful relations resumed and Xi/Qay embassies were again coming to the Tang court (Taskin 1984: 147).

安祿山 Ān Lùshān, the famed part-Türk, part-Sogdian Tang commander, led a series of campaigns against the Khitan and Xi/Qay in the 730s–early 750s

126 EMC *jian tr<sup>h</sup>uawj*’ LMC *jian trhywj*’ (Pul.: 356 [54:5], 58 [40:16]).

127 On Bilgä Qağan’s complex relations with and campaigns against the Tatabi/Tatawī, who strategically shuffled between allegiance to the Tang and the Türks, see Ercilasun (2016: 293, 296–302, 310, 317, 449). Led by their general (*sejün*) Udar They were among the mourners at the funeral of Köl Tegin (KT-N<sub>II-12</sub>, Aydın 2017: 68).

128 Cf. Mong. *tata-* ‘to draw, pull’ *numu tata-* ‘to draw a bow’ (Lessing 1995: 595, 785–786)? Pritsak (1968: 159) suggested: *tat* (‘non-Türk’) + *‘auba-aubi*, later *oba-obı*’ (‘tribe’), which seems highly unlikely.

(Xu 2005: 66–68, 170, 195, 202, 248–249; Baykuzu 2013: 61–68), inflicting considerable losses and in 755 claiming that he had defeated them (*Zizhi Tongjian* 217, 6932; Xu 2005: 68). In several instances, the casualties included Khitan and Xi/Qay chiefs, who, themselves, on occasion switched sides in the ongoing conflicts. Among the Xi/Qay chiefs he killed was 李日越料 *Lǐ Riyuèliáo/liào*<sup>129</sup> (*Jiu Tangshu* 199b, 8a–10a; *Xin Tangshu* 219.4b–6b; Taskin 1984: 147, 150–151; *Zizhi Tongjian* 215.6864, 6900, 6908, Xu 2005: 67–68, 170). Prior to his rebellion in 755, An Lushan had acquired a force of 8000 Tongra, Xi/Qay and Khitan. Shiwei, Khitan and Xi/Qay participated in An Lushan's rebellion and suffered severe losses. Relations with the Tang court were severed for a time, bringing them under usually 'loose' Uyğur rule (Pan 1997: 156, 280; Xu 2005: 182, 202, 249, 267–268). Subsequently, relations with the Tang were yet again restored and the Xi/Qay resumed sending tribute-bearing embassies to the Tang court, but interspersed these with raids, as in 788, when, together with the Shiwei, they raided China. The raids provoked Tang responses, often quite severe (Taskin 1984: 147, 151; Xu 2005: 269–270; Marsone 2011: 95).

While the Khitan and Xi/Qay remained relatively submissive to the Uyğur Qağanate (744–840) with 'overseers' meant to keep them under (loose) control (Maljavkin 1974: 35; Drompp 2005: 29, 97), the Xi/Qay tended to be more independent and 'aggressive,' engaged in frequent conflict with the Tang. As Xu (2005: 63 [*Liaoshi* 63.955], 170–171) notes the Xi/Qay appear to have dominated the Khitan at times, the latter, on occasion, becoming their vassals. Nonetheless, they were not yet prepared to create a state. Xi/Qay rulers (e.g. 梅落 *Méilào* [Buyruq? see above], *Jiu Tangshu* 199b, 8a–10a; *Xin Tangshu* 219, 4b–6b; Taskin 1984: 147, 151, 369, n. 18, the name is given as 梅落可 *Huǐlào kě*<sup>130</sup> in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 237.76270, noted in 806 held the hereditary title of 歸誠王 *Guīchéng-wáng*, 'prince/king' of Guicheng prefecture). Two years later, the Xi/Qay chieftains, 索低 *Suǒdī*<sup>131</sup> and 沒辱孤 *Mòrǔgū*<sup>132</sup> were granted the Tang surname, Li and commanded 'patrol' forces in the Tan, Ji and Pinzhou regions, but Xi/Qay forces in secret alliance with the Uyğurs and Shiwei, raided other regions. The Chinese accounts mention groups of Xi/Qay and Khitan that came to the border with 'tribute' and then 30 to 50 of the leaders were selected to go directly to the Tang court where in return they received gifts of gold and fabrics (*Jiu Tang-*

129 EMC *nit wuat lew/lew<sup>h</sup>* LMC *rit yat liaw/liaw<sup>h</sup>* (Pul.: 266 [72:0], 388 [156:5], 192 [68:6]/193 [68:60]).

130 EMC *xwəj' lak k<sup>h</sup>a'* LMC *xuaj' lak k<sup>h</sup>a'* (Pul.: 133 [61:7], 184 [140:9, also luò, là, see above], 173 [30:2]).

131 EMC *sak*, also *seijk tej* LMC *sak tiaj* (Pul.: 198 [120:4], 74 [9:5]).

132 EMC *mət puawk kə* LMC *mut rywkw kuǎ* (Pul.: 218 [85:4], 268 [161:3], 110 [39:5]).

*shu* 199b, 8a–10a; *Xin Tangshu* 219, 4b–6b; Taskin 1984: 147–148, 151). A Xi/Qay chieftain, 茹羯 Rújié<sup>133</sup> was captured during a raid in 830. The following year, a different chieftain, 匿舍郎 Nìshě[shé] láng,<sup>134</sup> appeared at the Tang court. In 847, the Xi/Qay and other peoples of the North revolted and were soundly defeated by the Tang. Thereafter, the Xi/Qay went into a decline. A Xi/Qay embassy led by the ‘Great Area Commander’ (大都督 dà dūdū [*Tutuq*]) 薩葛 Sàgě,<sup>135</sup> acting at the behest of the Xi/Qay ‘king,’ 突董蘇 Tūdǒngsū<sup>136</sup> (or 吐勒斯 Tǔ [tù]lèsī,<sup>137</sup> *Liaoshi* 33.387), came to the Tang court in 868. However, they were subsequently, especially in 885–887, attacked by the Khitan (*Liaoshi* 63, 8a–b/63.956; Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 472; *Xin Tangshu* 219.4b–6b/219.6175; Taskin 1984: 152; Xu 2005: 171, 270; Marsone 2011: 98, 221, n. 5). Abaoji in 901 defeated the Xi/Qay chieftain 轄刺哥 Xiálàgē<sup>138</sup> taking many prisoners (Xu 2005: 171–172; Marsone 2011: 109). By 906–911, the Khitan completely subjugated the Xi/Qay (*Qidan guozhi* 1979: 41–42; Janhunén 1996: 147; Xu 2005: 171–172; Marsone 2011: 109; Kradin and Ivliev 2014: 34). Abaoji brought some 700 Xi/Qay ‘households’ together to form the 迭剌迭達 Diélàdiédá<sup>139</sup> tribe, an example of states creating tribal entities.

The Xi/Qay remained, however, uneasy, recalcitrant, occasionally rebellious subjects/tributaries of the Khitan, whose borders they guarded (Marsone 2011: 219, n. 117) but whose rule they found onerous. Led by 去諸 Qùzhū<sup>140</sup> ca. 907–911, a grouping broke away, submitted to the Tang and settled to the north of 媯州 Guīzhōu (today 懷來 Huáilái in Hebei). The Xi/Qay divided into Eastern and Western branches (Mullie 1976: 79–89; Taskin 1984: 151–153; Xu 2005: 171–172; Marsone 2011: 94). Quzhu was succeeded by his son 掃刺 Sǎolà<sup>141</sup> (920s), who married a Khitan woman, the elder sister of the 舍利 shě[shè]lì<sup>142</sup> 逐不

133 EMC *niǎ̃*/|*niǎ̃*<sup>h</sup> *kiat* LMC *riǎ̃*/|*ryǎ̃*/|*riǎ̃*<sup>h</sup>/|*ryǎ̃*<sup>h</sup> *kiat* (Pul.: 268 [140:6], 154 [123:9]).

134 EMC *nrik* *cia*/|*cia*<sup>h</sup>/|*lay* LMC *nriǎ̃* *ǰia*<sup>h</sup>/|*ǰia*<sup>h</sup>/|*lay* (Pul.: 224 [23:9], 278/279 [135:2], 183 [163:7]).

135 EMC *sat* *kat* LMC *sat* *kat* (Pul.: 271 [140:14], 106 [149:9]).

136 EMC *dwæt* *təwŋ* *sɔ* LMC *thūt* *təwŋ* *suǎ̃* (Pul.: 311 [116:34], 80 [140:0], 294 [115:11]). *Tutuq* a title noted in Old Turkic, which also appears in names (*DTSL*: 593; based on the Chinese title, 都統 *dūtǒng* ‘provincial military administrator,’ which is written differently, see Ošanin, 1983–1984, II: 779).

137 EMC *tʰɔ̃*/|*tʰɔ̃*<sup>h</sup> *læk* *siǎ̃*/|*si* LMC *tʰuǎ̃*/|*tʰuǎ̃*<sup>h</sup> *lǎǎk* *sɜ̃* (Pul.: 312 [30:3], 184 [19:9], 291 [69:8]).

138 EMC *yait*/|*yɛ:t* *lat* *ka* LMC *xfiǎ̃:t* *lat* *ka* (Pul.: 333 [159:10], 181 [18:7], 105 [30:7]).

139 EMC *det* *lat* *det* *dat* LMC *thiat* *lat* *thiat* *thiat* (Pul.: 79 [162:2], 181 [18:7], 69 [162:9]).

140 EMC *kʰiǎ̃*/|*kʰiǎ̃*<sup>h</sup> *tciǎ̃* LMC *kʰiǎ̃*<sup>h</sup>/|*kʰiǎ̃*<sup>h</sup> *tɕiǎ̃*/|*tɕiǎ̃*<sup>h</sup> (Pul.: 261 [28:3], 413 [149:9]). Shimunek (2017: 130) 去 *qu* transcribes in NWei as *kʰiǎ̃*. 和.

141 EMC *saw*<sup>h</sup> *lat* LMC *saw*<sup>h</sup> *lat* (Pul.: 272 [32:8], 181 [18:7]).

142 EMC *cia*<sup>h</sup>/|*cia*<sup>h</sup> *li*<sup>h</sup> LMC *ǰia*<sup>h</sup>/|*ǰia*<sup>h</sup> *li*<sup>h</sup> (Pul.: 278 [135:2]/279 [135:2], 188 [18:5]); variant: 沙里 *shā lǐ* (EMC *ǰai*/|*ǰɛ:* *li*<sup>h</sup>/|*li*<sup>h</sup> LMC *ǰa*: Pul.: 273 [95:4], 188 [166:0]): *ǰari* Khitan title, ‘court atten-

魯 Zhúbùlǔ.<sup>143</sup> Saola's son 拽刺 Yèlà<sup>144</sup> followed him (Marsone 2011: 219, n. 120; Taskin 1984: 153, 447, has: Села, which appears to be 洩刺 Xièlà) and proved loyal to the Khitan/Liao Emperor 耶律德光 Yèlǔ Déguāng (902–947), son and successor of Abaoji. In the late 920s, a certain Xī/Qay Tuōnuò 托[託]諾,<sup>145</sup> joined a rebellion against the Later Tang. In 936, a Xī/Qay 'king' named Sùgū 素姑<sup>146</sup> was killed by a certain Dálā[là]hǎn 達喇[刺]罕 [= 干 gān = han]<sup>147</sup> (Eberhard 1947: 216–217). Other Xī/Qay luminaries noted in the Chinese sources in service to the later Tang or Khitan are mentioned by Eberhard (1947: 217–220).

The late tenth-early eleventh century was marked by frequent Khitan conflict with the Jurčēn, 阻卜 Zǔbǔ<sup>148</sup> a term used for the Tatars and others, Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 50, 101, 104), Koryŏ and Song China (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 136 and n. 15, 419, 581; Kradin and Ivliev 2014: 45–49). Xī/Qay groupings or individuals were involved in these conflicts. For a time after 994, while the Khitan/Liao were at war with the Song, the Xī/Qay ceased to render tribute. With the conclusion of the war, in the course of the eleventh–early twelfth century, they appear in different years sometimes as 'integrated' subjects of the Khitan/Liao and at other times to have retained something akin to a 'semi-independent status' (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 315–316, 407–408; Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 159). Eberhard (1947: 223) terms them 'teils Privatsklaven, teils Hilfsstruppen, die einzelnen Kitan-Stämme,' a position not unlike the role they would play in Islamic Central Asia and the Middle East, as well as in Rus'.

We need not trace Xī/Qay history beyond this point for by the early part of the eleventh century, Xī/Qay groupings had already become one of the elements in the Qay-Qun migration (see below). These Xī/Qay were part of the faction that was unhappy with Khitan rule, as Marwazī reports. Indeed, there is reason to believe Xī/Qay elements broke off and came westward, attaching themselves to other nomadic groups out of the reach of the Khitan (Golden 1985 [1987]: 32).

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dant'; 'commandant' (Taskin, 1984: 172; Kane, 2008: 116; Shimunek, 2017: 275; Marsone, 2011: 84, 99 et *passim*; Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949: 290 and n. 20, 521, 550 [official 'in charge of the military administration of the imperial clan']).

143 EMC *drwvk pəy, put ləʼ* LMC *trfiwk put luəʼ* (Pul.: 413 [162:7], 43 [1:3], 200 [195:4]).

144 EMC *jiat lat* LMC *jiat lat* (Pul.: 364 [64:6], 181 [18:7]).

145 EMC *tʰak nak* LMC *tʰak nak* (Pul.: 314 [149:3], 228 [149:9]).

146 EMC *sɔʰ kəwʰ* LMC *suəʼ kəwʰ* (Pul.: 295 [120:4], 110 [38:5]).

147 EMC *dat lak kan* LMC *that lak kan* (Pul.: 69 [162:9], 181 [18:7], 102 [51:0]).

148 EMC *tʃiäʼ pəwk* LMC *tʃäʼ pəwk* (Pul.: 423 [170:5], 42 [25:0]), Middle Khitan \**čəbuqu*, \**čəbuq*, \**čəbu* and variants, cf. also the compound \**čəbuq* \**tadar* (Shimunek 2017: 421 and n. 2).



The Qay and Qun had already come into the purview of the Islamic geographers. The *Ḥudūd al-Ālam* (982), an anonymous compilation drawn from the Jayhānī tradition (Göckenjan and Zimonyi 2001: 35) places the Qāy as one of the 'districts'/'provinces' (*nāḥiyat*) of 'Čīnistān' (*Ḥudud* 1983: 60, ms.: قاي [tāy] for قاي [qāy], Minorsky 1970: 84, 228–229, 285).<sup>149</sup> Al-Bīrūnī (d. 1030) places the Qāy in the 'sixth clime' in the 'abodes of the Eastern Turks' (*masākin turk al-mašriq*) in a listing of peoples going from the east to the west: 'Qāy, Qūn, Xirxīz (Qırqız), Kimāk and Toquz Oğuz' (often denoting the Uyğurs) and thence westward to the 'land of the Turkmān' (Qarluqs or Oğuz), the city of Fārāb and the country (*bilād*) of the Khazars (Al-Bīrūnī 1934: 145; largely followed by Yāqūt [d. 1229], 1955/1: 31, and others). Al-Bīrūnī's data appears to have come information he gathered from an embassy of the 'Q'tā xān' Khitan and from the 'Y'uğ'ur (Uyğur) xān,' to Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 417/1026 or 418/1026–1027 (Gardīzī 1984: 413–414; al-Marwazī/Minorsky 1942: 68; Köprülü 1943: 263; Witfogel and Fêng 1949: 51). The Khitan ruler, mindful of Maḥmūd's aggressions in India, sought a marital alliance, which Maḥmūd declined because the Khitans were not Muslims. A decade earlier, in 407/1017–1018, some 300,000 tents of the 'tribes' (*ajnās*) of the 'Turks' from 'Şīn' had invaded Transoxiana, among them were the Xiṭay (Ibn al-Aṭīr 1965–1967/IX: 297; King 2013: 253–255, 258) pointing to movements of peoples into Central Eurasia churned up by the expansion of the Khitan.

Individual members of the Qay are mentioned among the palace servitors/*ġilmān* of Sebük Tegin (d. 977), the founder of the Ghaznavid polity, and his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna (d. 1030) and thereafter in the eleventh century–early twelfth century. They were noted by poets for their handsome appearance and bravery. One of Maḥmūd's palace *ġilmān* was 'Qay Oğlan', mentioned by Bayhaqī (d. 1077), a Ghaznavid minister and historian (Köprülü 1944: 421–452; Bayhaqī 2011/1: 217, III: 109, n. 517). The *Qābūs-nāma* (written in 425/1082–1083) terms them the 'bravest and most courageous' of the Turks, usually serving as *ġilmān* with a number of Central Eurasian and Middle Eastern rulers (*Qābūs-nāma* 1312/1894–1895: 50; Köprülü 1944: 428). In this regard, their posi-

149 Al-Marwazī, 1942 (Arabic) 14, (English) 26 notes a grouping of peoples (*ajnās*) 'towards' the northeast, 'between China and the Khirkhiz' which includes the 'Yāthī' (يَاثِي), which is most probably a corruption of قاي Qāy, a possibility Minorsky, 'giving rein to our imagination,' was willing to consider. The 'Fūrī' (فوري), perhaps the Qūrī (قوري), also listed, may well be a corruption of Qūn (قون). Minorsky (1942: 85–88) discusses the problems of the list and its possibilities, commenting that the list is virtually identical to that given in the *Ḥudūd*. Both would appear to stem from a common source (from before 982, the elements of the Jayhānī tradition).

tion was not unlike that of the Kaepiči. The Qay *ġilmān* at the court of Sebük Tegin point to individual Qays, who had fled the turmoil of their home territory. Those under his son, Maḥmūd and subsequently found elsewhere may have resulted from the Qay-Qun migration, noted below. Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, as we have seen, writing a generation after al-Bīrūnī, situates the Qāy among the tribes in the east of the Turkic world. On his map, he places their abode to the north of the Irtysh River, in the eastern area of the ‘Northern Zone,’ north of the Tatars along the Ilā (Ili) River, west of the Čömül and north of the Yimāk (al-Kāšġarī 1982–1985/1: map between 82–83). In his text, he enumerates the Turkic tribes from west to east: ‘the Bāčānāk, Qifčāq, Oġuz, Yemāk, Bašġirt, Basmīl, Qāy, Yabāqu, Tatār, Qīrqīz. The last one is closest to Šīn’ (which he later equates with Xitāy, al-Kāšġarī 1982–1985/1: 82; on the various regions denoted by Šīn, see Golden 2015: 519), i.e. Liao-controlled Northern China. The ‘Qarqīr (Qīrqīz), Qāy and Qūn, the country of the Turks and the Mongols’ are noted on a mid-twelfth century Syriac map (cited in Minorsky 1970: 284). Faxr ad-Dīn Mubārakšāh (ca. 1157–1236), a poet for the Ġūrīd court in India (O’Neal 2018: 221–224), writing in 1206, in a pastiche of notices on the tribes (*qabā’il*) of the Turks notes the Ġāyī (غای = غای = قای\*) just before the Xīṭā (خطا), i.e. Khitan followed immediately by the Ūrūs (Rus!) and Qāy (قاي), Ūrān (اوران = Ävrān), \*Tuxsī (ms. نخسی), Tubat (Tibet) et al. (Mubārakšāh 1927: 47). The Ġāy[ī] and Qāy are probably one and the same as the listing contains a number of duplicates (e.g. Oġuz [اُغز] and Ġuz [غز]), with different spellings.

#### 4 The Qay-Qun Migrations

The Seljuk court physician al-Marwazī, who wrote his *Ṭabā’i’ al-Ḥayawān* ca. 1120 (d. 1124/1125), in a section devoted to the ‘Turks’, describes a chain of migrations starting in northern China, that ended the Kimāk state transforming it into a polity dominated by the Qīpčaqs, hitherto one of its constituent and semi-autonomous groupings, and pushed a number of peoples westward in the first third of the eleventh century. Deciphering the cast of characters of this migration and fixing the precise dating of these events has produced an extensive literature for over a century (cf. Marquart 1914: 39–42<sup>150</sup> et *passim*; Czeglédy 1949: 43–50; Kljaštornyj and Sultanov 2004: 133–137;

150 Al-Marwazī’s text was not known to Marquart, who used the Persian version of this account found in the later *Jāmi’ al-Ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad ‘Aufī (d. 1242).

Golden 2005: 268–269; Golden 2015: 516, 526–532; Stojanov 2006: 11–124; Peacock 2010: 18–20; Kovács 2014: 26–44; Timoxin and Tišin 2018: 217–223). A concatenation of state formations formed the backdrop to and sources of turmoil during this era: the foundation of the Khitan/Liao state (916–1125) in the early tenth century, the conflicts beginning in the late tenth century that preceded the foundation in Gansu of the Xi Xia/Tangut state (1038–1227; Kyčanov 2008: 51–53), which came to involve China, Tibet, and the Uyğur statelets, the rise of the Islamized Qaraxanid Qağanate (992–1212) in Transoxiana extending to Semireč'e and East Turkistan, which waged war against its non-Muslim Turkic neighbors (among whom the Uyğurs, Qay, Yabaqu and Basmil figured prominently) and against the Khitan/Liao (Golden 2005: 268–269). The immediate catalyst was pressure from the 'Qitā-khan' (ruler of Qitāy, i.e. the Khitan/Liao state). Long ago, Barthold suggested that Khitan/Liao conquests in Mongolia pushed many Turkic peoples westward and led to the influx of Mongolic peoples into the region (Bartol'd 1963–1977/v: 86). The migration, starting out in the northern borderlands of the Khitan/Liao state brought the Qūn,<sup>151</sup> who were already 'pressed for pastures' westward from the 'land of Qitāy,' followed or pursued (*atabba'uhum*) by a more powerful 'people' (*ummaḥ*) Qāy, who took over their newly acquired pastures. The Qūn then attacked the Šārī, who moved into the land of the 'Turkmān' (here the Islamized Qarluqs are meant), who, in turn, pushed into the eastern Oğuz lands. The latter then moved westward into the lands of the Pečenegs. (Al-Marwaz 1941 (English): 29–30; (Arabic): 18). The Qun, unnoted by al-Kāšğarī, have been identified by Kljaštornyj as al-Kāšğarī's Yabāqu (Kljaštornyj and Savinov 2005: 140; Kljaštornyj 2013: 18–21; Golden 2015: 529–530). Kljaštornyj considered both the Qun and the Qay to be Turkic tribes deriving from the Tiele confederation (see n. 152). The advanced wave westward to the Pontic steppes, led by the Cuman-Qun-Šārī included a tribe named Qītan (Кытан) pointing to the early Khitan connection with this movement of peoples—although the 'Qītan' here may actually have been

151 Perhaps to be linked with the Tiele tribe 渾 Hún (EMC *ɣwən* LMC *xhun*, Pul.: 135 [85:9]; Chavannes 1996: 87, n. 3; Hamilton 1955: 2, n. 10), a link implied by Kljaštornyj, who also contends that the Qun and 'Kai' may have had Tiele affiliations (Kljaštornyj and Sultanov 2004: 136–137). An interesting conjecture with respect to the Qun, quite unlikely with regard to the Qay. Timoxin and Tišin (2018: 219–220) place the Qun 'somewhere in the Gansu Corridor'. They then moved, in their view, past the Uyğur Ganzhou state, which in 1026 and 1028 was attacked by the Khitans and then taken by Tanguts respectively. These conflicts drove part of the Uyğurs westward. Some of the Basmil of Shazhou were caught up in the chain of migrations going through the upper Irtysh and Ču River basins, impacting the Yimāk and Qipčaq.

refugees from the Khitan proper. The Qay (thence the Kaepiči) and Yemāks were part of this forward movement into the Pontic steppes recorded in the Rus' chronicles s.a 1055 (Kljaštornyj and Sultanov 2004: 133–138). Kljaštornyj's linking of the 'White Xi' 白霽 (Kljaštornyj 2013: 20) with the Qay cannot be sustained in light of the reconstructed form of Xi (see above). In any event, by 1030, the Qipčaq, hitherto a quasi-autonomous people under the Kimāk, were raiding the borderlands of the Xwārazmšāh state and soon began to figure prominently in the affairs of that realm (Bayhaqī 1945: 86, 684; Bayhaqī 2011/I: 168, II: 392, III: 53–54, n. 226, 82, n. 354; Axinžanov 1989: 191–216), pointing, perhaps, to the break up and reorganization of the Kimāk union—and the terminus ante quem for the completion of the Qay-Qun migration. In an earlier study, Pritsak (1968: 157–163) maintained that Khitan had ca. 868–890 begun the pressure against the Xi/Qay and others, bringing them into the orbit of Khitan political control or causing some to flee. Moreover, he argues, the Khitan could 'not have caused any migratory movement after 1000.' The starting point for the migration described by al-Marwazī, in his view, was Southern Manchuria and the Xi/Qay who came westward did so ca. 870–880. The Qun, related to the Khitan and Qay (i.e. Serbi-Mongolic using the new terminology) went to the Irtysh-Ob region, whence they were driven out by the Qay (who, in his view, were the Mongolic-speaking part of a union with the Turkic-speaking Čömül<sup>152</sup> and were connected to the Shātuó 沙陀 Turks<sup>153</sup>) by ca. 900. With the rise of the Tangut state and occupation of the Uyğur Gansu state in 1031, the Qay were pushed northward, attacking the Qun (Kimāk) realm, who, in turn, attacked, their Qipčaq 'vassals,' occupying their lands and setting off the migrations described by al-Marwazī. Much of this is speculative and a number of the identifications remain unproven. Nonetheless, the possibility that Xi/Qay movements, triggered by the beginnings of Khitan expansion and state building in the late ninth century, brought Qay westward cannot be excluded.

Pritsak (1982: 338, 340, 368) contends that the Qāy (Kaepiči, Qay-opa) became masters of the steppe (i.e. the Dašt-i Qipčāq) ca. 1050–1060, eventually establishing a joint dominion over the steppe with the Ölberli clan. The latter,

152 See above. The name has also been connected with Khotan Saka *cimuḍa*, *cumuḍa*,—'warriors' (Bailey 1985: 7–11). Bailey viewed them as Iranian and descendants of the Yuezhi. They were located in the region of 古城 Güchéng, west of Urumchi in East Turkistan/Xinjiang (Tišin 2017: 35).

153 EMC *ṣai/ṣe: da* LMC *ṣa: θia* (Pul.: 273 [85:4], 314 [170:5]). On the Shatuo of the 'Five Dynasties' era (643–907), see Alptekin (2008: 49–54) for a survey of the views of their name. Pritsak views Shatuo as the Chinese rendering of Čömül, which is unlikely.

in his view, were the supreme rulers, the Qāy clan becoming their ‘co-regent’ (ca. 1100–1120). The house of the ‘Polovcian prince’ Asen (Осень, Асѣнь, Асень, Асинь et var. *PSRL* 1: 205, 249, 283), Pritsak (2008: 239–241) argues, was the ruling dynasty of the Qayopa (Ayopa). This same family produced the Asenid rulers of Bulgaria.<sup>154</sup> While the latter seems likely, the evidence for Ay-opa < Qay-opa/-oba is far from proven as is also the paramountcy of the Qāy in the Cuman-Qipčaq steppe. The Kaepiči, a fragment of a larger scattering of Qāy across the Central Eurasian steppe, were minor players in the Cuman-Qipčaq-dominated steppe.

### Abbreviations

BQ	Bilgä Qağan Inscription (734/735)
EMC	Early Middle Chinese <sup>155</sup>
EOT	East Old Turkic
KT	Köl Tegin Inscription (732)
LH	Late 漢 Hàn Chinese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MC	Middle Chinese
NLOC	Northeastern Late Old Chinese
OC	Old Chinese
PSRL	Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej
Pul.	Pulleyblank 1991
WOT	West Old Turkic

154 Kljaštornyj and Sultanov (2004: 137) connect Осень, Асѣнь with the Old Türk ruling house of Ašina.

155 Dong (2021: 7) provides the most recent periodization schema of Chinese: OC: Late Shāng 商 twelfth–eleventh centuries BCE to Western and Eastern Hàn 漢 (206 BCE–220 CE); MC: Three Kingdoms (220–265) to Northern and Southern Sòng 宋 (960–1279). OC has also been dated ca. 1250–221 BCE to pre-Qín 秦 (221–206 BCE). LH, according to Schuessler (2009: 29–34), dates from 1st century CE. Shimunek (2017: 80–81) dates OC: ca. 221 BCE–220 CE (the Qin-Han eras). EMC refers to the period from the end of the Han to ca. 601 (cf. Karlgren, 1996, who termed EMC ‘Ancient Chinese,’ the language of Chang’an ca. 600). LMC is the period of the Táng 唐 (618–907), see discussion in Wilkinson 2018: 23–24; Pul.: 1–3; Baxter and Sagart 2014: 9–32. Pan and Zhang (2015: 80–103), date MC ‘from ca. fifth century CE to twelfth century CE.’ Shumunek (2017: 93) defines it as ‘Sui-Tang,’ the Chinese in which Qay, Old Khitan, Shiwei and other Serbi languages were transcribed.

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## Auf dem Wege der imperialen Eingliederung: Das Testament von ‘Alikey Atalıq aus dem Jahre 1639

*Mária Ivanics*

Im Auftrag der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften reiste 1863 der namhafte russische Orientalist Vladimir Vladimirovič Vel’jaminov-Zernov in die Stadt Kasimov (früher Meščerskij Gorodec, Hankermen, Oblast’ Rjasan, Russland), um für seine geplante dynastisch-biographische Monografie über das Khanat Kasimov an Ort und Stelle Quellengut zu sammeln.<sup>1</sup> In der ehemaligen Residenzstadt der Khane machte er Bekanntschaft mit zwei Mitgliedern der Familie Šakulov, Hüseyin Giray und Batır Giray, die ihm das Testament ihres Verwandten, ‘Alikey Atalıq aus dem Jahre 1639 übergaben. Diese Privaturkunde, die sich im Besitz einer der bedeutendsten Familie der Sippenaristokratie des Khanats befand,<sup>2</sup> wurde im dritten Band seines grundlegenden Werkes in arabischer Schrift samt russischer Übersetzung und Anmerkungen abgedruckt (1866: 232–240). Seit dieser Veröffentlichung fand das Testament Eingang in die russische und tatarische Fachliteratur, doch wurden allein seine wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Aspekte behandelt. Welche Gründe sprechen also dafür, dass eine dermaßen bekannte Quelle neu ediert und aufgelegt wird?

1. Vor allem verlangt die geringe Anzahl der in tatarischer Sprache erhalten gebliebenen privatrechtlichen Dokumente im Allgemeinen eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit und Neudeutung. Nach den neuesten Forschungen

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1. Ulug Muḥammed Khan von Kasan errang 1445 den Sieg über den Großfürsten Wassili II. von Moskau (reg. 1425–1462), und erlangte so die Gebiete zwischen den Fürstentümern Moskau und Rjasan mit Kermen am Fluss Oka als Zentrum. Als er starb (ermordet wurde?), floh einer seiner Söhne, Kasim, nach Moskau und bot seine Dienste Wassili II. an, der ihn im Besitz der oben genannten Gebiete bestätigte (1452). Als Vasall der Großfürsten von Moskau und später der russischen Zaren entstand ein neues Khanat, das Moskau ermöglichte, sich in die politischen Verhältnisse von Kasan einzumischen. Das Khanat Kasimov genoss zuerst größere, nach dem Fall von Kasan (1552) eine kontinuierlich schrumpfende Selbstständigkeit und bestand bis 1681 (Rahimzjanov 2009; Rakhimzyanov 2017).
  2. Die Familie Šakulov, die zur Elite des Khanats Kasimov gehörte, führte ihre Abstammung bis zum sufischen Šah Qulī Seyyid zurück. Šah Qulī Seyyid flüchtete am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts (1484?) zusammen mit den entmachteten krimtatarischen Khanen Nur Devlet und Haydar zuerst zum litauischen Großfürsten, dann zum Großfürsten von Moskau, der ihnen Kasimov als Aufenthaltsort verordnete.

sind nur 25 solche Schriftdenkmäler bekannt, und von den insgesamt fünf vorhandenen Testamenten stammen nur zwei aus dem 17. Jahrhundert (Minnullin 2020: 49).<sup>3</sup>

2. Die Veröffentlichung des Testaments von 'Alikey Atalıq in arabischer Schrift und russischer Übersetzung blieb für die internationale wissenschaftliche Fachwelt wegen mangelnder Kenntnis des russischen Sprachgebrauchs des 19. Jahrhunderts sowie den veralteten Editionsmethoden schwer zugänglich. Aus diesem Grund wurde es weder einer linguistischen noch umfassenden historischen Analyse unterzogen.
3. Die weiterführenden Forschungen wurden auch dadurch wesentlich gehemmt, dass die Originalausfertigung des Testaments zurzeit nicht auffindbar ist. Der Biografen von Vel'jaminov-Zernov nach wurden die Archivalien aus seinem Nachlass in verschiedene Sammlungen verstreut, und die bisherigen Erkundigungen brachten bis heute keinen Erfolg (Kalimullina 2014: 15). Allerdings ist mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit anzunehmen, dass eine zeitgenössische oder spätere kopiaie Überlieferung für die Edition diene,<sup>4</sup> worauf die textinternen Schreibfehler bzw. die nur schwer oder überhaupt nicht deutbaren Wörter schließen lassen.<sup>5</sup>
4. Die sprachlichen und zeitspezifischen Eigenschaften der Textgestaltung unterscheiden sich deutlich vom Kasan-Tatarischen. Die sprachliche Grundlage stellt das Volga-Turkī des 17. Jahrhunderts dar, wobei mongolische, aber auch russische Entlehnungen im Wortgebrauch vorkommen.<sup>6</sup> Ohne den Text einer umfassenden linguistischen Analyse zu unter-

3 Das zweite, womöglich ebenfalls auf das 17. Jahrhundert datierbare Dokument ist das Testament von Frau Kišbike Bikeč, das von Vel'jaminov-Zernov ebenfalls veröffentlicht wurde (1866: 447–459). Der bekannte, tatarische Turkologe und Kalligraph, Hüseyin Feyzhanov konnte es von einem Kasimov-Tataren namens Seyyid Battal Karamișev erwerben und stellte es Vel'jaminov-Zernov zur Verfügung. Inhaltsmäßig ist diese Quelle weniger bedeutend.

4 Vel'jaminov-Zernov hatte bei der Anfertigung der Abschrift gewiss die Originalausfertigungen der Testamente in den Händen gehabt, da er im Bericht über seine Reise an die Akademie der Wissenschaften vermerkte, dass beide Testamente nach dem Vorbild zeitgenössischer russischer Dokumente in Spalten verfasst wurden und fünf Seiten umfassten. „были написаны «столбцом» на пяти листах, по образцу русских актов того времени“ (Minnullin 2020: 70).

5 Der Anfang und auch das Ende des Dokuments sind unvollständig. Allerdings dürften vom Anfang nur die Basmala und einige Zeilen Koran-Zitate und vom Ende die Namen von weiteren Ohrenzeugen fehlen.

6 Zu den letzteren gehört das Wort *yöb* (mo. *jöb* ‚bewilligen, befürworten‘), *yasa-* (mo. *yasa-* ‚arrangieren, machen, ordnen, dekorieren‘) und *qarġa-* (mo. *qariya-* ‚fluchen, schimpfen‘ < \**qariġa-*). Die zwei Wörter *ulaženie* ‚Gesetz, Gesetzbuch‘ und *d'jak* ‚Schreiber‘ sind russisch.

ziehen,<sup>7</sup> muss über den besonderen Umstand seiner Entstehung so viel vorausgeschickt werden, dass es hier auch um ein Zeugnis der verbalen Sprachgewohnheiten der höfischen Elite eines Nachfolgekhanats der Goldenen Horde handelt. Das Schriftstück wurde nämlich nach dem Diktat des schwerkranken Erblassers abgefasst.

5. Die Hauptschwerpunkte meiner Neubearbeitung bestanden darin, eine revidierte Transkription zu liefern und mit der annotierten philologischen Übersetzung weitere Forschungen anzuregen. Die russische Übersetzung von Vel'jaminov-Zernov folgte den Ansprüchen des 19. Jahrhunderts, wonach man einen fremdsprachigen Quellentext nicht unbedingt terminologisch genau wiedergeben, sondern allgemein verständlich machen sollte. So habe ich in meiner Übersetzung versucht, die terminologischen Unsicherheiten mithilfe der neuesten Forschungsergebnisse zu klären und gleichzeitig auch dem Text treu zu bleiben.

## 1 Der Erblasser

Der Testator, 'Alikey Ataliq, der Sohn von Āqāy Mirza gehörte zur obersten Schicht der kasimov'schen Gesellschaft, und wie auch sein Titel *ataliq*<sup>8</sup> darauf hinweist, bekleidete er den einflussreichen höfischen Posten des Erziehers des minderjährigen Thronfolgers des Khanats, Seyyid Burhān Sulṭān b. Arslan Khan. Dieser lebte zwischen 1624–1679 und kam nach dem Tod seines Vaters (24. April 1626) mit zwei Jahren auf den Thron, doch wurde er nie offiziell als Khan proklamiert (Beljakov 2015: 48). Bis zu seinem 18. Lebensjahr regierten seine Mutter, Fatima Sulṭān Begim, und sein Großvater, Aq Muḥammed Seyyid, in seinem Namen. 1653 nahm er die Taufe in Moskau an und nannte sich fortan Wassili Arslanovič.

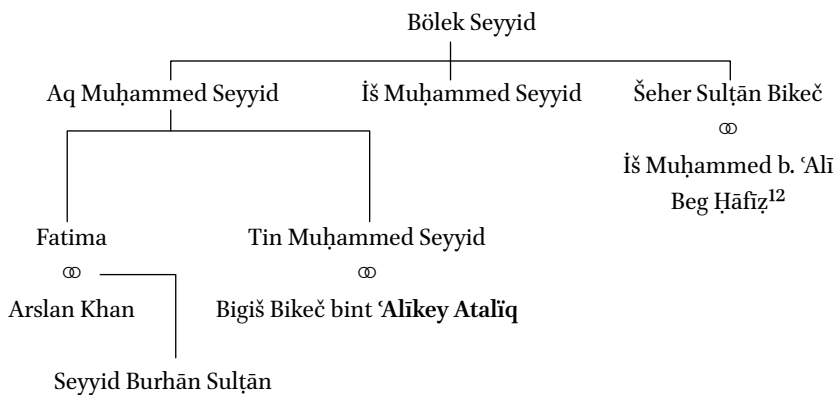
Das Geburtsdatum von 'Alikey Ataliq ist unbekannt, er verstarb womöglich kurz nach seiner letzten Willensäußerung. Als Testamentsvollstrecker wurden sein Schwiegervater, Aq Muḥammed Seyyid,<sup>9</sup> und sein Neffe, Döst Muḥammed

7 Vor allem die Bestimmung der Bedeutung bzw. Rechtsstellung der Wörter *erk* bzw. *erkli kiši* wären einen selbstständigen Aufsatz wert.

8 'Alikey ist eine Spitzname von 'Alī. *Ataliq* ist ein türkisches Wort, und bedeutet die „Person, die die väterlichen Aufgaben wahrnimmt“. Als Vertrauter des Herrschers leiteten sie geheime diplomatische Verhandlungen. Sie übernahmen bei der Einsetzung der Khane und beim Empfang von ausländischen Gesandtschaften die Hauptrolle.

9 Laut der Bemerkung von İbrāhīm Seyyid aus dem 1810 auf der Rückseite der Urkunde geht hervor, dass sich das Testament im Besitz von Aq Muḥammed Seyyid befand, und vom Vater zum Sohn weitergegeben wurde: Aq Muḥammed Seyyid – Tin Muḥammed Seyyid – Aḥmed

Mirzā, benannt. Dieser Verwandte, Aq Muḥammed Seyyid, war wie einst sein Vater, Bölek (Bulak) Seyyid,<sup>10</sup> das Oberhaupt des Klans<sup>11</sup> der Seyyiden und dessen religiöser Anführer. Gleichzeitig gehörte er der Familie Šakulov an, und da seine Tochter Fatima die Ehefrau von Arslan b. ‘Ali (1614–1627), des letzten Khans von Kasimov war, war er der Großvater von Seyyid Burhān Sultān. Sein Sohn, Tin Muḥammed heiratete Bigiš Bikeč, die Tochter von ‘Alikey Atalīq. Zur besseren Übersicht können die genealogischen Beziehungen der im Testament benannten wichtigen Personen wie folgt veranschaulicht werden:



Aus dieser Tabelle sind die Verflechtungen der religiösen und weltlichen Elite durch verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen leicht abzulesen. Die politische Macht brachte auch wirtschaftliche Vorteile mit sich. So heiratete Bigiš Bikeč, die Tochter von ‘Alikey Atalīq, in die wohlhabende Familie der Šakulovs ein. Die unlängst begonnene Erschließung des Archivs der Familie Šakulov brachte

Seyyid – Yaqūb Seyyid – Bektemir Seyyid – Aq Muḥammed b. Bektemir Seyyid – İbrāhīm Seyyid (Vel’jaminov und Zernov 1866: 265–267). Die Liste dieser Personen kann zugleich als eine Art Genealogie des Klans Šakulov betrachtet werden.

10 Bei der Inthronisierung des Khans Uraz Muḥammed (1600–1610) hielt Bölek (Bulak) Seyyid die Freitagsansprache (Chutba) (Berezin 1851: 167).

11 Seyyid, ‚Herr‘, ein Ehrentitel der Nachkommen Mohammeds, des Propheten des Islam, die ihren Stammbaum von Hüseyin, dem jüngeren Sohn seiner Tochter Fatima und seines Schwiegersohns ‘Ali ibn Talib, ableiten. Sie waren die Anführer der muslimischen Geistlichen und konnten auch diplomatische Aufträge übernehmen. Nur sie hatten das Recht, die Taten der Herrscher zu missbilligen. Gegen sie konnte keine Todesstrafe verhängt werden. Sie durften in die Dynastie einheiraten und konnten an Feldzügen teilnehmen. Sie übernahmen bei der Einsetzung der Khane und beim Empfang von ausländischen Gesandtschaften die Hauptrolle. Über die Seyyids der tatarischen Khanate siehe Ishakov (2001, 2015).

12 Hāfīz, ‚Einer, der den ganzen Koran auswendig kann‘.

zutage, dass Arslan Khan an Aq Muḥammed Seyyid 195 čet<sup>13</sup> Land zur Nutzung überließ und ihm obendrein jährlich 50 Rubel Bargeld aus den Zolleinnahmen gewährte. Seinem Bruder, İš Muḥammed, übertrug der Khan 66 čet' zur Nutzung. Diese Schenkungen wurden auch von Seyyid Burhān Sulṭān bestätigt (Beljakov und Jengalyčeva 2015). Die zwei Brüder verfügten also über 130,5 Hektar Land.

‘Alikey Atalıq besaß als Land mit dienstlichem Nutzungsrecht die Hälfte des Dorfes Šiškino und einen Teil (*бѣгъ*) des Fischereirechtes (?) in Kuznetsovo (Beljakov 2015: 48). Im seinen Testament standen die Anweisungen, die auf intensive landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeit hinweisen, im Vordergrund. Als ‘Alikey Atalıq die Bestandteile seines Vermögens anführte, wurden gedroschenes und nicht gedroschenes Getreide sowie der ausgesäte Winterroggen erwähnt. Auffallend war die geringe Zahl der Zug- und Haustiere: sechs Pferde, ein Fohlen, zehn Schafe, zwei Schafsböcke und Geflügel. Wahr ist allerdings, dass die örtlichen geographischen Gegebenheiten eher für den Ackerbau geeigneten waren.

Das Ackerland wurde, wie auch im Khanat der Krim, hauptsächlich mit Sklaven bewirtschaftet. Es gibt indirekte Beweise dafür, dass in Kasimov ein Sklavenmarkt betrieben wurde (Rahimzjanov 2009: 88). Die Zahl seiner Wirtschaftssklaven belief sich auf neun Personen, die im Testament nicht einheitlich behandelt wurden. Die als *Nemeč* bezeichneten drei Personen – zwei Männer und eine Frau, namens Qūrmānāy, İwānāy und Qūrmānbiy –, die litauischer, polnischer, eventuell preußischer Herkunft gewesen sein dürften und wahrscheinlich als Kriegsbeute in das Khanat gerieten, wurden den engsten Verwandten übermacht.<sup>14</sup> Die an Fatima Sulṭān Begim geschenkte weibliche Sklavin, Ay Sulu ‚Mondschönheit‘, dürfte ihrem Namen nach allerdings tatarischer Abstammung sein.

Da die Befreiung der Sklaven nach der islamischen Glaubenslehre als gottgefällige Wohltat betrachtet wurde, ließ ‘Alikey Atalıq seine fünf Sklaven freistellen. Von den befreiten Sklaven waren Timoška Pān polnischer und vier – zwei Männer und zwei Frauen – russischer Herkunft (Yāpiš, Andīrāy; Dewleš, İlik). Um seine wohltätige Tat zu steigern, entließ der sich auf das Jenseits vorbereitende Erblasser die befreiten Sklaven nicht mit leeren Händen in die Freiheit. Timoška Pān durfte das Pferd, mit dem er pflügte, behalten und erhielt vollständige Freizügigkeit. Andīrāy und sein Sohn, Yāpiš, die zusammen befreit

13 čet' war ein altes russisches Flächenmaß und entspricht etwa einem halben Hektar. <https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A7%D0%B5%D1%82%D1%8C> (Letzter Abruf 19.5.2021).

14 Sie könnten bei der Belagerung von Smolensk (1632–1633), woran sich die kasimov'schen Hilfstruppen beteiligten, (Vel'jaminov-Zernov 1866: 227–228), als Kriegsbeute in das Khanat geraten oder auf dem Sklavenmarkt von Kasimov erworben worden sein.



wurden, bekamen das kleine Haus von 'Alikey Atalıq im Dorf. Vermutlich hat auch jeder seinen Freibrief (*āzād ḥaṭṭi*) erhalten, allerdings werden im Testament nur zwei Personen (Yāpiš und Dewleš) namentlich erwähnt.

Einen beachtenswerten Sonderfall stellte die Auflösung des Familienverbandes des Hausdieners (*čora*) İrine dar, dessen Frau (Dewleš) befreit, dessen zwei Söhne, Qürmānāy und İwānāy, aber vererbt wurden. Der Letztere bezog das große Haus im Dorf, das der Tochter des Erblassers übermacht wurde. Er blieb also weiterhin auch im Familiendienst. Seine befreite Mutter Dewleš folgte ihm wahrscheinlich nach.

Im letzten Drittel des Testaments verfügte 'Alikey Atalıq über sein Begräbnis und die Vollstreckung seines Testaments. Gemäß muslimischer Sitte verordnete er, seinen Körper waschen zu lassen, in ein weißes Leinentuch zu wickeln und so der Erde zu übergeben. Die Ḥāfiẓ sollten den Koran an seinem Grab rezitieren, und zur Bewahrung seiner Erinnerung sollten an die Anwesenden Geschenke verteilt werden. Als sich der gläubige Muslim in seinem Testament zu Gott wandte, sprach er den Gottesnamen neben Arabisch (*Allāh, Haqq*) und Persisch (*Hudā*) auch in der türkischen Sprache seiner Vorfahren (*Tengri*) aus. Die gleiche uralte Tradition ist zu erkennen, als er den Fluch Gottes (*Allāh*), der Engel, der Menschen, des Himmels und der Erde auf jene beschwor, die die Vollstrecker seines Letzten Willens nach seinem Tode zu verhindern suchen.

Um die Authentizität der Urkunde zu gewährleisten, betonte 'Alikey Atalıq wiederholt, dass er seinen Letzten Willen in vollem Besitz seiner Sprachfähigkeit und seiner geistigen Kräfte vor seinen eigenen Augen niederschreiben und von vertrauenswürdigen Zeugen beglaubigen ließ. Aus diesem Grund bat er die Kadis und die Behörden, dem unrechtmäßigen Vorgehen der Erbschleicher kein Vertrauen zu schenken. Die Zeugen, die die Beurkundung der mündlichen Verfügungen des Erblassers mit ihrer Anwesenheit und ihren Unterschriften beglaubigten, sind in zwei Gruppen angeführt. Dieser Umstand legt nahe, dass die Beglaubigung der Urkunde in zwei Schritten erfolgte, wobei die abgeordnete Gruppe von Personen, die laut den neben den Namen angegebenen Titeln (Seyyid, Beg, Mirza, 'İmildaš, Ḥāfiẓ, Mü'ezzīn) zu der sozialen und religiösen Führungsschicht des Khanats gehörten, vielleicht eine Kontroll- und Zustimmungsfunktion übernahmen. Der als Ohrenzeugen bezeichnete zweite Personenkreis, zu der zumeist Koranrezitatoren (*Ḥāfiẓ*) gehörten, und die fünf slawischen Namen führenden Personen, die die russischen Behörden repräsentierten, wurden wahrscheinlich nur zur Verkündigung und Unterzeichnung des Testaments eingeladen. Das Testament des 'Alikey Atalıq ist das erste bisher bekannte privatrechtliche Dokument im Khanat Kasimov, das sowohl von christlich-orthodoxen Zeugen beglaubigt als auch von russischen Staatsbeamten behördlich bekräftigt wurde. Das Auftauchen der beiden neuen Kriterien

in einem privaten Rechtsakt eines Hofbeamten des Khanats Kasimov, das sich als Pufferstaat in Abhängigkeit vom Russischen Reich befand, signalisierte eine neue Etappe im langwierigen Anpassungsprozess an die russische Rechtsordnung.

## 2 Übersetzung des Testaments

*Jede Gemeinschaft hat eine (festgesetzte) Frist. Und wenn nun ihre Frist kommt, können sie (sie) weder um eine Stunde hinausschieben noch sie vorverlegen.*<sup>15</sup>

Durch Gnade, Befehl und Macht seiner Majestät des einzigen Gottes (*Allāh*) – erhöht sei Er! – durch die Überlieferung der heiligen Propheten und der Verse des Koran, durch Befehl und Gesetz des erlauchten großen Herrschers (*pādišāh*), seiner Majestät, Khan und großer Beg Michail Fjodorowitsch,<sup>16</sup> [dem Zaren] der ganzen Rus, sowie nach Anleitung der *šaria*, bei Zeugnis der *seyyiden*, *mollas* und der Anwesenden, mit der gnädigen Zustimmung unseres Herren, seiner Majestät Seyyid Burhān Sultān, des Sohnes unseres Herren, Arslan Khan,<sup>17</sup> wandte sich der Diener seiner Majestät des Gottes (*Tengri*) – erhöht sei Er! –, [d. h.] ich, ‘Alikey Ataliq, Sohn von Āqāy Mirza, aus unserem eigenen Entschluss zu seiner Majestät Seyyid Burhān Sultān, und baten um Erlaubnis, bei gesundem Verstand und Geist (im Vollbesitz unserer geistigen Kräfte) unsere Angelegenheiten im Diesseits und Jenseits entsprechend zu verrichten, deshalb ließen wir dieses Testament bei heilen Augen (*közümüz tiriwinde*) niederschreiben. Falls uns die Vorherbestimmung unseres einzigen Gottes (*Hudā*) ereilen würde, und ich von der Erde scheiden würde, damit nach uns unsere Erben nicht untereinander um unsere übermachten weltliche Habe kämpfen, sich nicht darüber streiten, und | keinen Groll gegeneinander hegen, befahlen wir das Niederschreiben dieses Testaments vor unseren Augen. Das unserem Schwiegervater, Aq Muḥammed Seyyid, Sohn von Bölek Seyyid, und unserem

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15 Koran 7:34:1–11. Für die Prüfung der arabischen Zitate und Übersetzungen bedanke ich mich hierbei bei der Arabistin Kinga Dévényi.

16 Michail Fjodorowitsch Romanow, Zar von Russland und Moskauer Großfürst (1613–1645). Khan entspricht dem Titel des Zaren, *uluġ beg*, also dem des Großfürsten. Iwan IV. nahm 1547 den Titel des Zaren an. Der Titel der Herrscher von Russland lautete bis 1721: Царь и Великий князь всея Руси „Zar und Großfürst der ganzen Rus“ [Schaller et alii 1995].

17 Arslan b. ‘Alī, Herrscher des Khanats Kasimov (1614–1627), war ein Enkel Kütschüm Khans, dem Khan des Khanats Sibir.

Neffen, Döst Muḥammed Mirza, Sohn von Ḥān Keldi Mirza,<sup>18</sup> [gegebene] Testament lautet: niedergeschrieben im Jahr eintausendachtundvierzig, am sechszehnten Tag des gesegneten Monats Zilkāde, am Sonntag (11.3.1639.), in Anwesenheit von vertrauenswürdigen und treuen Muslimen. Diese beinhaltet und erklärt [unsere Angelegenheiten] im Diesseits und Jenseits, und am Ende des Testaments erwähnen wir die Namen der Zeugen. Nachdem wir von dieser Erde geschieden sind, soll unser Schwiegervater, Aq Muḥammed Seyyid, und unser Neffe, Döst Muḥammed Mirza, im Sinne des Testaments mit unseren Worten unseren Herren, seine Majestät Seyyid Burhān Sulṭān, und seine Mutter, unsere Herrin, ihre Majestät Fatima Sulṭān Begim, bitten, sie wollen ihrem Diener zu verzeihen geruhen (*köngül-lerin fa'ıl etib*),<sup>19</sup> und meine Sünden nachsehen.<sup>20</sup> Unser Dienst und unsere Kraft sollen ihnen zugutekommen. Ich bitte sie hunderttausendmal um ihre Verzeihung, dass wir keinen, ihnen gebührenden Nachlass haben, sie wollen uns, ihrem Diener zu verzeihen geruhen. Unser, aus ihrer Gnade entstandenes Meierhaus (*yurt*), | mit allen Nebengebäuden und Wirtschaftsgebäuden ist das Recht unseres Herrn, seiner Majestät Seyyid Burhān Sulṭān. Wie er möchte, soll derjenige, dem er es zu geben geruht, darüber verfügen. Unsere alleinherrschende Herrin [*erkli kişi*],<sup>21</sup> Fatima Sulṭān Begim, bitten wir, die von Uraz Muḥammed Bašmakow<sup>22</sup> [mir] hinterlassene

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18 Die Identifizierung dieser Person war erfolglos.

19 Vel'jaminov-Zernov behandelte ausführlich das Wort *فعل* (فعل), 'Handlung, Tun, Tat, Werk' etc., das im Text zumeist zusammen mit der Wort *köngül* 'Herz' steht: *köngül-lerin fa'ıl etib*; *könglümüz fa'ıl turur*; [*köngülleri?*] *fa'ıl bolğaylar* (1866: 233, 251–253); *köngül-lerin fa'ıl etkey-ler erdi* (1866: 234); *köngül-lerin bizge fa'ıl etsün-ler biz-ning könglümüz alarga fa'ıl-dur* (1866: 238). Da ihm dieses Wort aus dem Tatarischen nicht bekannt war, und er dessen arabischen Ursprung ausschloss, hielt er es für die verballhornte Form des persischen Wortes *bahil* (محل), 'verzeihen', da gemäß Kontext diese Bedeutung nahelag. Allerdings ist das Wort im Wörterbuch von Radlov in kasachischer Sprache, in der Form *bä'il* (die Lautverschiebung am Anlaut f > p > b ist regulär) und mit der Bedeutung, 'Sinn, Deutungsart, das Handeln, Gewohnheit' vorhanden. Selbstverständlich kannte Vel'jaminov-Zernov dieses später erschienene Buch nicht (Radlov IV. 1911: 1570). Anhand der kasachischen Angabe konnte die Aussprache *fa'ıl* vielleicht *fä'il* gewesen sein, weshalb ich es auf diese Weise transkribierte. Der Begriff hängt offensichtlich mit dem türkischen Verb *gönül yapmak, gönül etmek* 'jemandem von Herzen etwas Gutes wünschen, jemandem wohlwollend gegenüberstehen' zusammen, woraus die Bedeutung 'verzeihen' abgeleitet werden kann [Baskakov et alii 1977].

20 Im Wortlaut: gestatten sie mir das Brot und das Wasser, [die ich in ihrem Dienst] gegessen und getrunken habe: d.h. sie sollen meine Sünden nachsehen (Vel'jaminov-Zernov 1866: 243).

21 Bei der Niederschrift des Testaments war Fatima Sulṭān Begim noch Regentin neben ihrem minderjährigen Sohn.

22 Vermutlich identisch mit dem tatarischen Dolmetscher des *Posol'skij Prikaz*, des Moskauer „Außenministeriums“. Er ist im Jahre 1635 gestorben [Beljakov et alii 2021: 63].

Frau, namens Ay Sulu [anzunehmen], und durch sie meiner, ihres alten Dieners, zu gedenken. Wir hinterlassen ferner unserem Herren, seiner Majestät Seyyid Burhān Sulṭān, unser eigenhändig erzogenes graues Fohlen. Wir bitten, durch dieses unseres einjährigen Fohlens, unser, seines alten Dieners, zu gedenken geruhen. Mein Neffe, Döst Muḥammed Mirza, soll uns gnädig (*yöb körüb*)<sup>23</sup> verzeihen, dass zur Erwidern der [uns] erwiesenen Wohltaten und der von ihm gewährten Habe weder unsere Haare noch unser Bart ausreichen.<sup>24</sup> Er soll gnädig und gegenüber uns guten Willens sein. Ich hinterlasse ihm meinen, von der Ehefrau von Qūṭūnāy, Sohn von Yān Būlāt, gekauften Nemeč<sup>25</sup> Diener, namens Qūrmānāy, Sohn von İrine; den er herzlich annehmen soll. Mein Schwiegersohn, Tin Muḥammed Seyyid, Sohn von Aq Muḥammed und  
 235 meine Tochter (*yüjün*), Bigiş Bikeč,<sup>26</sup> sollen mir verzeihen. | Ich hinterlasse ihnen meinen Nemeč Diener namens İwānāy, Sohn von İrine, den ich von der Ehefrau desselben Qūṭūnāy gekauft hatte. Mein Schwager, İş Muḥammed,<sup>27</sup> Sohn von 'Alī Beg Ḥāfız, und meine Schwester Şeher Sulṭān Bikeč, sollen beide die Nemeč Frau (*marja*),<sup>28</sup> namens Qūrmānbiy, die ich von Ötemiş, dem Sohn von Burnāy gekauft hatte, als Erbschaft erhalten. Sie sollen mir gnädig verzeihen, wie auch wir ihnen verzeihen. Auch sie selbst wissen, dass die Mitgift (*yasab tüzüb*) unserer älteren Schwester Şeher Sulṭān Bikeč mehr als zweihundert Rubel kostete. Sie sollen in dieser Sache nichts mehr von uns verlangen. Neben diesen übermachten Sklaven, haben wir Gott zu Liebe und für die Fürbitte des Propheten – Friede sei mit ihm –, in Hoffnung auf die Auferstehung, den von uns selbst erzogenen (?)<sup>29</sup> Diener, namens Yāpış, Sohn von Āndirāy,

23 Das Wort *yöb*, 'Passendheit, Richtigkeit, Eintracht' ist ein Lehnwort aus dem Mongolischen, wo *jöb* für 'correct, true, right' (Vásáry 1995: 483) *yöb kör-* 'befürworten, billigen, für möglich halten' (Budagov 1869: 370) steht. Ich habe es als *gnädig sein* interpretiert.

24 D. h.: ich bin ihm so verpflichtet, dass ich es nie begleichen kann.

25 *Nemeč*. Vel'jaminov-Zernov übersetzt es als Deutscher [1866: 244]. Vermutlich bezieht sich der Ausdruck auf die während der polnisch-russischen Kriege zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts aus preußischen oder eventuell litauischen Gebieten verschleppten Gefangenen.

26 *yüjün*, *yüjün* < mo. *jučün* 'Herrin, Tochter eines Khans oder Bega, leibliche Tochter von jemandem, von der Familie aufgenommenes verwandtes Mädchen'. Geht auf den chinesischen Titel *fujün*, *dslb.* zurück, der durch mongolische Vermittlung den Weg in die Sprache der kasimov'schen Tataren fand und zumeist in Grabinschriften vorkommt. [Vel'jaminov-Zernov 1863: 505]. Das türkische Äquivalent lautet *bikeč*.

27 Nicht zu verwechseln mit dem gleichnamigen İş Muḥammed, dem Bruder von Aq Muḥammed, der unter den Zeugen aufgelistet wurde.

28 In den tatarischen Quellen wurde für die Bezeichnung der weiblichen Gefangenen das aus dem Namen *Maria* abgeleitete Wort *marya* > *marja* verwendet (Vel'jaminov-Zernov 1866: 256).

29 *Özümişning äylāmāl haqqı-mız* 'Unser eigenes ...? Recht'. Das Wort *äylāmāl* ist offensicht-

befreit, er ist gleich wie die anderen Freien. Dewleš, Tochter von Yurya, die Frau des Dieners namens İrine, die wir von der Ehefrau von Qūtūnāy gekauft hatten, haben wir ebenfalls befreit, sie soll frei sein wie die anderen Freien. Ihre Freibriefe ließen wir bei heilen Augen, vor unseren Augen | schreiben. 236 Die Freibriefe der beiden übergaben wir eigenhändig an Aq Muḥammed Seyyid. Nachdem uns unser Schicksal durch unseren Gott ereilt und wir selbst von dieser Erde scheiden, sollen Aq Muḥammed Seyyid und unser Neffe, Döst Muḥammed Mirza, beiden, Yāpış und Dewleš, gnädig unseren Freibrief übergeben. Keiner hat Macht über sie, sie sind freie Leute seiner Majestät, des glückseligen großen Padischahs (d. h. des Zaren). Auch unser russischer Diener namens Andīrāy ist ein freier Mensch. Nach seinem eigenen Willen soll er dorthin gehen, wohin er möchte. Man soll ihm unser kleines Haus im Dorf geben, der Weg vor ihm ist in allen vier Himmelsrichtungen (*tört yan*) frei.<sup>30</sup> Unserem Diener namens Tīmōška Pān<sup>31</sup> soll man das Pferd geben, mit dem er pflügt, der Weg vor ihm ist in allen vier Himmelsrichtungen frei, nach seinem eigenen Willen soll er dorthin gehen, wohin er möchte, er ist ein freier Mensch. Vorher hat unsere Mutter unsere alte Frau namens İlik befreit. Auch sie ist ein freier Mensch, sie kann leben, wo und wie sie möchte. Außer diesen vererbten, befreiten und weiteren freien Dienern lautet die Abrechnung unseres sonstigen, nach uns bleibenden Vermögens (*māl*) und (unserer) Habe (*tirlik*) wie folgt: es bleiben dreißig Rubel (*şomm*) Bargeld, ein brauner | Zelter 237 (Pferd), zwei fuchsfarbige Pferde, ein graues Pferd, zwei weitere braune Pferde, ein rabenschwarzes Fohlen; meine zehn Schafe, meine zwei Böcke, meine drei

lich eine Verballhornung und deshalb unübersetzbar. Auch Vel'jaminov-Zernov konnte nichts damit anfangen, weshalb er es in zwei Teile aufspaltete: *āylā*+*māl*. Das Wort *māl* ist arabisch und bedeutet 'Vermögen'. Hinter *āylā* vermutete er das Wort *ōylū* 'häuslich, höfisch'. Das zusammengesetzte Wort übersetzte er als 'höfisch'. Meiner Meinung nach könnte hinter dem *āylāmāl* vielleicht der aus dem kirgisischen Verb *aylan-* 'sich drehen, umwenden, herumgehen um Etwas, schweben (vom Vogel)' gebildete Optativ *aylanayın* 'mein Kleiner, mein Liebling' stecken. Der Ausdruck geht auf ein Heilungsritual zurück, wobei ein Sühneopfer rund um den Kopf des Krankens gedreht wird, um den Geist der Krankheit zu vertreiben (Yudahin 1985: 31). In diesem Zusammenhang bedeutet *aylanayın* 'Ich bin bereit ein Sühneopfer für dich zu werden', woraus die Bedeutung 'mein Kleiner, mein Liebling' entstanden könnte. Deswegen habe ich es als 'von uns selbst erzogener Diener' übersetzt.

30 *Anu[ng] tört yanı qıbla*. 'Seine vier Seiten sind *qıbla*'. *Qıbla* (Tatarisch: *qıybla*) bedeutet die Richtung zur Kaaba, in der sich die Muslime während des Gebets wenden. Im übertragenen Sinne 'Richtung, Orientierung'. Die Redewendung kommt bis heute im Tatarischen vor: Geh in alle vier Richtungen! Geh wohin du willst! [Golovkina 1966].

31 Wie bereits Vel'jaminov-Zernov gezeigt hat, handelt es sich um einen polnischen Gefangenen.

Bienenstöcke,<sup>32</sup> mein gedroschenes und nicht gedroschenes Getreide (*aşlıq tariğ*), mein ausgesäter Winterroggen, mein aufhängbarer Kochkessel, mein Beil [zum Holzhacken] und meine zahlreichen [zum Haushalt gehörenden] harten und weichen [Gegenstände].<sup>33</sup> Bei Āl Muḥammed Mirza, Sohn von Aliş Beg, habe ich eine vertragliche Forderung von zwei Rubel. Bei Qara, Sohn von Biy Geldi, habe ich eine nichtvertragliche Forderung von einem Rubel. Aq Muḥammed Seyyid und Dōst Muḥammed Mirza lasse ich wissen: ich schulde niemandem etwas, nicht einmal einen Pfennig (*aqçe*). Ich schulde nur dem einzigen Allah meine Seele. Wenn mich die Vorbestimmung Allahs – gesegnet und erhaben sei Er! – ereilt, und ich, ‘Alikey Atalıq, von dieser Erde scheide, sollen Aq Muḥammed Seyyid und Dōst Muḥammed Mirza [meinen Körper] sauber waschen lassen, in ein weißes Leichentuch wickeln lassen und mich so der Erde übergeben (*haqq yerine*). Aus meinem Vermögen und meiner Habe sollen Geschenke wie gewöhnlich (*il durusunja*) verteilt werden,<sup>34</sup> damit meine Kerze und Fackel nicht gelöscht wird (d. h. damit mein guter Ruf erhalten bleibt). Den mich waschenden Menschen und den *Hāfız*,<sup>35</sup> die die Verse des Korans rezitieren, soll man aus meinem Vermögen so viel geben, wie ihnen zusteht. Meinem Diener namens İwānāy, den ich meinem Schwiegersohn Tin Muḥammed Seyyid und meiner Tochter Bigiş Bikeč übermacht habe, | soll man mein großes Haus im Dorf geben. Mein Vermögen und meine Habe, die nach den verteil-

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32 *Morta*, ‘Bienenstock’ (Kasan-Tatarisch *umorta* < ru. *bort*?) ähnelt nicht den heutigen Bienenstöcken, denn es handelt sich um Nistplätze, die von Wildbienen in Bäumen oder in einem ca. ein Meter langen ausgehöhlten und aufgehängten Baumstamm künstlich angelegt wurden.

33 Dieser Teil des Satzes ist schwer interpretierbar [p. 237: 4, p. 238: 6]. In der Lesart und Übersetzung von Vel’jaminov-Zernov: *ingneje*, ‘kleine Nadel’, *ḥaṭṭi*, ‘Nadelhalter’ (durch das Wort قوطی / قوطو *qutu*, ‘Schachtel’ erklärt) *yibje*, ‘kleines Garn’, *yumşaq*, ‘Knäuel’, also allerlei häuslicher Kram. Auch ich kann keine gute Lösung hierfür liefern, allerdings sehe ich eine gewisse Konsequenz und segmentiere anhand dieser die Wörter wie folgt: [...]*ing nife ḥaṭṭi-m nife yumşaq-ım*. Das Wort *ḥaṭṭi* würde dadurch dem Wort *qatı* (قَتِي), ‘hart’ entsprechen. Der Anfangslaut *h-/ḥ-* statt *q-* kommt auch an anderen Stellen des Textes vor, siehe *ḥarındaş/qarındaş*. Deshalb habe ich diesen Abschnitt als ‘meine vielen harten und weichen [Gegenstände]’ übersetzt. Vielleicht dachte der Erblasser dabei an die Einrichtungsgegenstände des Hauses, an die Teppiche und an die Kissen auf dem Diwan.

34 *aṭawum-ni tükewüm-ni aṭasun-lar* (237:14–15). Laut Vel’jaminov-Zernov [1866: 259] kamen die aus den Verben *atamaq*, ‘bezeichnen, erinnern’ und *tükemek*, ‘gießen, vergießen, zerstreuen’ gebildeten Nomen *aṭaw* und *tükew* bereits am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts nur in Redewendungen bei den sibirischen Mischär-Tataren vor. Beide Begriffe gelten als veraltet und bezeichnen Geschenke, die zum Anlass von Begräbnissen zum Andenken an den guten Ruf des Verstorbenen verteilt wurden.

35 Das türkische Verb *tolamak/tolmak*, ‘wickeln, umgeben, drehen’ hat im Kasachischen eine spezielle Bedeutung: ‘singen in Versen’ [Budagov 1869: 751].

ten Geschenken sowie nach der Bezahlung der mich waschenden Menschen und der den Koran rezitierenden *Hāfīz* verbleibt, meine Reitpferde, all mein Vieh, Geflügel, all mein Getreide, meine [zum Haushalt gehörenden] harten und weichen [Gegenstände], vererbe, schenke ich Aq Muḥammed Seyyid und Dōst Muḥammed Mirza. Außer Aq Muḥammed Seyyid und Dōst Muḥammed Mirza hat mit diesen keiner was zu tun. Falls irgendwann<sup>36</sup> eines Tages irgendjemand, seien es meine Söhne, Töchter, ältere und jüngere Brüder, Geschwister, Verwandte oder ein anderer Fremder sagen würde, dass er nach [meinem Ableben] von mir, ‘Alikey Atalīq, etwas erhalten sollte (*alasī māl*), ihm/ihr etwas zustehen würde (*tīyīšli haqq*), sollen sie mit Aq Muḥammed Seyyid und unserem Neffen, Dōst Muḥammed Mirza, nicht deswegen streiten und sie nicht verwünschen. Falls jemand [mit ihnen] streiten oder [sie] verwünschen sollte, soll der Fluch Allahs – gesegnet und erhaben sei Er! –, der Fluch des Himmels und der Erde, der Fluch der Engel und der Fluch aller Leute auf ihm lasten. Die Kadis des Gerichts und die Behörden | sollen sich die Wörter dieser Kläger und Antragsteller nicht anhören und nicht berücksichtigen. Sie sollen ihre Klagen und Anträge für falsch, ihre Wörter für Lügen halten, und gemäß diesen meinem Testament vorgehen. Ich, ‘Alikey Atalīq in Besitz meiner Sprachfähigkeit, bei gesundem Verstand und Geist, vor den Augen von vertrauenswürdigen (*yahšī*) Leuten, ließ dieses Testament aus eigenem Entschluss niederschreiben und übergab es Aq Muḥammed Seyyid und Dōst Muḥammed Mirza eigenhändig. Da ich, ‘Alikey Atalīq, dieses Testament wegen meiner Krankheit nicht eigenhändig unterzeichnen konnte, ließ ich bei gesundem Verstand und Geist dieses Testament statt von mir selbst vor meinen Augen von Uraz Muḥammed İmildāš, dem Sohn von Uraz Kēldi İmildāš,<sup>37</sup> unterzeichnen.

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Namen der Leute, die bei der Niederschrift dieses Testaments neben mir anwesend waren (*birge olturdilar*): İš Muḥammed Seyyid, der Sohn von Bölek Seyyid; Āliš Beg, der Sohn von Biy Ġüvāt Beg; Ūrāzāy Mirza, der Sohn von Memiş Beg; İsan Kēldi Mirza, der Sohn von Tengri Berdi Mirza; Tengri Ġul Mirza, der Sohn von Süyüş Mirza; Qutluğ Sa‘āt, der Sohn von Hūdāyār; Sefer Hāfīz, der Sohn von İškey Hāfīz; Muḥammed Hāfīz, der Sohn von jān ‘Alī; Mūša,

36 Im Testament arabisch als *yawman min al-ayyām wa-dahrin min al-a‘wām* geschrieben, d. h. „an irgendeinem Tag und in irgendeinem Jahr“. Übersetzung von Vel’jaminov-Zernov: „bis in die Ewigkeit“ (во веки веков).

37 *ēmildāš/imildāš* ‚Milchbruder‘ ist eine Institution in den Nachfolgestaaten der Goldenen Horde (auf der Krim, in Kasan, in Kasimov und in der Nogay-Horde). Durch das gemeinsame Stillen von Jungen entstanden verwandtschaftsähnliche Verbindungen zwischen den gestillten Kindern. Die Milchbrüder als Vertraute ihrer Herren nahmen einen wichtigen Platz in der sozialen Hierarchie ein, sie waren Teilnehmer bei der Einsetzung der Khane (Vásáry 1982).

- 240 der Sohn von Ša'bān; Ūrāzāy Ḥāfīz, der Sohn von ǰa'far mü'ezzīn; | Als dieses Testament verfasst wurde, waren so viele Leute anwesend (*birge olturdılar*), und die Ohrenzeugen (*tanuq bu sözge*) waren die folgenden [Personen]: Yol-qutluǰ Ḥāfīz, der Sohn von ǰān Seyyid; Şadīkāy Mirza, der Sohn von Düşāy Mirza; Bay Kēldi Ḥāfīz, der Sohn von Bay Čora Ḥāfīz; Devlet Süfi Ḥāfīz, der Sohn von Qazīkey; Süyüş Ḥāfīz, der Sohn von Beg Bulaǰ; Baḥtī Kēldi der Sohn von Qazīkey; Süyünǰ'Alī, der Sohn von Yaw Beg İmildāş; Ūrāzāy Ḥāfīz, der Sohn von İmildāş ǰān Gāzī; Yetmekey (İtmekey) Ḥāfīz, der Sohn von İwānāy; Iste Pān, der Sohn von Bāzīn; Vāsīlāy, der Sohn von Miki Fār (Nikofor); İwān dyāq, der Sohn von Kiri Korāy (Grigorij); Mikitā Mārṭīnāw (Nikita Martinov), der Sohn von İşāy oǰlı; Bāzīn, der Sohn von Pīrwāy; Küçük Mirza, der Sohn von Kēliš Mirza oǰlı; ...<sup>38</sup>

### 3 Transkription des Testaments<sup>39</sup>

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- /1/ (*li-kulli ummatin aǰalun*) *fa-idā ǰā'a aǰaluhum lā yasta'ḥirūna sā'atan wa-lā yastaqdimūna.*  
 /2/ bir Allahu te'ālā ḥazret-leri-ning 'ināyeti ḥükmi qudrātī birlen  
 /3/ taqī 'azīz peyǰamber-ler-ning ḥadīsī Qurān āyet-leri birlen  
 /4/ taqī dewlet-liǰ uluǰ pādšāh ḥazret-leri ḥān hem uluǰ bēǰ  
 /5/ Miḥāyla Fyodorōwīč wseyā Rūsī-nīng yarlıǰı hem ulāžīnya-sī  
 /6/ birlen taqī šarī'at dūrūst-ligi birlen taqī sayyid ve sādāt<sup>40</sup>  
 /7/ mollā ve mewǰūdāt-lar-nīng šehīdliq-lari birlen iyemiz Arslān  
 /8/ ḥān ḥazret-leri oǰlı iyemiz Seyyid Burhān Sulṭān  
 /9/ ḥazret-leri-ning yarlıqab buyurǰan rūḥset-leri birlen

38 Gemäß der Bemerkung von Vel'jaminov-Zernov befanden sich die Unterschriften der tatarischen und russischen Zeugen, die das Testament beglaubigten, auf der Rückseite der Urkunde. Allerdings sind die Namen im Text und auf der Rückseite nicht identisch, obwohl der Unterschied nicht so bedeutend ist. Den Grund hierfür konnte ich nicht erschließen. Hier möchte ich nur hervorheben, dass keine von den im Testament aufgeführten fünf russischen Namen auf der Rückseite zu finden sind. Von der Seite der russischen Behörden wurde die Urkunde durch Vaska Panaev und Stepaško Bolagoj in kyrillischer Schrift beglaubigt (1866: 262–265).

39 Für den Text des Testaments in arabischer Schrift siehe Vel'jaminov-Zernov (1866) 232–240, und Kalimullina (2014) 194–202. Die arabischen Rechtschreibkenntnisse des Schreibers des Testaments waren mangelhaft. Eine Liste der Schreibfehler würde sich lang erstrecken, deshalb habe ich nur zu den verwirrenden Fehlern Fußnoten geschrieben.

40 Vel'jaminov-Zernov hat das Wort *sa'adet* richtig auf *sādāt* (Pl. von *seyyid*) emendiert.



- /10/ tengri te'ālā ḥazret-leri-ning bendesi Āqāy Mirzā-oğli  
 /11/ 'Alikey Ataliq öz iqrār könglümüz birlen iyemiz Seyyid  
 /12/ Burhān Sultān ḥazret-leriğa baş urub rūḥsat tileb  
 /13/ 'aqlimiz üsümüz dürüst-lügünde dünyā ve āḥretlik işlerimiz  
 /14/ āsānṭliq<sup>41</sup> birlen āmān bolğay ērdük tēb bu wāšiyet nāme  
 /15/ ḥaṭṭimiznī közümüz tiriwinde yazdurduq bir ḥudāyīm-niing  
 /16/ taqdiri yētilib dünyādin öterdey bolsaq bizdin songra  
 /17/ mirās-ḥorlarimiz<sup>42</sup> bizdin qalğan dünyāligimiz üçün öz  
 /18/ aralarında uruş ṭalaş ētib biri-ning birige köngli

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- /1/ qalmağay ērdi tēb mundağ wāšiyet yazdurgali közümüz  
 /2/ aldunda buyurduk qudamiz Bölek Seyyid-oğli Aq Muḥammed Seyyid  
 /3/ birlen Ḥān Keldi Mirzā-oğli inimiz Dōst Muḥammed Mirzāğa  
 /4/ wāšiyet sözümüz bu turur tāriḥ-i mingde qırq sekiz yilda  
 /5/ mübārek zī'l-qa'de ay-niing on altinji yekšenbe kün ērdi  
 /6/ kim bitildi emīnū'l-mū'temed müslümānlar ḥuzūrlarında müstemil bu  
 /7/ ma'nā-niing beyānī üze bu wāšiyet nāme ḥaṭṭi-niing aḥrında  
 /8/ tanuqlar atlarin yād qılğay-miz dünyāligimiz hem āḥret-ligimiz  
 /9/ qudamiz Aq Muḥammed Seyyid birlen inimiz Dōst Muḥammed Mirzā biz  
 /10/ dünyādin ötkendin songra bizning sözümüz birlen bu  
 /11/ wāšiyetimizçe iyemiz Seyyid Burhān Sultān ḥazret-lerine taqī  
 /12/ analari iyemiz Faṭma Sultān Bēgim ḥazret-lerine baş  
 /13/ urğaysiz biz qul-larına yarlıqab köngül-lerin fa'ıl ētib biz  
 /14/ yegen ijken aš-larin sularin bizge ḥelāl ētsünler biz-niing  
 /15/ bergen ētken ḥizmetimiz küçümüz alarğa ḥelāl bolğay yüz ming  
 /16/ qurla könglümüz fa'ıl turur taqī alarğa yarağli mirāsımız  
 /17/ bolmadı yarlıqab ol işden biz qul-larına [köngülleri?] fa'ıl bolğaylar  
 /18/ ērdiler alarniing yarlıqaşında bitken yurtumuz taqī jümle

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- /1/ salğan minyāt-larimiz jümle qaraldimiz<sup>43</sup> iyemiz Seyyid Burhān  
 /2/ Sultān ḥazret-leri-ning ḥaqqı turur her neçük isteseler her

41 āsānliq.

42 Vel'jaminov-Zernov las richtig *mīrās-ḥor* statt *mīrās-ḥun* (1866: 251).

43 Das Wort *minyāt* wurde von Vel'jaminov-Zernov als Plural von *minnet*, das Verbundensein, Pflicht, Schuld' interpretiert (1863: 303–305). Er sah eine Verbindung zwischen *minnet* und dem russischen Wort *služba* ‚Dienst, Pflicht‘, dessen alte Bedeutung ‚Nebengebäude‘ ist (1866: 253). *qaraldı* ‚Wirtschaftsgebäude neben dem Haus‘ (Budagov 1871: 47).

- /3/ kim-ge yarlıqasalar alarnıng érki bar turur taqı érkli kışi  
 /4/ iyemiz Fatma Sultān Bēgim hazret-lerine Uraz Muḥammed Bařmakow  
 /5/ mırās berib kitken Ay řulu atlıg hātūn birlen bař uramız  
 /6/ biz qart qul-ların řunung birlen yād étsūn-ler biz-ning  
 /7/ mırāřımız taqı iyemiz Seyyid Burhān Sultān hazret-lerine  
 /8/ özümüz-ning qolumızda ösken boř mādyānımız birlen  
 /9/ bař uramız biltürgi řor mādyān řayı birlen yarlıqab  
 /10/ biz qart qul-ların řunung birlen yād étkey-ler taqı  
 /11/ inimiz Dōst Muḥammed Mirzā yōb körüb bizge köngül-lerin  
 /12/ fa‘l étkey-ler érdi andağ kim étken égülik-lerine<sup>44</sup>  
 /13/ anıng bergin māl-larınıng ḥesābına saçımız birlen saqalımız  
 /14/ hem yetmegey yōb körüb bizge könglün ḥelāl etib ḥoř  
 /15/ étkey érdi Yān Būlāt-oğlı Qūtūnāy hātūnundan  
 /16/ satib alğan İrine-oğlı Qūrmānāy atlıg Nemeç joram ağar  
 /17/ mırās éteyim könglüne yaḥři taqı Aq Muḥammed Seyyid-oğlı küyewim  
 /18/ Tin Muḥammed Seyyid birlen yūjūnūm Bigiř Bikej bizge [köngülleri?] fa‘l

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- /1/ bolğay-lar érdi-ler alarğa řol-luq Qūtūnāy hātūnundan  
 /2/ satib alğan İrine oğlı İwānāy atlıg Nemeç joram bizdin  
 /3/ songra mırās bolsun alarğa taqı ‘Alı Beg Ḥāfiż-oğlı  
 /4/ küyevimiz İř Muḥammed birlen ḥarındařımız (sic!) řeher Sultān Bikeçge  
 /5/ alar-nıng iki-sine Burnāy oğlı Ötemiř-din satib  
 /6/ alğan Nemeç marjām Qūrmānbiy atlıg mırās (sic!) bolsun yōb  
 /7/ körüb köngül-lerin bizge fa‘l étsūn-ler biz-ning könglümüz  
 /8/ alarğa fa‘l-dur özlerine hem ma‘lūm dur ḥarındařımız řeher  
 /9/ Sultān Bikeç-ning biz alarnı yasab tüzüb berginimiz iki  
 /10/ yüz řomm-dan hem ozğan-dur ol işde bizge alar-nıng  
 /11/ minlāti<sup>45</sup> yoq dur imdi taqı bu mırāt bergin yesirlerimizdin  
 /12/ bařqa özümüzning āylāmāl ḥaqqı-mız Andirāy oğlı Yapıř  
 /13/ atlıg joram-nı ḥaqq rızāsi üçün peygamber ‘aleyhi’s-selām  
 /14/ řefa‘atı üçün qiyāmet ümidi üçün öz bařımızdan āzād  
 /15/ ét[t]ük özge āzād-lar tēg taqı Qūtūnāy hātūnundan satib  
 /16/ alğan İrine atlıg čora-nıng hātūni Yūrya qizi Dewleř-ni  
 /17/ hem āzād ét[t]ük özge āzād-lar tēg āzād bolsun taqı alar-nıng  
 /18/ āzād ḥaṭṭ-ların hem öz közumiz tiriwinde közumiz aldunda

44 *édgü-lik* (?) ‚Güte‘.

45 Plural von *minnet*?

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- /1/ yazdurduq ol ikisi-ning āzād haṭṭīn Aq Muḥammed Seyyid-ning  
 /2/ qoluna öz qolum birlen tabşurduq ḥudāyīmiz-din taqdīr yētib  
 /3/ özüimiz dünyā-din ötken song Aq Muḥammed Seyyid birlen inimiz  
 /4/ Dōšt Muḥammed Mirzā alar-ning āzād haṭṭ-larīn ikisine Yāpiš  
 /5/ birlen Dewleške bersün-ler yōb körüb anlar da hič kim  
 /6/ érse-ning işi küči yoq turur dewletli uluḡ pādšāh  
 /7/ ḥazret-leri-ning érkli ādemleri tururlar taqī Andirāy  
 /8/ atliḡ Uruş čoramiz hem érkli kişi dur her qayda sewse  
 /9/ öz érki birlen anda barsun şaladaḡi kiči öyümüz-ni  
 /10/ berib yibergeysiz anī[ng] tört yanī qibla taqī Tīmōšqa atliḡ  
 /11/ pān čoramiz-ni özi şuḥalay turḡan alaşa-ni angar berib  
 /12/ yibergeysiz tört yanī qibla qayda süyse anda barsun öz  
 /13/ érki birlen érkli ādem dur taqī burunḡi İlik atliḡ qart  
 /14/ marjamiz anamiz başundan āzād bolḡan ol hem érkli  
 /15/ kişi turur qayda süyse anda turar öz köngli birlen  
 /16/ taqī ol mirās étken taqī āzād étken taqī özge érkin  
 /17/ čoralarimizdan özge özümüzden song qalaturḡan māl  
 /18/ tirli-qımız-ning ḥesābi bu turur otuz şomm aqče bir küren

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- /1/ yorḡa iki jiren alaşa bir kök alaşa taqī iki küren  
 /2/ alaşa bir qara mādyān on qoyum iki qoj-qarim üj morṭam  
 /3/ qaḡılḡan qaḡılmaḡan ašliq tariḡlarim yerge jā-j-qan  
 /4/ küzlük ariş-larim āşār qazanim, jābar balṭam [...]ing niḡe haṭṭim  
 /5/ niḡe<sup>46</sup> yumşaḡim qaladur Aliş Beg oḡli Āl Muḥammed Mirzāda  
 /6/ iki şomm qabalalī alasī aqčem bar dur Biy Keldi oḡli  
 /7/ Qarada bir şomm qabalaşiz alasī aqčem bar dur Aq Muḥammed Seyyid  
 /8/ birlen Dōst Muḥammed Mirzāḡa wāşiyet sözüm bu dur ki hīč  
 /9/ kim érsege bir aqče beresi boruḡum yoq dur bir Allah-ḡa beresi  
 /10/ boruḡlu bir jānum dur qačan kim Allāhu tebareke ve te‘ālā-din  
 /11/ taqdīr yētib men ‘Alikey Aṭaliq dünyādin riḡlet qılsam Aq  
 /12/ Muḥammed Seyyid birlen Dōst Muḥammed Mirzā meni aruw yuwdurub  
 /13/ aq kefen-letib ḥaqq yerine tabşursunlar benim mālīm-din  
 /14/ tirli-gim-din el durusunja aṭawum-ni tükewüm-ni  
 /15/ aṭasun-lar şāmum-ni čiraḡim-ni söndürmesün-ler meni  
 /16/ peklegen kişi-ge hem ḥafiz-larḡa Qurān tolturur üçün menim

46 Ich las *niḡe* satt *yibje*.

- /17/ mālimdīn tirli-gim-din oşawuna köre bersün-ler küyewüm  
 /18/ Tin Muḥammed Seyyid birlen yūjünüm Bigiś Bikej-ge mīrās bergen

## 238

- /1/ İwānāy atliġ ĵorama şaladaġi uluġ üyüm-ni aġar bersünler  
 /2/ mēnim aṭawum-din tükewüm-din qalġan hem mēni peklegen  
 /3/ kişiġe bergen-din hem ḥāfız-larġa Qurān tolturur üçün  
 /4/ bergen-din qalġan mālīm tirligim miner yilqı-larım her türlük  
 /5/ tuwar qaralarım quşum qurtum her türlük aşlıq ṭariġ-larım  
 /6/ [...]ing niġe ḥaṭṭım niġe yumşaġım bolġay Aq Muḥammed Seyyid birlen  
 /7/ Dōst Muḥammed Mirzā-ġa wāşiyet qilib baġışladım Aq Muḥammed  
 /8/ Seyyid birlen Dōst Muḥammed Mirzā-din özge hiç kim erse-ning  
 /9/ işleri yoq *yawman min al-ayyām wa-dahrin min al-a'wām* künlerde  
 /10/ bir kün ya mēnim oġlan-larım qız-larım bolġay ya mēnim  
 /11/ aġa-larım ini-lerim bolġay ya mēnim qarındaş uruġ-larım  
 /12/ bolġay ya bir öngin yat kim erse-ler bolġay mēn-din  
 /13/ şongra 'Alikey Atalıq-dan alası mālīmiz tiyişli ḥaqqımız  
 /14/ bar dur tēb Aq Muḥammed Seyyid birlen inimiz Dōst Muḥammed  
 /15/ Mirzāġa dāġway we qarġaşa qılmasun-lar eger kim erse dāġway  
 /16/ we qarġaşa qılurday bolsa-lar Allāhu tebāreke we te'ālā-niġ la'neti  
 /17/ ve yer kök la'neti we firişte-lerniġ la'neti we barça ādemī-ler-niġ  
 /18/ la'neti anlar üze bolsun hem şari'at qāzī-leri we şiyāşet

## 239

- /1/ begleri bu dāġway-ġi-lar-niġ izlewġiler-ning sözlerin  
 /2/ tinglemesünler ve hem eşütmesünler dāġway-ların bāṭıl etib  
 /3/ sözlerin yalġan qilib menim bu wāşiyet nāme ḥaṭṭımizġa  
 /4/ qılsunlar tēb men 'Alikey Atalıq tilim-ning saġlı-qimda  
 /5/ 'aqlım hūsım dürüst-lügümde yaḥşi ādem-ler közünġe Aq  
 /6/ Muḥammed Seyyid birlen Dōst Muḥammed Mirzā-ġa öz iqrār könglüm  
 birlen bu  
 /7/ wāşiyet-nāme ḥaṭṭın yazdurdub öz qolum birlen berdüm men  
 /8/ 'Alikey Aṭalıq hastalı-qimdīn bu wāşiyet-nāme ḥaṭṭıma öz  
 /9/ qolum qoya almaġanım-din 'aqlım hūsım dürüst-lügümde bu  
 /10/ wāşiyet-nāme ḥaṭṭıma özüm üçün öz közüm aldunda  
 /11/ Uraz Kēldi İmildāş oġlı Uraz Muḥammed İmildāş-ke qolun  
 /12/ qoydurdum bu wāşiyet-nāme ḥaṭṭın yazġanda birge olturġan-lar  
 /13/ ādem-ler-ning atları Bölek Seyyid-oġlı İş Muḥammed Seyyid; Biy  
 /14/ Ğüvāt Beg oġlı Āliš Beg; Memiş Beg oġlı Ūrāzāy Mirzā;  
 /15/ Tengri Berdi Mirzā oġlı İsan Kēldi Mirzā; Süyüş

- /16/ Mirzā oğlu Tengri Ğul Mirzā; Ğūdāyār oğlu Qutluğ Sa'āt;  
 /17/ İškey Ğāfız oğlu Sefer Ğāfız; ĵān 'Alī oğlu Muḥammed Ğāfız;  
 /18/ Ša'bān oğlu Mūša; ĵa'far mü'ezzīn oğlu Ūrāzāy Ğāfız; bu

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- /1/ vāšiyet nāme ḥaṭṭīn yazğanda bu qadar ādemler birge olurdılar  
 /2/ šahīd māfiha bu sözge ĵān Seyyid oğlu Yolqutluğ Ğāfız; [tanuq] bu  
 /3/ sözge Dūsāy Mirzā oğlu Šadīkāy Mirzā; tanuq bu sözge  
 /4/ Bay Čora Ğāfız oğlu Bay Kēldi Ğāfız; tanuq bu sözge  
 /5/ Qazīkey oğlu Devlet Sūfi Ğāfız; tanuq bu sözge Beg Bulaṭ  
 /6/ oğlu Süyüş Ğāfız; tanuq bu sözge Qazīkey oğlu Baḥtī  
 /7/ Kēldi; tanuq bu sözge Yaw Beg İmildāš oğlu Süyünĵ'Alī  
 /8/ İmildāš tanuq bu sözge ĵān Ğāzī oğlu Ūrāzāy Ğāfız;  
 /9/ İwānāy oğlu Yetmekey Ğāfız; tanuq bu sözge  
 /10/ Bāžīn oğlu İste Pān; tanuq bu sözge Miki Fār (Nikofor) oğlu  
 /11/ Vāsīlāy; tanuq bu sözge Kiri Korāy (Grigorij) oğlu İwān dyāq;  
 /12/ tanuq bu sözge İşāy oğlu Mikitā Mārṭīnāw (Nikita Martinov); tanuq bu  
 sözge  
 /13/ Pīrwāy oğlu Bāžīn; tanuq bu sözge Kēliš Mirzā oğlu Küçük Mirzā; tanuq ...

## Anhang

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.....فَإِذَا جَاءَ أَجَلُهُمْ لَا يَسْتَأْذِرُونَ سَاعَةً وَلَا يَسْتَنْقِذُونُ  
 بر الله تعالى حضرت لاری نینک عنایتی حکمی قدرانی برلان  
 تقی عزیز بیغمه لارینینک حدیسی قرآن آیت لاری برلان  
 تقی دولت لیغ اولوغ پادشاه حضرت لاری خان هم اولوغ بیگ  
 میخیلا فیروزیج و سیمیا روسی نینک برلغی هم اولارینیه سی  
 برلان تقی شریعت دوروست لیکی برلان تقی سید سعادت  
 ملا و موجودات لارینینک شهید لیق لاری برلان ایامیز آرسلان  
 خان حضرت لاری اوغلی ایامیز سید برهان سلطان  
 حضرت لاری نینک یارلیقاب بیورغان روح ست لاری برلان  
 تنکری تعالی حضرت لاری نینک بنداسی آقای میرزا اوغلی  
 علیکای اطالیق اوز ایقرار کونکومیز برلان ایامیز سید  
 برهان سلطان حضرت لاریقه باش اوروب روخت تیلاب  
 عقلمیز اوسومیز دوروست لوکوندا دنیا و آخرت لیگ ایشلاریمیز  
 آسان طلبق برلان آمان بولغای ایردوک تیب بو وصیت نامه  
 خطیمیزی کوزوموز ترویندا یازدوردوق بر خدایمیز نینک  
 تقیری بتیلیب دونیادین اوتاردای بولساق بزین سونکرا  
 میراس خونلاریمیز بزین قالغان دونیالیمیز اوجون اوز  
 آرالاریندا اوروش طلش ایتمیب بری نینک بریکا کونکلی

ABB. 5.1

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قالماغای ابردی تیب مونداغ واصیت یازدورغالی کوزوموز  
 آلدوندا بووردوق قودامیز بولاك سید اوغلی آق محمد سید  
 برلان خان کیلای میرزا اوغلی اینیمیز دوست محمد میرزاغه  
 واصیت سوزومیز بو ترور تاریخ مینكده قرق سیکیز یارا  
 مبارک ذی القعدة آی نینک اون الطیجی یکشنبه کون ابردی  
 کیم بتلای ایمین المعتمد مسلمانلار حضورلاریندا مشتمل بو  
 معنی نینک یسانی اوزا بو واصیت نامه خطی نینک آذریندا  
 تنوقلار آنلارین باد قیلغای میز دونبالیکیمیز هم آخرت لیکیمیز  
 قودامیز آق محمد سید برلان اینیمیز دوست محمد میرزا بز  
 دونیادین اونکاندین سونکرا بز نینک سوزومیز برلان بو  
 واصیتیمیزجه ایامیز سید برهان سلطان حضرتلارینه تقی  
 آنسهلاری ایسامیز فطمه سلطان بیکم حضرتلارینه باش  
 اورغای سز بز قوللارینه برلیقاب کونکوللارین فعیل ایتیب بز  
 یکان ایجکان آشلارین سولارین بزکا حلال ایتسونلار بز نینک  
 برکان اینکان خزمتمیز کوزوموز آلاغه حلال بولغای بوز مینک  
 قورلا کونکوزوموز فعیل ترور تقی آلاغه براغلی میراسیمیز  
 یولجادی برلیقاب اول ایشدان بز قوللارینه فعیل بولغایلار  
 ابردیلار آلار نینک برلیقاشیندا بتکان بورتوموز تقی جـله

ABB. 5.2

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سالغان منياطلاريمىز جُله قراليمىز ايامىز سىمىز برهان  
سلطان حضرت لارى نينىك حقى ترور هر نچوك ايتسه لار هر  
كېمكا بىلىقاسالار آلار نينىك ايركى بار تورور نقى ايركى كىشى  
ايامىز فطمه سلطان بىكم حضرت لار بىنه اوراز محمد باشما كوش  
ميراث بربىب كىنكان آى صلو آتلىغ خاتون برلان باش اورامىز  
بز قارت قول لار بىن شونونك برلان ياد ايتسوس لار بىز نينىك  
ميراس بىمىز نقى ايامىز سىمىز برهان سلطان حضرت لار بىنه  
اوزومىز نينىك قولومىز دا اوسكان بوز مادى بانيمىز برلان  
باش اورامىز بىلنورغى صور مادى باني برلان بىلىقاب  
بز قارت قول لار بىن شونونك برلان ياد ايتسكاي لار نقى  
اينىمىز دوست محمد ميرزا بوب كوروب بىزكا كونكول لار بىن  
فعيل ايتسكاي لار ايردى آنداغ كىم ايتكان ايكوليك لار بىنه  
آينىك بركان مال لار بىننىك حسابىنه ساجىمىز برلان سقالمىز  
هم بىشكاي بوب كوروب بىزكا كونكلون حلال ايتىب خوش  
ايتسكاي ايردى بان بولاط اوغلى قوطوناي خاتونون دان  
سانىب آلغان ايرىنه اوغلى قورماناي آتلىغ نىمىز جورلم آغار  
ميرراس اينىمىز كونكلونه بخشى نقى آق محمد سىمىز اوغلى كياؤمىز  
تېن محمد سىمىز برلان بوجونوم بىكىش بىسكاج بىزكا فعيل

ABB. 5.3

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بولغای لار ایردی لار آلاغیه شول لوق قوطونای خاتونونان  
 سانیب آلمان ایرینه اوغلی ایوانای آتلیغ نیج جورام بزیدن  
 سونکرا میراث بولسون آلاغیه نفی علی بک حافیط اوغلی  
 کوبایمیز ایش هم برلان خریداشیمیز شهر سلطان بیکاچکا  
 آلازینیک ابکی سینه بورنای اوغلی اونه میس دین سانیب  
 آلمان نیج مارجام قورمان بی آتلیغ میراث بولسون بوب  
 کوروب کونکول لارین بزکا فعیل ایتسون لار بزینیک کونکوموز  
 آلاغیه فعیل دور اوزلارینه هم معلوم دور خریداشیمیز شهر  
 سلطان بیکاچنینک بز الارنی یساب نوزوب برکانیمیز ابکی  
 یوز صوم دان هم اوزغان دور اول ایشدا بزکا آلازینیک  
 منلانی یوق دور ایدی نفی بو میراث برکان بسیرلاریمیز دین  
 باشقه اوزومیزنینک آبله مال حق میز آند برای اوغلی بابش  
 آتلیغ جورامنی حق ربضاسی اوچون پیغمبر علیه السلام  
 شفعتی اوچون قیامت اومیدی اوچون اوز باشیمیزدان اذاد  
 اینوک اوزکا آذادلار نیک نفی قوتونای خاتونون دان سانیب  
 آلمان ایرینه آتلیغ جورانینک خاتونی بوریه قیزی دولاشنی  
 هم آذاد اینوک اوزکا آذادلار نیک آذاد بولسون نفی آلازینیک  
 آذاد خط لارین هم اوز کوزمیز قیریندا کوزوموز آلدوندا

ABB. 5.4

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بازدردوق اول اېلېسى نېنك آذاد خطمين آق محمد سيمين نېنك  
 قولونه اوز قولوم برلان نابشوردوق خد ايمزدين تقدير يتيب  
 اوزوميز دونيادين اونكان سوتك آق محمد سيد برلان اينمیز  
 دوست محمد ميرزا آلارنېنك آذاد خطلارېن ابكيسينه ياپش  
 برلان دولاشكا برسونلار بسوب كسوروب آنلارده هيچ كيم  
 ايرسهنېنك ايشي كوجي يوق ترور دولانلي اولوغ پادشاه  
 حضرت لاري نېنك ابركلي آدم لاري ترورلار تقى آنديراي  
 آتليغ اوروص چوراميز هم ابركلي كشي دور هر قابدا سوسه  
 اوز ايركي برلان آندا بارسون صلاداغى كچي اوبوميزنى  
 بربب يباركلي سيز آنى تور تپان قيله تقى تيموشقه آتليغ  
 پان چوراميزنى اوزى صوحالاي تورغان آلاشاني انكار بربب  
 يباركلي سيز تور تپان قيله قابدا سويسا آندا بارسون اوز  
 ابركي برلان ابركلي آدم دور تقى بورونقى اېليك آتليغ قارت  
 مارجاميز آناميز باشوندان آذاد بولغان اول هم ابركلي  
 كشي ترور قابدا سويسا آندا تورار اوز كونكلي برلان  
 تقى اول ميراث ايتكان تقى آذاد ايتكان تقى اوزكا ايركېن  
 چورالار يزدان اوزكا اوزوميزدان سونك قالا تورغان مال  
 تيرلي كېمېز نېنك حسابى بو ترور اونوز سوم آچه بركوران

ABB. 5.5

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يورغا ايكي چيران آلاشا بركوك آلاشا تقي ايكي كوران  
 آلاشا بر قرا مادبان اون قوبوم ايكي قوم قاريم اوج مورطام  
 قايغيلشان قايغيلماغان آتاليق تاريغ لاريم بركا جاج قان  
 كوزلوك آردش لاريم آصار قزانيم جبار بال طام اينكچه حطيم  
 ييجه بوم شاييم قلادور آلبش بك اوغلي آل محمد ميرزادا  
 ايكي صوم قبلالي آلاسي آقچم باردور بي كيلدي اوغلي  
 فرادا بر صوم قبلاسيز آلاسي آقچم بار دور آق محمد سيد  
 برلان دوست محمد ميرزاغه واصيت سوزوم بو دور كه هيج  
 كيم ايرسكا بر آقچه براسي بوروجوم بوق دور بر الله غه براسي  
 بوروجالو برجسانيم دور قچان كيم الله تبارك وتعالی دين  
 نقدير يتيم من عليکاي آتاليق دونبادين رهلت قيلسام آق  
 محمد سيد برلان دوست محمد ميرزا ميني آروفي بوئ دوروب  
 آق قن لانيب حق برينه تاب شورسون لار منيم ماليم دين  
 نيرلي كيم دين ايل دوروسونچه آطاؤومني توکوفومني  
 آطاسون لار شامومني چيراغيمني سون دورماسون لار ميني  
 پا کلاکان کشي کا هم حافظ لارغه قرآن تولتورور اوجون منيم  
 ماليم دين نيرلي كيم دين اوشافي ونا کورا برسون لار کوبافي وم  
 قين محمد سيد برلان بوجونوم بيکمش بيکاج کا ميراس برکان

ABB. 5.6

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ابوانای آتلیغ جوراما صلا داغی اولوغ اویومنی آغار برسون لار  
 منیم آطاؤوم دین توکوؤوم دین قالغان هم مینی پاکلاکان  
 کشی کا برکان دین هم حافظ لارغه قرآن نولتورور اوجسون  
 برکان دین قالغان مالیم تیرلیکیم منار یلغی لاریم هر تورلوک  
 نوؤار قرالاریم قوشوم قورتوم هر تورلوک آشلیق طاریغ لاریم  
 اینکجه دلمتیم بیجه یوم شاعیم بولغای آق محمد سید برلان  
 دوست محمد میرزاغه واصیت قیل بایغیش لادیم آق محمد  
 سید برلان دوست محمد میرزا دین اوزکا هیچ کیم ابرسانینک  
 ایش لاری بوق یوما من الایام وذهی من الاعوام کون لاردا  
 برکون با منیم اوغلان لاریم قیزلاریم بولغای با منیم  
 آغالاریم ابنی لاریم بولغای با منیم قارین داش اوروغ لاریم  
 بولغای با بر اونکین یات کیم ابرسه لار بولغای مین دین  
 صونکرا علیکای آتالیق دان آلاسی مالیمیز تیشلی حاقیمیز  
 بار دور نسیب آق محمد سید برلان ابنیمیز دوست محمد  
 میرزاغه داغوی وقارغا شا فیلماسون لار اکر کیم ابرسه داغوی  
 وقارغا شا قیلوردای بولسالار الله تبارک وتعالی نینک لعنتی  
 وبر کونک لعنتی وفرشته لار نینک لعنتی وبارچه آدمی لار نینک  
 لعنتی آن لار اوزا بولسون هم شریعت قاضی لاری وصیاست

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بکلاری بو داغوی چی لارنیتک ابرلاوچی لارنیتک سوزلارین  
 نیتکلاماسون لار و هم ایشوتماسون لار داغوی لارین باطیل ایتوب  
 سوزلارین یالغان قیاسب منیم بو واصیت نامه خطیچه  
 قیلسون لار تیب من علیکای آتالیق تبلیمنینک ساغلی قیما  
 عقبلیم هوسیم دوروست لوکوم دا بخشسی آدم لار کوزونجه آق  
 محمد سید برلان دوست محمد میرزاغه اوز اقرار کونکوم برلان بو  
 واصیت نامه خطین یازدوروب اوز قولوم برلان بردوم من  
 علیکای آتالیق خسته لی قیمنین بو واصیت نامه خطیمه اوز  
 قولوم قوبا آلماغانیم دین عقبلیم هوسیم دوروست لوکوم دا بو  
 واصیت نامه خطیمه اوزوم اوچون اوز کوزوم آلدون دا  
 اوراز کیلدی ایلداش اوغلی اوراز محمد ایلداش کا قولون  
 قوی دوردوم بو واصیت نامه خطین یازغان دا برکا اولتورغان لار  
 آدم لارنیتک آنلاری بولاک سید اوغلی ایش محمد سید بی  
 غوواط بک اوغلی آلبش بک ماش بک اوغلی اورازای میرزا  
 تنکری بردی میرزا اوغلی ابسان کیلدی میرزا سیموش  
 میرزا اوغلی تنکری غول میرزا خدا بار اوغلی قوتلوغ سعت  
 ایشکی حافیط اوغلی سفر حافیط جان علی اوغلی محمد حافیط  
 شعبان اوغلی موصی جعفر مؤذین اوغلی اورازای حافیط بو

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واصبت نامه خطمين يارغان دا بو قدر آدم لار برکا اولتوردیلار  
 شعیب مافیه بو سوزکا جان سید اوغلی یولورتلوق حافظ بو  
 سوزکا دوصای میرزا اوغلی صرفای میرزا تنوق بو سوزکا  
 بای جورا حافظ اوغلی بای کیلری حافظ تنوق بو سوزکا  
 قاضی کای اوغلی دوله صوفی حافظ تنوق بو سوزکا بک بولا  
 اوغلی سیموش حافظ تنوق بو سوزکا قاضی کای اوغلی یغسی  
 کیلری تنوق بو سوزکا یاربک ایملدش اوغلی سوونج علی  
 ایملدش تنوق بو سوزکا جان غاضی اوغلی اورازای حافظ  
 تنوق بو سوزکا ایوانای اوغلی یمکای حافظ تنوق بو سوزکا  
 بائین اوغلی ایسته بان تنوق بو سوزکا میکیش فار اوغلی  
 واسی لای تنوق بو سوزکا کیری کورای اوغلی ایوان دباک  
 تنوق بو سوزکا ابصای اوغلی میکنا مارطی نای تنوق بو سوزکا  
 میرووی اوغلی بائین تنوق بو سوزکا کیلش میرزا اوغلی  
 کوچوک میرزا تنوق.....

ABB. 5.9

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# The Chuvash Aorist

*Lars Johanson*

## 1 Introduction

One of the most remarkable assertions in the Turcological literature is that the so-called ‘aorist’ is found in all Turkic languages except Chuvash. The aim of the present article is to show once again that the Chuvash so-called ‘future’ is actually an aorist. Its central role in the morphological processes of the verbal system will be demonstrated. It also plays a key role in the reconstruction of the Turkic genealogical family. Its important form and function as a thematic cornerstone of the Chuvash aspect-tense system will be shown. The idea that Chuvash would lack the aorist is astonishing.

A previous article (1975) drew attention to this issue, but the printed text unfortunately contained many misprints. In the present article the transcriptions *ĭ, ĭ̃, Ĭ* will be used instead of *ě, ě, Ě*. The bibliography given in 1975 contains the publications still relevant to the topic.

## 2 Aorist

The oldest known Turkic intraterminal thematic base is the aorist. The designation is potentially misleading, since <ἀόριστος> ‘indefinite’ is used for a particular kind of past tense in Indo-European languages. The traditional term will nonetheless be retained since this base is indefinite in another sense. It is a specific morphological type that has markedly changed its semantic function during the course of the known Turkic linguistic history. It has mostly become strongly defocalized and modalized. It is important to note that Turkic aorists have always had both nonfinite and finite uses.

The East Old Turkic aorist is an intraterminal category usable in a focal sense, e.g. ‘X is acting’, and in less focal senses, e.g. ‘X acts/usually acts’. The Orkhon Turkic clause *Yat-ū kal-ūr ār-dī* ‘X was stuck’ expresses the intraterminal aspect of the actional phrase *yat-ū kal-* ‘to lie down and remain lying’. In Yakut, whose speakers left the compact Turkic-speaking area prior to the renewal of focal intraterminality, the aorist can still be employed in these senses. Also, the Cypriot Turkish aorist can be employed in cases that require focal intrater-

minals in standard Turkish. The Turkish-speaking groups that once settled in Cyprus spoke Anatolian dialects in which the renewal of focal intraterminality was not yet generalized. The same is true of some West Rumelian Turkish varieties, e.g. those of Gostivar and Ohrid, which lack focal intraterminals and use aorists instead. Similarly, the Abiverdi variety of Kashkay, whose speakers arrived from Khorasan relatively late, has not undergone a renewal of focal intraterminality (Csató 2001).

In older languages such as Chaghatay and Ottoman, the aorist is a category that allows a broad range of readings stretching from general and habitual uses to modal uses expressing inclination and prospectivity. In Turkic varieties that have introduced new focal intraterminals, the aorists have become low-focal items limited to expressing general statements and habitual or modal meanings. They are often used in polite phrases. When the aorist is found in Chuvash proverbs, it expresses an older function of the general present that is conserved in the formally conservative language of proverbs.

In Turkic, former high-focals have become low-focals, pushing the former low-focals, the aorists, into the non-focal and modal domains (Johanson 1971: 131–139). The non-past aorist is used to express modal contents such as disposition and inclination, interpretable as habituality, propensity, intention, epistemic possibility, and probability, e.g. Turkish <Gel|ir> ‘X will/may/can/tends to/intends to/is likely to come’, <Sigara iç|er> ‘X smokes’, ‘X is a smoker’.

Defocalization has developed further in many languages of the central parts of the Turkic-speaking world. The aorist categories, mostly labeled ‘future’, ‘indefinite future’, ‘presumptive future’, or ‘suppositional future’, have usually almost entirely lost their aspectual values and represent the last residues of an originally indicative category, expressing modal concepts of prospectivity, uncertainty, and volition, e.g. Noghay *Ber-er* ‘X will/is inclined/is likely to give’, Uyghur *Kät-är-män* ‘I may leave’. This development has been observed in many other languages, in which the basic functions of old indicatives have been taken over by new formations, and the old forms have developed into modals.

Markers of this kind are found in other Transeurasian languages. They have been reconstructed by Altaicists as forms in *\*-ra*, first through comparison with Tungusic and Mongolic data, and later also on the basis of Koreanic and Japonic data. The similarities have even been noticed and acknowledged by non-Altaicists. Benzing remarks that the Turkic aorist constitutes a striking parallel to the Tungusic aorist (1953: 51). The weakly temporalized Tungusic aorist clearly shows its aspectual nature (Menges 1943). In languages such as Even, {-RA} vacillates between past and non-past interpretations, depending on the transformative or nontransformative character of the actional phrase.

Defocalization of intraterminals has also occurred in other languages. In Armenian, the originally high-focal *lsum ē* 'X is hearing' has been degraded to a low-focal form, and has relegated the old present *lsē* 'X hears' to non-focal and modal functions. Persian *Mikunad* 'X is doing', 'X does' has similarly pushed the former low-focal *Kunad* into the modal area. The Lezgian intraterminal in *-z(a)wa*, e.g. *Fizwa* 'X is going', which once renewed high focality, is now a low-focal form, while items in *-da*, e.g. *Fida*, have assumed nonfocal ('habitual') and even modal ('future') functions, i.e. 'X goes', 'X will go' (Haspelmath 1994: 276). The latter development has obviously taken place under Azeri influence (Johanson 2000: 99–100).

### 3 The Chuvash Aorist

N.I. Ašmarin, the real initiator of Chuvash studies, originally wanted to connect the form *yul-īp* 'I will stay' with the aorist (1898: 304–305), but later supposed that it was formed directly from the verbal stem, an opinion that is still widely held. O. Pritsak refutes this idea and identifies the form in {-I} with the Turkic verbal noun in {-GÜ} (1960). A problem with this hypothesis, however, is that finite forms in {-GÜ} are hard to find, and as mentioned, Turkic aorists are used as both nonfinite and finite verb forms.

The Turkic aorist marker emerged as a combination of an ⟨A⟩ converb and a form of the old copula verb *\*är-*. The shape of the East Old Turkic aorist morpheme is {-Yr//yŪr}. The postconsonantal allomorphs are unpredictable. {-Ar} occurs after most simple stems and stems in {-(°)K}, e.g. *At-ar* ← *at-* 'to throw'. {-Ūr} occurs after a few simple verbs, e.g. *Ya:t-ur* ← *ya:t-* 'to lie', and after most stems extended with a diathetic marker. {-İr} occurs after stems in {-(I)t-}, e.g. *te:t-ir* ← *te:t-* 'to let say', 'to be called'. The contractions took place after the loss of the originally short stem-final vowels, e.g. *\*At-a-yu-r* > *At-ar* ← *at-* 'to throw' and *\*Käl-i-yu-r* > *Käl-ir* ← *käl-* 'to come'. For more about this, see below.

In finite use, the Turkic aorist has typical traits of a verb form becoming non-focal. It shows a certain profile in that it functions not only as a modal unit, expressing potentiality and disposition, but also as a general present. The Chuvash form is mostly characterized as an 'indefinite future' and can occasionally be translated as a future. It is well known that Turkic generally does not possess pure futures.

The Chuvash aorist marker is {- (Ø)I}. It shows loss of final *-r* and is reconstructable as *\*{-(y)Vr}* (Johanson 1975: 135). Loss of *-r* is well known in Chuvash. Thus certain verb stems lose *-r* before *t*, *m*, *n* in specific verb forms, e.g. *par-* 'to

TABLE 6.1 Aorist paradigm of *tup-* 'to find'

1sg	<i>Tup-ï-p</i> <Туп ă п>	1pl	<i>Tup-ï-pïr</i> <Туп ă пăр>
2sg	<i>Tup-ï-n</i> <Туп ă н>	2pl	<i>Tup-ï-r</i> <Туп ă р>
3sg	<i>Tup-ï</i> <Туп ě>	3pl	<i>Tup-ï-ś</i> <Туп ě ç>

TABLE 6.2 Aorist paradigm of *ba:š-la-* 'to lead', *islä-* 'to work', *pil-* 'to know', *šir-* 'to write', *vula-* 'to read', and *yul-* 'to stay'

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>Ba:šl-ï-p</i>	<i>Ba:šl-ï-pïr</i>	<i>İsl-ï-p</i>	<i>İsl-ï-pïr</i>	<i>Pil-ï-p</i>	<i>Pil-ï-pïr</i>
<i>Ba:šl-ï-n</i>	<i>Ba:šl-ï-r</i>	<i>İsl-ï-n</i>	<i>İsl-ï-r</i>	<i>Pil-ï-n</i>	<i>Pil-ï-r</i>
<i>Ba:šl-ï</i>	<i>Ba:šl-ï-ś</i>	<i>İsl-ï</i>	<i>İsl-ï-ś</i>	<i>Pil-ï</i>	<i>Pil-ï-ś</i>
<i>Šir-ï-p</i>	<i>Šir-ï-pïr</i>	<i>Vul-ï-p</i>	<i>Vul-ï-pïr</i>	<i>Yul-ï-p</i>	<i>Yul-ï-pïr</i>
<i>Šir-ï-n</i>	<i>Šir-ï-r</i>	<i>Vul-ï-n</i>	<i>Vul-ï-r</i>	<i>Yul-ï-n</i>	<i>Yul-ï-r</i>
<i>Šir-ï</i>	<i>Šir-ï-ś</i>	<i>Vul-ï</i>	<i>Vul-ï-ś</i>	<i>Yul-ï</i>	<i>Yul-ï-ś</i>

give' > *pa-* in *pa-tï-m* 'I gave' (Benzing 1959: 709). Other verbs in this category are *pïr-* 'to go' > *pï-*, *yar-* 'to send' > *ya-*, *yïr-* 'to weep' > *yï-*, *kïr-* 'to enter' > *kï-*.

Examples of Chuvash aorist forms: 1sg *Šir-ï-p* <Шыр|ă|п> 'I will write', *Vul-ï-p* <Вул|ă|п> 'I will read', 3sg *Kil-ï* <Кил|ě> 'X will come'. Paradigm for *tup-* 'to find' (see Table 6.1).

Examples with *ba:š-la-* 'to lead', *islä-* 'to work', *pil-* 'to know', *šir-* 'to write', *vula-* 'to read', and *yul-* 'to stay' will be added. Final stem vowels are lost after {-(Ø)I}, e.g. *Vul-ï-p* <Вул|ă|п> <read-AOR-1SG> 'I will read' (see Table 6.2).

#### 4 Diachronic Remarks

East Old Turkic displays the aorist allomorphs {-yŪr} and {-r} after stems ending in vowels. The fullest form of the aorist suffix is found in words such as *Ba:š-la:yū-r* 'X leads' and *Ka:lī:yū-r* 'X stays', which turned into *Ba:šlar* and *Ka:līr*. Converbs in {-VyŪ} and {-Ū} have the same postconsonant allomorphs as the aorist suffixes. The type *Ba:š-la:yūr* developed into Chuvash *Puś-lï*. The 1P and 2P forms of the Chuvash aorist are based on the pattern verbal stem + aorist theme + personal ending. Finite forms such as *Puś-lï-p* go back to combinations with personal suffixes such as *Ba:š-la:yū-r bän* 'I lead'.

The supposed contraction  $\{*\text{y}\text{Ūr}\} > *\{\text{Ūr}\} > \{\text{I}\}$  could be the result of a word-initial accent. The Chuvash aorist paradigm shows prime stem accent, e.g. *Yúl-ïp* ‘I will stay’. An original initial word accent has often been suggested for Turkic as such. The sound harmony presupposes unstressed suffix syllables. It also explains the loss of short final prime stem vowels. This loss, which has been thoroughly discussed, is decisive for the development of the aorist. András Róna-Tas has dealt with this apocopation, for example in an insightful discussion on examples such as *say-a-* ‘to milk’ (1998: 72); cf. the doubts raised by Marcel Erdal (2004: 60).

Before the loss of short final vowels, the pre-Old Turkic aorist may have had an accent that differed from the known pattern. Prime-stem accent in words with loss of short final stem vowels probably existed in the original Turkic aorist and the corresponding converb. East Old Turkic probably started with *Ḳal:ĩ-yur* > *Ḳal-ĩr*. The diverging developments in Common Turkic and Chuvash are:  $\{-\text{Ay}\text{Ūr}\}$ ,  $\{-\text{Iy}\text{Ūr}\}$ ,  $\{-\text{Ūy}\text{Ūr}\}$  became  $\{-\text{Ar}\}$ ,  $\{-\text{Ir}\}$ ,  $\{-\text{Ūr}\}$  in Common Turkic and  $\{-\text{I}\}$  in Chuvash. Some examples:

<i>Bašla-yur</i> ,	Common Turkic <i>Bašla-r</i> ,	Chuvash <i>*Bašlur</i> > <i>Puśl-ï</i>
<i>Yaza-yur</i> ,	Common Turkic <i>Yaz-ar</i> ,	Chuvash <i>*Yaz-ur</i> > <i>Śir-ï</i>
<i>Yetä-yür</i> ,	Common Turkic <i>Yet-är</i> ,	Chuvash <i>*Yet-ür</i> > <i>Śi-tï</i>
<i>Kälï-yür</i> ,	Common Turkic <i>Käl-ir</i> ,	Chuvash <i>*Käl-ür</i> > <i>Kil-ï</i>
<i>Bolı-yur</i> ,	Common Turkic <i>Bol-ur</i> ,	Chuvash <i>*Bol-ur</i> > <i>Pul-ï</i>
<i>Ḳal:ı-yur</i> ,	Common Turkic <i>Ḳal-ir</i> ,	Chuvash <i>*Ḳal-ur</i> > <i>Yul-ï</i>

Chuvash lexicalized aorists such as the noun *uś-ï* ‘key’ correspond to *ač-ar* ← *ač-* ‘to open’ in Common Turkic.

A possible remnant of a non-contracted aorist is verb stems ending in  $\{\text{I}\}$ , which may have preserved this element for a longer time, e.g. *Käl-ir*, *Bar-ir* / *Bar-ur* in East Old Turkic runiform texts. Codex Cumanicus has the aorist form *Kel-iyir* ‘X comes’. Two verbs in modern Khakas, i.e. *kil-* ‘to come’ and *par-* ‘to go’, have presents in *-i(r)*, for which we may suppose *\*Kälï-yü-r* > *\*Kälï-yi-r* > *Kil-i(r)* and *\*Barı-yü-r* > *\*Barı-yi-r* > *Par-i(r)*.

## 5 Negative Aorist

The Chuvash negated aorist is regular. Thus *Yáz-a-ma-yur* and *Ḳál-ı-ma-yur* yield *Śır-mï* and *Yúl-ma*, respectively. Proto-Turkic *\*Ḳál-ı-ma-yur* developed as follows into East Old Turkic:

- Loss of the short final vowel of the affirmative verbal stem, e.g. *\*Ḳál-ı-ma-yur*.
- Combinatorial change *-r* > *-z*, e.g. *\*Ḳál-ı-ma-yuz*

- Shift of the initial accent, e.g. \**Ḳa:l-má:-yuz*.
- Contraction *a:yu > a:*, e.g. *Ḳa:l-má:-z*.

The usual Common Turkic forms show an untypical accent on the negation suffix. The Chuvash negative aorist marker goes back to a combination with {-mA-}, e.g. 1SG *Śir-m-ṭ-p* <Ṣыр|м|ă|п> 'I will not write', *Vula-m-ṭ-p* <Була|м|ăп> 'I will not read'. The negative Turkic \**är-mä-z* is represented in Chuvash by the particle *ma-r* <map>. Chuvash also displays lexicalized forms with {-mAs}, copied from Tatar, e.g. *pul-mas* 'incapable'.

It is highly interesting that Chuvash phrases with nonfinite aorists such as *Kur-ṭ kuśa kur-mṭ tu* 'Let the seeing eye be non-seeing', 'Do as if you will not look' have a parallel in the East Old Turkic runiform phrase *Kör-ür köz-üm kör-mäz täg /.../ boltṭ* 'My seeing eye became like not-seeing' (Kül Tegin N 10). Talât Tekin's translation is 'My eyes which have always seen became as if they were blind' (1968: 271). The nonfinite aorists *kur-ṭ* and *kur-mṭ* exactly correspond to *kör-ür* and *kör-mäz*, which confirms the validity of our analysis.

Like other Turkic aorists, Chuvash forms in {-ṭ} and {-mṭ} express qualities interpretable as ability, tendency, and possibility. Periphrastic ingresses and cessatives formed in *-r ol-* and *-maz ol-*, which express occurring and ceasing of qualities, are found in *Kil-mṭ pul-čṭ*; cf. Turkish <Gel-mez ol-du> 'X did not come any more', 'X stopped coming'.

## 6 Focal Intraterminals

Almost all Turkic varieties have introduced focal intraterminals, mostly through further grammaticalization of certain postverbal constructions. They combine with actional contents of various kinds (Johanson 2000: 94). Postural verb constructions based on body-position metaphors have played an important role in the renewal of intraterminality. The type <A> *tur-ur*, derived from the continuative postverbal construction <A> *tur-*, has produced intraterminals such as *Yaz-a tur-ur* 'X stands writing' > 'X is writing', 'X writes'. This type forms high-focal intraterminals in texts from Chaghatay on, and has later defocalized to finally form low-focal items ('present-future').

Thus, Turkic focal intraterminals are usually renewals with the converb of the type <A>. In modern Turkic languages, the aorist, as mentioned above, has lost the function of a focal intraterminal present tense. The forms that take over the focal functions from the aorists go back to aorists. The postverbal constructions were originally aorists, e.g. <A> *yorṭ-r*, <A> *tur-ur*, <B> *yat-ṭr*. The main Kipchak type {-A} + personal suffix is a contraction of this pattern, e.g. \**Ḳal-a tur-ur bän* > *Ḳal-a-dur-man* > *Ḳal-a-man*, Tatar *Ḳal-a-m* 'I stay' (Johanson 1976:

TABLE 6.3 Present paradigm of *yul*- ‘to stay’

1sg	<i>Yul-at-ĭp</i>	1pl	<i>Yul-at-pĭr</i>
2sg	<i>Yul-at-ĭn</i>	2pl	<i>Yul-at-ĭ</i>
3sg	<i>Yul-at</i>	3pl	<i>Yul-aś-ŝĭ</i>

57–74). This type has served as a point of departure for a new renewal of the present. There are now presents that structurally go back to the pattern *converb + auxiliary verb + <A> + personal suffix*. Almost all renewals are based on aorists. Where a new present form has appeared, a certain degree of functional exhaustion can be observed. This is also the case with the Chuvash present.

The new focal present forms in Chuvash were probably formed after Kipchak patterns at the time of the Golden Horde. Chuvash displays a present form (‘durative present’), e.g. *Yul-at* <Юл|атъ> ‘X stays’, *Pul-a-dĭ-p* <Пул|а|тă|п> ‘I become’, *Śir-a-dĭ-p* <Сыр|а|тă|п> ‘I write’. Final stem vowels disappear, e.g. *Vul-ad-ĭm* <Вул|ат|ăм> <read-INTR-1SG> ‘I am reading’. The present relates to the aorist in the same way as Turkish <Kalıyorum> relates to <Kalırım>. A paradigm in Table 6.3.

*Yul-at-ĭp* goes back to the type *Ķal-a tur-ur bän*, with \*<A> *tur-ur bän* developing into \*<A> *tur-u-b* > \*<A> *tĭr-ĭp* > *at-ĭp*. This corresponds to the main type of renewal of focal present forms in Turkic.

Examples of the Chuvash imperfect (‘durative past’) are *Kil-ät-ĉĭ* ← *kil*- ‘to come’ and *yul-at-ĉĭ* ← *yul*- ‘to stay’. The form <A>*t-ĉĭ* < \*<A> *tĭr-ĭr* plus *ĉĭ* is a structural analogy to Chaghatay <A> *dur* < \*<A> *tur-ur är-dĭ*. Chuvash has remnants of the auxiliary verb *är(r)*- ‘to be’ in the form -*ĉĉĭ* ‘was’, ‘were’. It developed from \**är-tĭ*, and by all means not from {-DI}, as claimed by John R. Krueger (1961: 149–150).

## 7 Other Aorist-Based Paradigms

The irrealis (‘subjunctive’) form, indicating counterfactuality, is expressed by the aorist theme. Its suffix is {-Ø}I-tt}, e.g. *Yul-ĭ-ttĭ-m* ‘I would stay’ < \**Ķal:ĭ-yu är-tĭ-m*, corresponding to Turkish <Kalır idi-m> / <Kalırdım>. The third person has the suffix {-ĭ-ĉĉĭ}, e.g. *Yul-ĭ-ĉĉĭ* ‘X would stay’ according to the type \**Ķal:ĭ-yu är-tĭ*; cf. Tatar {-V)r} *i-dĭ*.

The Chuvash concessive forms contain the suffix *-in*, e.g. *yul-ĭ-pin* ‘even if I stay’ or *yul-ĭ-şĭn* ‘even if you stay’. An anterior form is {-nĭ}, followed by *pul-itt*- and personal markers, e.g. *Yul-ĭ pul-itt-ĭm* ‘I would have stayed’.

The Chuvash aorist suffix has been combined with the potential suffix {-i}/{-mi}. *Yul-i* contains *yul-* + {I} + {I}, where the last element is the potential suffix. The negative form *Yul-mi* consists of *yul-* + {-mA-} + {I} + {I}. The last element {I} is the Chuvash individualizing suffix (Benzing 1940: 256–257). The suffixes {I} and {I} have thus been contracted to {-I}. The same morphological process is found in adjectives such as *ışlı* ‘reasonable’ → *ışli* or *vÿyli* ‘strong’ → *vÿyli*. While *Vıl vÿyli* means ‘X is strong’, *Vıl vÿyli* means ‘X is a/the strong one’. This process occurred with the old Chuvash participle suffix {-rİ} < {-δUḲ}, which combined with {-i} and ended in {-ri}; cf. Volga Bulghar {-tUv-i} (Benzing 1959: 742).

The forms *pul-i* and *pul-mi* can be compared to Turkish <olur> ‘possible’ and <olmaz> ‘impossible’. *Kil-mi pul-çı* displays a function comparable to Turkish <Gelmez oldu> ‘X ceased to come’. Affirmative and negative forms in {-i} and {-mi} can be juxtaposed to express a low standard of the meaning of the verb. Chuvash exhibits *kuri-kurmi* ‘with poor eye-sight’, *puli-pulni* ‘unimportant’; cf. Kazakh *bolar-bolmas*, Turkish <olur olmaz>, <ister istemez> ‘nolens volens’, <bilir bilmez> ‘unaware’.

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# Zu den ‚gelehrten Entlehnungen‘ indischer Herkunft im Alttürkischen

*Jens Peter Laut*

*András Róna-Tas tükäl bilgä biliglig bahşı kutıya yükünür män ..  
män Yenıs Kaya Ün upası bitidim ..  
užik äksük boltu ärsär kim kutlug  
tınlg okısar münämäzün ..  
kšanti bolzun .. sadu sadu ädgü ädgü ...*



## Vorbemerkung

Dieser bescheidene Beitrag zum 90. Geburtstag unseres verehrten Kollegen und Freundes A. Róna-Tas hat eine etwas ungewöhnliche Vorgeschichte, denn ursprünglich war er für den 90. Geburtstag von Annemarie von Gabain am 4. Juli 1991 vorgesehen. Ein Typoskript meines Textes ist ihr, zusammen mit anderen überarbeiteten Beiträgen eines kleinen Symposiums anlässlich ihres 90. Geburtstags, als ‚vorläufiger Strauß‘ ein Jahr später, am 4. Juli 1992, übergeben worden (Röhrborn und Veenker 1994: vii). Nach dem Tod unserer Altmeisterin am 15. Januar 1993 habe ich mich entschieden, für den geplanten Gedenkband einen anderen Beitrag zu verfassen, nämlich zur *Maitrisimit* (Laut 1994), d.h. zu einem Thema, das A. von Gabain immer am Herzen lag. Der vorliegende Text ist also bisher niemals veröffentlicht worden,<sup>1</sup> und ich habe mir erlaubt, auch angesichts der langjährigen Verbundenheit unseres Jubilars mit A. von Gabain, diesen Schritt zu wagen und meinen leicht überarbeiteten Text András Róna-Tas zur kritischen Prüfung vorzulegen. *Kutlug bolzun!*

<sup>1</sup> Die einzigen Zitationen finden sich bei Simone-Christiane Raschmann, der ich mein Typoskript seinerzeit zur Verfügung gestellt hatte (Raschmann 2003: 102–103).

## 1 Einleitung

Eine recht große Anzahl der überkommenen alttürkischen Handschriften kann der uigurischen Spätzeit zugerechnet werden, d. h. dem Zeitraum von der Mongolenzeit bis in das 17. Jahrhundert. Das jüngste datierbare Manuskript ist uns mit der im Jahre 1687 (vgl. Tekin 1971: 12) abgeschriebenen ‚Petersburger Handschrift‘ des uigurischen *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (Radloff und Malov 1913) erhalten, doch ist nicht auszuschließen, dass die Abschrift des sog. *Insadi-Sūtra*,<sup>2</sup> das in weiten Teilen die Durchführung der buddhistischen Pravāraṇā-Zeremonie<sup>3</sup> zum Inhalt hat, noch jüngeren Datums ist (18. Jahrhundert?) (vgl. BT 3: 8). Die Mehrzahl der uns erhaltenen spätuigurischen Handschriften – in sogdo-ugurischer Schrift – entstammt jedoch etwa dem 14. Jahrhundert, was u. a. aus überlieferten Kolophonen ersichtlich ist. Die spätuigurischen Textmanuskripte, die im folgenden näher betrachtet werden sollen, zeichnen sich gegenüber älteren Handschriften durch bestimmte Eigenheiten von Morphologie, Syntax, Orthographie und Phonetik aus, die bereits in mehreren Publikationen teilweise sehr ausführlich dargestellt worden sind.<sup>4</sup> Wenig Beachtung hingegen hat bisher die Behandlung der Lehnwörter indischer Provenienz in den späten Handschriften erfahren, wenngleich man sich der Wichtigkeit durchaus bewusst war. G. Kara und P. Zieme etwa sprechen von „wertvolle[n] Hinweise[n] darauf, wie die Uiguren die vorwiegend indischen Fremdelemente adaptierten bzw. in der uig[urischen] Schrift aufzeichneten“ (BT 7: 7). Ohne Zweifel lassen sich jedoch bestimmte Eigenheiten feststellen, die das Lehngut spätuigurischer Handschriften deutlich von dem der ‚klassischen‘ bzw. ‚präklassischen‘ Zeit der uigurisch-buddhistischen Literaturgeschichte unterscheiden.

Die ‚präklassischen‘ Handschriften, auf die ich an anderer Stelle ausführlich eingegangen bin (Laut 1986), zeichnen sich m. E. neben anderen Charakteristika auch durch ein hohes Maß an sogdisch affiziertem Lehngut indischer Herkunft aus. Im Unterschied dazu ist deutlich geworden, dass man für das Lehngut der Texte bzw. Handschriften der Spätzeit geradezu von einer ‚Sanskrit-Renaissance‘ sprechen kann. Dies hat auch K. Röhrborn betont, der von „gelehrte(n) Entlehnungen aus der Spätzeit der alttürkischen Kultur“ spricht (Röhrborn 1981: 340).

Die Texte, die ich hier auf ‚gelehrte Entlehnungen‘ hin untersuchen möchte, sind in der Hauptsache<sup>5</sup> das oben erwähnte Manuskript des alttürkischen

2 Tezcan 1974. Im folgenden als BT 3 zitiert.

3 Zu dieser buddhistischen Feierlichkeit vgl. Bareau 1964: 58; Oldenberg 1959: 388–389.

4 Vgl. UigTot 11–23; BuddhUig 20–24; BT 3: 10–14; BT 7: 6–9.

5 Das außerordentlich umfangreiche und zum großen Teil sehr gut erhaltene Textmaterial,

*Goldglanz-Sūtra* und Texte der Yüan-Zeit,<sup>6</sup> die in ‚Eski Türk Şiiri‘ edierten Dichtungen (Arat 1965) und die tantrischen Fragmente, die in ‚Berliner Turfantexte 7‘ und in ‚Berliner Turfantexte 8‘ veröffentlicht worden sind.

Als eine wichtige Aufgabe erwies sich eine vollständige Durcharbeitung des *Goldglanz-Sūtra*,<sup>7</sup> aus dem alle indischen Lehnwörter dieses Textes herausgezogen wurden, um auf dieser Basis die Besonderheiten des Lehngutes dieses Textes erarbeiten zu können.

Die Lehnwörter altindischer Provenienz in dieser Handschrift sind recht zahlreich. Dies mag auf den ersten Blick überraschen, ist doch das uigurische *Goldglanz-Sūtra* bekanntlich eine – vermutlich im 10. Jahrhundert – von Šiŋko Šäli Tutung<sup>8</sup> angefertigte Übertragung der chinesischen Version des I-tsing (vgl. Tekin 1971: 11). Dieser scheinbare Widerspruch ist jedoch – in anderem Zusammenhang – von den damaligen Herausgebern des *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk-Sūtra* (Bang, Gabain und Rachmati 1934) gelöst worden: „... die uig[urischen] Mönche müssen doch oft das Sanskrit recht gut verstanden haben; das beweisen uns die häufigen skr. Fremdwörter in anderen Texten, die ausdrücklich als Übersetzungen aus dem Chinesischen bezeichnet werden, und in denen die Fachausdrücke trotzdem nicht in chin[esischer] Verstümmelung, sondern in skr. oder tocharischer Form vorliegen“ (op.cit. 94). Wie bereits P. Zieme und G. Kara vermutet haben, „ist durchaus anzunehmen, dass die uigurischen Übersetzer der Yuan-Zeit, und ebenso wahrscheinlich auch diejenigen der vorhergehenden Jahrhunderte, zwei- oder mehrsprachige buddhistische Fachwörterbücher besaßen, deren Vorbild ... in der ... *Mahāvyutpatti* ... zu suchen ist“ (BT 7: 13). Ich halte das im ‚Uigurischen Totenbuch‘ veröffentlichte Fragment<sup>9</sup> für einen Über-

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das die Basis meiner Untersuchung bildet, sollte nichtsdestoweniger durch die Einbeziehung aller uns erhaltenen uigurischen Texte der Spätzeit angereichert und ergänzt werden. Hierbei ist z. B. an die vielen in Japan veröffentlichten, kleineren Texte und Fragmente zu denken, aber auch die Berliner Turfansammlung dürfte noch so manchen *dharmaratnakośa* enthalten.

6 Z.B. UigTot und BuddhUig.

7 Auf der Basis von Radloff und Malov 1913. Die Transkriptionen und (Teil)editionen des *Goldglanz-Sūtra*, insb. von türkischer Seite, sind mittlerweile fast unüberschaubar; ein zuverlässiger Führer durch den Dschungel der verschiedenen Handschriften sind natürlich die Katalogbände von S.-Chr. Raschmann (im Rahmen des Göttinger Akademieprojekts ‚Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland‘ [vgl. <https://adw-goe.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/kohd/publikations-serie/katalogbaende/u-20/>]).

8 Zur Person dieses Übersetzers vgl. Zieme 1976. Einen Aufsatz über die aus dem Chinesischen stammenden atü. Titel *šäli* und *tutung* hat J. Hamilton (1984) vorgelegt.

9 UigTot 56, Anm. 27; Faksimile auf S. 347. Das Fragment mit der Signatur U 1419 ist auch im Digitalen Turfan-Archiv zugänglich: <http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/u/images/u1419seite1.jpg>.

rest einer solchen Wortsammlung und möchte es seiner Wichtigkeit wegen – leicht korrigiert – zitieren:

<i>kinta s[u]v</i>	‚ <i>kiṇṭha</i> -Wasser‘
<i>m(a)nli ötmäk</i>	‚ <i>maṇṭha</i> -Brot‘ <sup>10</sup>
<i>aratna ärdini</i>	‚ <i>ratna</i> -Juwel‘
<i>vuhi mončuk</i>	‚ <i>vyūha</i> -Perle‘
<i>pala yemiš</i>	‚ <i>phala</i> -Frucht‘
<i>avšata oot</i>	‚ <i>auṣadha</i> -Kraut‘ <sup>11</sup>
<i>[gan]da yıd[ıg]</i>	‚ <i>gandha</i> -Wohlgeruch‘

Der Aufbau dieses sanskritisch-alttürkischen Fragments ist dem der von P. Zieme und W. Sundermann veröffentlichten ‚Soghdisch-Türkische(n) Wortlisten‘ (Sundermann und Zieme 1981) so ähnlich, dass m. E. die Erklärung der beiden Autoren, dass „... die soghd.-türk. Wortlisten zu Schulzwecken verwendbar [waren], für das aktive, systematische Erlernen von Wörtern der einen Sprache durch Sprecher der anderen, in diesem Fall von soghdischen Wörtern durch Türken, denn die soghdischen Wörter wurden als die zu erklärenden vorangestellt“ (op.cit., S. 185), auch – bei Ersetzung von ‚sogdisch‘ durch ‚sanskritisch‘ – für unser oben zitiertes Fragment gilt. – Das kleine Bruchstück zeigt in den meisten Fällen eine ‚korrekte‘ Wiedergabe der skr. Wörter, was den Stammauslaut betrifft. Dies ist eines der Merkmale der ‚gelehrten Entlehnungen‘ und ist in den älteren, präklassischen uig. Texten (*Maitrisimit*, *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* u. a.) nicht üblich, wo der skr. Auslaut entweder entfällt (bei unbelebten Dingen) oder zumeist verändert wird (bei belebten Wesen: skr. *-a* > uig. *-e*; skr. *-ā* > uig. *-a/-i*).<sup>12</sup>

10 Kara und Zieme lesen *mali*, doch ist m. E. eher von einer Defektiv-Schreibung *m(a)nli* auszugehen. Offenbar ist dieser uig. Schreibung *m(a)nli* ein sgd. *\*mnry* zugrunde zu legen, welches wiederum auf skr. *maṇṭha* „eine Art Gebäck“ zurückgeht. Kara und Zieme legen skr. *maṇḍa* zugrunde, was aber semantisch nicht sehr befriedigt (vgl. UigTot 56–57, Anm. 27.2). Der im Sogdischen häufige Gebrauch eines <r> zur Wiedergabe eines skr. Zerebrals ist bei der Übernahme dieses Wortes durch die Türken offenbar missverstanden worden: sgd. <r> ist, neben sgd. <δ>, auch ein Graphem für das skr. Fremdphonem *l*, d. h. beispielsweise: skr. *kalpa* > sgd. *kṛp* oder *kḍp*. Im Alttürkischen muss nun das sgd. Graphem <r> in *\*mnry*, das ja der Wiedergabe des skr. Zerebrals *ṭh* dienen soll, irrtümlich als *l* interpretiert worden sein. Dementsprechend wurde die Form atü. *m(a)nli* gebildet. Vgl. auch uig. *hiliṃbe* < sgd. *\*xyrympy* < skr. *hiḍimba* (Uig II, 247, 2618).

11 Korrr. die Rückführung auf skr. *aśvattha* in Uig Tot 56 (und Anm. 27.6). Vgl UW 2017, 56, s. v. *avšat*.

12 Zu den Auslaut-Veränderungen der altindischen Lehnwörter vgl. Shōgaito 1978; Moerloose 1980.

## 2 Die ‚gelehrten Entlehnungen‘ im uigurischen *Goldglanz-Sūtra*

Auch im uig. *Goldglanz-Sūtra* gibt es einige Belege mit Erhalt des Auslautvokals *-a* (für skr. *-a*), die jedoch bei weitem nicht so zahlreich sind wie die in den uigurischen Stotra-Texten oder in den tantrischen Fragmenten, die ich unten behandeln werde. Dies ist ein Hinweis darauf, dass es sich bei den letzteren Texten um *spät verfasste* Werke handelt, während die Petersburger Handschrift des *Goldglanz-Sūtra* ja eine *Abschrift* eines wesentlich früher entstandenen Textes ist (s. o.!), und in dieser Abschrift ist die konventionelle Behandlung der Auslautvokale indischer Lehnwörter noch weitgehend beibehalten. Im folgenden werden die Belege mit Erhalt des Auslautvokals *-a* (für skr. *-a*) angeführt, wobei das *Goldglanz-Sūtra* nach Seite und Zeile zitiert wird:

bodi-d(a)rm-a (skr. bodhi-dharma)	30.4
aṣṭa-m(a)ha-iṣṭāna-čayitir-a-istoṭir-a (skr. aṣṭa-mahā-sthāna-caitya-stotra)	30.12–13
supraṭiṣṭiṭa (skr. supraṭiṣṭhita)	344.26; 503.1
m(a)haraača (skr. mahārāja)	448.23; 449.15; 451.12,17; 455.15; 457.13; 458.11

Zwei der angeführten Belege zeigen ein weiteres Merkmal der ‚gelehrten Schreibungen‘ indischer Lehnwörter, das charakteristisch für das uigurische *Goldglanz-Sūtra* ist: die Trennung in der Kompositionsfuge. Diese Eigenart ist in frühen Texten sehr selten und zeigt dort eher, dass das Wort dem Schreiber nicht deutlich war (vgl. uig. *ažōkrak-kišite* ~ skr. *\*aśoka-rakṣita* in der *Maitrisimit*, Taf. 3 v. 28). In den späteren Handschriften dagegen ist deutlich, dass die Schreiber bemüht sind, ihre Sanskrit-Kenntnisse zu dokumentieren. Dies ist freilich nicht konsequent durchgeführt worden, und zu vielen der im folgenden gezeigten Beispiele ließen sich Schreibungen anführen, die keine Trennung der Bestandteile des Kompositums aufweisen (vgl. uig. *ratna-raši* <572.12; 573.7, 20; 574.10; 575.19> versus uig. *ratnaraši* <573.4; 576.10; 578.8> ~ skr. *ratnarāṣi*). Auch ist es den Schreibern nicht in jedem Fall gelungen, die Trennung an der korrekten Stelle durchzuführen (vgl. uig. *uṭarani-ṭi* <174.5> ~ skr. *uttara-nīti*), was im *Goldglanz-Sūtra* jedoch selten ist. Im Allgemeinen kann man feststellen, dass die Sanskrit-Kenntnisse der uigurischen Schreiber recht solide waren, wofür vor allem die korrekten Sandhi-Auflösungen sprechen (vgl. uig. *ratna-uṭtare* <358.7> ~ skr. *ratnottara*; uig. *ratna-alanḱare* <189.22> ~ skr. *ratnālaṁkāra*). Auffällig sind jedoch die sehr häufigen Getrenntschreibungen von medialem – seltener von finalem – Alif (vgl. uig. *vičay-a-prabe* <173.13> ~ skr. *viḱaya-prabha*),

die vielleicht auf die Übernahme einer in uigurischen Blockdrucken üblichen Orthographie beruhen. Besonders häufig wird mediales Alif von indischen Lehnwörtern im *Goldglanz-Sūtra* nach *m*, *h* oder *y* abgesetzt.

Im folgenden werden – abgesehen von den Belegen im Abschnitt über die *bhūmi*’s und *pāramitā*’s, die getrennt behandelt werden – alle Belege im *Goldglanz-Sūtra* angeführt, die eine Trennung in der/den Kompositionsfuge(n) aufweisen. Geringfügige Varianten, insbesondere die wechselnde Verteilung von <d> und <t>, werden hierbei nicht gesondert angeführt:

akaš-a-garbe (skr. ākāśagarbha)	36.12
aloka-čintamani (skr. ālokacintāmaṇi)	371.23; 372.1; 373.8; 378.22
ary-a-avalokita-išvare (skr. āryāvalokiteśvara)	361.8
boda-pakšik (skr. bodhipakṣika)	197.15
brahma-purohit (skr. brāhmapurohita)	142.23
buta-mata (skr. bhūtamātā)	510.1
čuda-prabe (skr. cūḍaprabha)	466.9
darm-a-utare (skr. dharmottara)	174.2; 522.13
ḍev-a-inḍira-prabe (skr. devendraprabha)	585.2–3; 586.2
ḍev-a-indir-a-prabe (skr. devendraprabha)	598.15; 602.21–22
dyan-p(a)ramit (skr. dhyānapāramitā)	238.14; 240.5, 8
ganḍa-raši (skr. gandharāśi)	357.23–24
guna-prabe (skr. guṇaprabha)	173.15
guna-vaypuli (skr. guṇavaipulya)	357.16
kalyana-prabe (skr. kalyāṇaprabha)	173.14
kalyana-širi (skr. kalyāṇaśrī)	173.23
kančana-nagap(a)ṭi (skr. kāñcananagapati)	346.1–2
kančana-prabe (skr. kāñcanaprabha)	352.21–22; 354.21 <sup>13</sup>
kančana-sarpe (skr. kāñcanasarpa)	352.21; 354.20–21
m(a)ha-brahme (skr. mahābrahman)	436.6; 469.4
m(a)ha-motgalyayane (mahāmaudgalyayana)	688.21
m(a)ha-pari-nirvan-sudur (skr. mahāparinirvāṇasūtra)	277.7–8
m(a)ha-samuḍre (skr. mahāsamudra)	361.7–8
maha-brahme (skr. mahābrāhman)	668.7–8
maha-kašip (skr. mahākāśyapa)	669.17
motgal-yayane (skr. maudgalyāyana)	507.14
panča-šiki (skr. pañcaśikhin)	509.14

13 Vgl. aber kanča-naprabe (skr. kāñcanaprabha) 522.10.

parinirmitta-vaśavarti (skr. parinirmittavaśavartin)	380.22–23
pratñ-a-p(a)ramit (skr. prajñāpāramitā)	26.24
praty-a-pati (skr. prajāpati)	493.15
rača-bumi (skr. rājabhūmi)	279.23
rača-mukṭe (skr. rajamukta)	393.22–23
rača-raṭna-prabase (skr. rājaratnaprabhāsa)	185.11; 186.14
rača-ratnaprabase (skr. rājaratnaprabhāsa)	189.14
rača-śast(a)r (skr. rājaśāstra)	561.10; 566.15; 567.21; 570.13
raṭna-divače (skr. ratnadhva)	521.17
ratna-koše (skr. ratnakośa)	357.20
raṭna-nimite (skr. ratnanimitta)	357.10
ratna-prabe (skr. ratnaprabha)	358.9
ratna-puṣpe (skr. ratnapuṣpa)	514.22
ratna-šiki (skr. ratnaśikhin)	358.5–6
ratna-v(a)čir (skr. ratnavajra)	34.19; 112.19; 199.16
ratna-v(a)čir (skr. ratnavajra)	403.21, 27
sadarm-a-pundarik (skr. saddharmapuṇḍarika)	276.16
samanta-ḍaršane (skr. samantadarśana)	358.4
samanta-prabe (skr. samantaprabha)	357.22
šamat-vipašyan (skr. śamathavipaśyana)	280.22–23; 289.19– 20, 23–24; 294.4
sinh-a-nimita-prabankare (skr. siṃhanimittaprabhaṃ- kara)	201.12; 203.3
sinh-a-prabase (skr. siṃhaprabhāsa)	173.16
širi-kaši (skr. śrīkāśya)	27.3
v(a)čir-a-pani (skr. vajrapāṇi)	503.4
v(a)čira-upam (skr. vajropama)	44.11
v(a)čir-a-upam-dyan (skr. vajropamadhyāna)	254.20
vasun-dare (skr. vasundhara)	527.16
viḍy-a-aṣṭan (skr. vidyāsthāna)	255.20; 256.2; 257.15
vimala-prabe (skr. vimalaprabha)	358.10–11

Die angeführten Belege zeigen auch, dass die Schreiber des uigurischen *Goldglanz-Sūtra*, d. h. der Petersburger Abschrift, bei aller Sanskrit-Gelehrsamkeit gewissen konventionellen Schreibungen, insbesondere bei habitualisierten Wörtern, treu geblieben sind. So sind stets, wie in den älteren Handschriften, die Schreibungen *dyan* (skr. *dhyāna*), *p(a)ramit* (skr. *pāramitā*) und *nirvan* (skr. *nirvāṇa*) belegt, und auch die übliche Endung uig. -Y/-i für skr. -ya (vgl. uig. *guna-vaypuli* ~ skr. *guṇavaipulya*) ist nicht etwa durch uig. \*-Y' / -



ya ersetzt worden. Dass die auslautenden Vokale in den meisten Fällen den traditionellen alttürkischen Schreibungen entsprechen, hatte ich bereits oben erwähnt.

Bemerkenswert ist auch die ‚Türkisierung‘ bestimmter skr. Wörter, d. h. der Gebrauch von anaptyktischen Vokalen zur Vermeidung von Doppelkonsonanz. So ist die oben angeführte Schreibung uig. *vičy-a-aštan* (skr. *vidyā-sthāna*) nicht auf eine falsche Sandhi-Auflösung, sondern auf einen Sprossvokal zurückzuführen – eine türkische Eigenheit, die sich ja auch in modernen Turk-sprachen beobachten lässt.

Hingewiesen sei auch auf die – seltenen – Versuche, bestimmte lautliche Einheiten indischer Wörter durch graphische Hilfsmittel wiederzugeben. So wird ein skr. mediales *-ā-*, jedoch nur bei skr. *rāja* ‚König‘, im Uig. bisweilen durch ein doppelt geschriebenes Alif abgebildet. Nicht auszuschließen ist allerdings, dass es sich hierbei um einen Mongolismus handelt, mithin also von uig. *ranč* für skr. *rāja* auszugehen ist:

m(a)haraač (skr. mahārāja)	27.12; 28.9,12; 29.7,22; 30.3; 127.11
yogaraač (skr. yogarāja)	280.1

Auch skr. dentale Doppelkonsonanz wird gelegentlich wiedergegeben, wie das Beispiel uig. *uṭtare* (skr. *uttara*) zeigt <358.7>. Insbesondere wird diese ‚gelehrte Schreibung‘ jedoch bei der Wiedergabe der berühmten buddhistischen Zufluchtsformel skr. *namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namaḥ saṃghāya* angewendet. In älteren Handschriften ist die Formel stets, nach sogdischem Vorbild, in der Schreibung *namo but namo d(a)rm namo s(a)ṇ* u. ä. belegt, während die Petersburger Abschrift des *Goldglanz-Sūtra* nunmehr die Form *namo buḍḍaya namo darmaya namo saṅgaya* aufweist.

Weitere im Suv belegte ‚gelehrte Schreibungen‘, die gegenüber den Formen in frühen Handschriften abweichen, sind z. B. uig. *pratyekabut* (versus uig. *pratikabut* ~ skr. *pratyekabuddha*) <80.15; 81.2, 103.5>, uig. *sumeru* (versus uig. *sumer* ~ skr. *sumeru*) <206.8> oder uig. *anavatapte* (versus uig. *anupadit* ~ skr. *anavatapta*) <425.11; 432.1>. Es sei darauf hingewiesen, dass die Schreibung *amita-ayušī* (skr. *amitāyus*), die von K. Röhrborn zunächst auf chinesische Vermittlung zurückgeführt wurde (vgl. Röhrborn 1981: 340–341), von P. Zieme als ‚gelehrte Entlehnung‘ des skr. obliquen *amitāyuṣe* ‚dem Amitāyus‘ analysiert worden ist (vgl. Zieme 1984). Dieser Ansicht hat sich auch K. Röhrborn im *Uigurischen Wörterbuch* angeschlossen (UW 2015: 128). Die Übernahmen obliquer sogdischer Formen ins Alttürkische sind ja auch anderweitig bekannt (vgl. Laut 1983).

## 2.1 *Anhang: Die bhūmi's und pāramitā's im uigurischen Goldglanz-Sūtra*

Von besonderem Interesse innerhalb des uigurischen Suv sind diejenigen Abschnitte, in denen der Text von der chinesischen Vorlage des I-tsing abweicht. Johannes Nobel, dem wir die Erschließung des chin. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* verdanken, bemerkt aufgrund seiner Kenntnis des ersten Versuches der Radloffschen Übersetzung des uigurischen Suv treffend: „Der uigurische Text weist eine Eigentümlichkeit auf, die darin besteht, daß innerhalb der Übersetzung gelegentlich mehr oder weniger umfangreiche Erläuterungen hinzugefügt sind. Diese lassen erkennen, daß sich die Uiguren sehr eingehend mit dem Inhalt des *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* beschäftigt haben“ (Nobel 1958: XXXIV).

Insbesondere im Abschnitt über die *bhūmi's* und *pāramitā's*<sup>14</sup> wird die ‚Sanskrit-Renaissance‘ bei den Türken deutlich: Im uigurischen Suv sind hier noch sanskritische Zusätze enthalten, die deutlich machen, dass – neben dem Weg der Entlehnung indischer Wörter – auch versucht wurde, eigene skr. Termini zu schaffen bzw. bekannte skr. Termini in einen neuen Kontext zu stellen und in das uigurische Suv ‚einzubauen‘. Hierbei zeigt sich in exemplarischer Weise die Sanskrit-Gelehrsamkeit der Uiguren der Spätzeit, die sich, wie die türkischen Übersetzungen zeigen, auch durchaus der Bedeutung und des Inhaltes ihrer neu geschaffenen Termini im Klaren waren. Auf Missverständnisse und Fehler, die dabei aufgetreten sind, soll im folgenden näher eingegangen werden. Es werden auch die mit dem I-tsing'schen Text weitgehend übereinstimmende Passagen zitiert und kommentiert werden, da der gesamte Abschnitt über die *bhūmi's* und *pāramitā's* im uig. Suv eine seltene Fülle skr. Termini enthält, die das gelehrte Stratum der Spätzeit der alttürkischen Kultur deutlich vor Augen stellen.

Die Beschreibung der *bhūmi's* beginnt im uigurischen Text auf der Seite 312 (= Nobel 1958: 138) und zeichnet sich zunächst dadurch aus, dass alle zehn ‚Stufen‘ oder ‚Stätten‘ besondere Attribute aufweisen, die im chinesischen Text fehlen. Im Uigurischen zeigen diese Attribute übrigens keine inhaltliche Beziehung zur sonstigen Schilderung der *bhūmi's*. Diese Eigenart, sowie die Tatsache, dass in den – älteren – Berliner Varianten des Suv diese Einschübe fehlen, zeigt deutlich, dass es sich hierbei um späte, gelehrte Zusätze handelt.

14 Vgl. für die chin. Version Nobel 1958: 124–156! – Die Laufbahn eines Bodhisattva hat in der Mehrzahl der Mahāyāna-Texte zehn ‚Stufen‘ (skr. *bhūmi*), auf deren jeder der Bodhisattva eine der ‚Tugendvollkommenheiten‘ (skr. *pāramitā*) entwickelt. Die Namen der *bhūmi's* im *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* entsprechen dabei denen des *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. Einen guten Überblick über das Thema bietet Eimer 1976, insb. 110–157 (überarbeitet in Eimer 2006: 107–144).

Ich gebe im folgenden eine Transkription mit Übersetzung und gegebenenfalls eine Kommentierung der entsprechenden Stellen des uigurischen *Goldglanz-Sūtra*:

1. *vasanabage* atl(1)g *ärmäk ülüš-lüg baštınkı oron* „die erste Stätte (= Stufe), genannt \**vasana-bhāga*, (d. h.) ‚den Aufenthalt zum Bestandteil habend‘“ <312.8–9>.

Der Terminus skr. \**vasanabhāga* o. ä., der durch die uig. Übersetzung wahrscheinlich ist (skr. *vasana* = uig. *ärmäk*; skr. *bhāga* = uig. *ülüš*), ist m. W. sonst nicht belegt: gemeint ist wohl der Aufenthalt in der Welt, dem sich der Bodhisattva verpflichtet weiß.

2. *inkinti mokšanabage* atl(1)g *kutrulmak ülüš-lüg oron* „die zweite Stätte, genannt \**mokṣaṇa-bhāga*, (d. h.) ‚die Befreiung zum Bestandteil habend‘“ <312.14–15>.

Wiederum legt die uig. Übersetzung die Restitution des ansonsten nicht belegten skr. \**mokṣaṇabhāga* nahe (skr. *mokṣaṇa* = uig. *kutrulmak*; skr. *bhāga* = uig. *ülüš*); gemeint ist sicherlich die Befreiung von weltlichen Banden.

3. *üçünč adikarmike* atl(1)g *yanırtı ögrätintäci oron* „die dritte Stätte, genannt *ādikarmika*, (d. h.) ‚der anfängt, sich zu üben‘“ <312.20–21>.

Der Terminus *ādikarmika* „Beginner, Anfänger“ (vgl. BHSD, S. 93b) ist nicht als Attribut der dritten *bhūmi*, wohl aber als Vorstufe (*ādikarmika-bhūmi*) zur ersten der *bhūmi*’s bekannt (vgl. Eimer 1976: 144).

4. *avaivartık* atlıg *avrılınčsız törtünč oron* „die vierte Stätte, genannt *avaivartika*, (d. h.) ‚ohne Umkehr‘“ <313.2–3>.

Der vorliegende Beleg ist ein Hinweis darauf, dass dem türkischen Kompilator verschiedene Aufzählungen von *bhūmi*’s bekannt gewesen sein müssen, ist doch im chin. *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* die *avaivartikabhūmi*, d. h. die Stufe, von der aus ein Bodhisattva nicht mehr den rechten Weg verlassen kann, mit der vierten *bhūmi*, die dort ansonsten als *darśanabhūmi* bezeichnet wird, gleichgesetzt (vgl. Eimer 1976: 144–145, 149). Die üblichen Bezeichnungen der *bhūmi*’s im uigurischen Suv (vgl. weiter unten!) sind ja ansonsten mit denen des *Daśabhūmikasūtra* identisch.

5. *avayana-šan-praṣṭiṭi* atl(1)g *yanmak-sızta turmiš bešinc oron* „die fünfte Stätte, genannt \**avayāna-saṃprasthita*, (d. h.) ‚in der Nichtwiederkehr (in den Geburtenkreislauf) verweilend‘“ <313.9–10>.

Hier liegt anscheinend ein Missverständnis vor. Der gebräuchliche skr. Terminus *navayānasamprasthita* „der kürzlich das Fahrzeug betreten hat“ (vgl. BHSD, 291b) kann, wie die uig. Übersetzung zeigt, nicht gemeint sein. Rätselhaft bleibt auch die zweimalige Verwendung von <š> statt <s>: Bei

Radloff und Malov 1913 sind beide Grapheme unterpunktuiert und damit deutlich markiert.

6. *asanka-vibaga-bumi* atl(1)g asanke-larig bölüp ärtürmäk oronlug altınč oron „die sechste Stätte, genannt \**asaṃkhyā-vibhāga-bhūmi*, (d.h.) ‚die Stätte, auf welcher man die Weltperioden (der Bodhisattva-Laufbahn[?]) einteilt und durchläuft(?)‘“ <313.16–18>.

Die Stelle ist unklar und auch die uigurische Übersetzung weist Schwierigkeiten auf. Auffällig ist, dass uig. *ärtürmäk* (s. UW 2010: 193–195) im skr. Terminus kein Äquivalent besitzt. Die Bildung uig. *asanka* zeigt i. Ü. deutlich, dass man sich des zugrundeliegenden skr. *asaṃkhyeya* nicht mehr bewusst war, sondern lediglich einen ‚korrekten‘ Auslaut – gegenüber üblichem uig. *asanke* – herstellen wollte (vgl. auch UW 2015: 290).

7. *račabumi* atl(1)g artok elig han oron yetinč oron „die siebte Stätte, genannt \**rāja-bhūmi*, (d.h.) ‚Stätte der großen Könige‘“ <314.4–6>.

Die Bedeutung des Terminus skr. \**rājabhūmi* ist unklar und auch in anderen *bhūmi*-Reihen nicht belegt.

8. *karuna-avikrantik* atl(1)g ulug y(a)rlıkančuči köñül-kä enmäklig säk(i)z-inč oron „die achte Stätte, genannt \**karuṇā-avakrāntika*, (d.h.) ‚Hinabsteigen in das große Mitleid‘“ <314.11–13>.

Das hier gewählte Attribut der achten *bhūmi* hängt vielleicht damit zusammen, dass der Bodhisattva in dieser Stufe die Fähigkeit gewinnt, „sein Karman-Verdienst auf unerlöste Wesen zu übertragen (*pariṇāmanā*)“ (vgl. Schumann 1976: 166).

9. *čaram(a)bavike* atl(1)g äñ kenki bir tugum ažunlug ikinti oronlug tok(u)zıunč oron „die neunte Stätte, genannt *carama-bhavika*, (d.h.) ‚die zweite Stätte, in der die allerletzte (d.h. die gegenwärtige) Existenz<sub>2</sub> vorliegt‘“ <314.18–20>.

Der skr. Terminus *caramabhavika* „in der letzten Existenz befindlich“ (vgl. BHSD, 225b) ist in skr. Texten nicht in Verbindung mit einer der *bhūmi*’s gebräuchlich. Die uig. Übersetzung „die zweite Stätte ...“ deutet darauf, dass die neunte und die zehnte *bhūmi* als Stufen, von denen an keine Wiedergeburt mehr möglich ist, betrachtet wurden, was jedoch üblicherweise bereits ab der sechsten *bhūmi* der Fall ist (vgl. Schumann 1976: 165).

10. *vairagy-a-bumi* atl(1)g vayrak barmiš öñi oron-lug onunč oron „die zehnte Stätte, genannt \**vairāgya-bhūmi*, (d.h.) ‚die vorzügliche Stätte, in der die Leidenschaften entschwunden sind‘“ <315.2–4>.

Der in Verbindung mit den *bhūmi*’s in skr. nicht belegte Terminus *vairāgya* „das Fehlen der Leidenschaften“ ist in einer skr.-uig. Bilingue mit atü. *öñi bodulmak*, einer ‚klassischen‘ Lehnübersetzung, übertragen worden (skr.

*vai* = uig. *öñi*; skr. *rāgya* = uig. *bodulmak*) (vgl. Röhrborn 1981: 343. Edition in Maue 1989: 55, und Maue 1996: 113–114).

Ein weiterer Textteil im alttürkischen *Goldglanz-Sūtra* (S. 315–318) behandelt die bekannten Bezeichnungen der zehn *bhūmī*s, die auch mit denen der chinesischen Version identisch sind (vgl. Nobel 1958: 140–142; Eimer 2006: 135 ff.). In unserem Zusammenhang sind insbesondere die Kennzeichen der ‚gelehrten Schreibungen‘ von Interesse:

1. *baštıñkī pramuđıt* ārīñü ögrünčü atl(1)g oron „die erste, namens *pramū-ditā*, (d.h.) die sehr freudige Stätte“ <315.17–19>.
2. *ikinti vimala* kkirsiz arıg atl(1)g oron „die zweite, namens *vimalā*, (d.h.) die schmutzlose und reine Stätte“ <316.2–3>.
3. *üçünç prabañkari* y(a)ruṭači yaşutdači atl(1)g oron „die dritte, namens *prabhañkarā*, (d.h.) die strahlende und leuchtende Stätte“ <316.8–10>.
4. *törtünç arcişmati* yalınayur bilgä bilig atl(1)g oron „die vierte, namens *arcişmatī*, (d.h.) die flammende Weisheits-Stätte“ <316.19–20>.
5. *beşinç sudur-çay-a* alp-ta yegäddäči atl(1)g oron „die fünfte, namens *sudurjayā*, (d.h.) die äußerst schwer zu gewinnende Stätte“ <317.2–4>.
6. *altınç abimuki* yüyüz yügärü boldači atl(1)g oron „die sechste, namens *abhi-mukhī*, (d.h.) die dem Gesicht (der Weisheit) zugewandte Stätte“ <317.11–12>.
7. *yetinç durañ-gam-a* sıñarkı yorık-lig atl(1)g oron „die siebte, namens *dūrañgamā*, (d.h.) die weit schreitende<sup>15</sup> Stätte“ <317.18–19>.
8. *säk(i)zınç ačala* täpränčsiz atl(1)g oron „die achte, namens *acalā*, (d.h.) die unerschütterliche Stätte“ <318.2–3>.
9. *tok(u)zünç sađumati* bilgä bilig-tä uzanmak atl(1)g oron „die neunte, namens *sādhumatī*, (d.h.) die in der Weisheit geschickte Stätte“ <318.9–10>.
10. *onunç darm-a-meg* nom bulıt atl(1)g oron „die zehnte, namens *dharma-meghā*, (d.h.) Stätte, die Wolke der Lehre ist“ <318.17–18>.

Betrachten wir im folgenden, wieder im Hinblick auf die ‚gelehrten Schreibungen‘, die zu den einzelnen *bhūmī*s gehörigen *pāramitā*’s<sup>16</sup> (Suv 322 = Nobel 1958: 146)<sup>17</sup>:

1. *đana-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä buşı p(a)ramit „*dāna-pāramitā*, d.h. Pāramitā des Almosen-Gebens“ <322.2–3>.
2. *śila-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä č(a)hşap(u)t p(a)ramit „*śīla-pāramitā*, d.h. Pāramitā der Gebote“ <322.4–5>.

15 Wrtl. ‚mit Richtungs-Wandel‘.

16 Zur Rolle der *pāramitā*’s vgl. Anm. 32!

17 Eine Auflistung dieser *pāramitā*’s auch bei Özertural 2019: 263–264. Vgl. auch Zieme 2020.

3. *kṣanti-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä särinmäk p(a)ramit „*kṣānti-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā der Geduld“ <322.7–8>.
4. *viry-a-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä särinmäk p(a)ramit „*vīrya-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā des Bemühens“ <322.9–10>.
5. *dyan-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä dyan p(a)ramit „*dhyāna-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā der Versenkung“ <322.11–12>.
6. *pratñ-a-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä bilgä bilig p(a)ramit „*prajñā-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā der Erkenntnis“ <322.13–15>.
7. *upay-a-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä al altag p(a)ramit „*upāya-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā der (geeigneten) Mittel<sub>2</sub>“ <322.16–17>.
8. *pranīḍi-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä kut kolunmak p(a)ramit „*pranīdhi-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā des Gelöbnisses<sub>2</sub>“ <322.18–19>.
9. *bale-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä küč kösün p(a)ramit „*bala-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā der Kraft<sub>2</sub>“ <322.21>.
10. *kirty-a-anuṣṭana-iñana-p(a)ramit* tegm-ä bütmiš bışmiš bilgä bilig p(a)ramit „*\*kṛtyānuṣṭhānājñāna-pāramitā*, d. h. Pāramitā der vollendeten, reifen Erkenntnis“ <322.23–25>.

Dieser skr. Terminus ist als Bezeichnung der zehnten *pāramitā*, die gewöhnlich den Namen *jñāna-pāramitā* trägt, nicht belegt. Skr. *kṛtya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna* „das Wissen um die Ausführung der Pflicht“ ist jedoch ein Glied der ,5 Arten des Wissens (skr. *jñāna*)‘ (vgl. BHS<sub>D</sub>, 191a). Offenbar liegt hier eine Verwechslung des Uiguren vor. Merkwürdig ist die uig. Übersetzung, deren Bestandteil *bütmiš* ‚vollendet‘ als Wiedergabe von skr. *kṛtya* ‚das zu tuende‘ vermuten lässt, dass das participium necessitatis *kṛtya* mit der Absolutiv-Form *kṛtvā* ‚gemacht‘ verwechselt worden ist.

Abschließend sei eine Aufzählung der *bhūmi*’s im uig. Suv angeführt, die die ‚gelehrten Schreibungen‘ der skr. Ordinalzahlen im Uigurischen zeigt (Suv, 324–325 = Nobel 1958: 147–152):

- |                              |                    |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. praṭamabumi (324.8)       | skr. prathamabhūmi |
| 2. ḍuvuṭiy-a-bumi (324.10)   | skr. dvitīyabhūmi  |
| 3. tirtiy-a-bumi (324.12–13) | skr. tṛtīyabhūmi   |
| 4. čatur-tabumi (324.14–15)  | skr. caturthabhūmi |
| 5. pañcamabumi (324.17)      | skr. pañcamabhūmi  |
| 6. šaṣṭa-mabumi (324.19)     | skr. ṣaṣṭhamabhūmi |
| 7. sapṭamabumi (324.22)      | skr. sapṭamabhūmi  |
| 8. aṣṭa-mabumi (324.24)      | skr. aṣṭamabhūmi   |
| 9. nuvam-a-bumi (325.2)      | skr. navamabhūmi   |
| 10. ḍaṣamabumi (325.4)       | skr. daṣamabhūmi   |

### 2.1.2 Zusammenfassung

Die Attribute der *bhūmī*'s, die im I-tsing'schen Text und auch in den – älteren – Berliner Varianten des uig. *Goldglanz-Sūtra* fehlen, zeigen deutlich das hohe Maß an Sanskrit-Gelehrsamkeit der Spätzeit der alttürkischen Kultur, wie aus den neugeschaffenen Termini bzw. den anderen Zusammenhängen entnommenen Sanskrit-Begriffen ersichtlich ist. Es ist nicht eindeutig, ob die oben dargelegten grammatischen oder semantischen ‚Fehler‘ oder ‚Missverständnisse‘ eher auf die Versuche einer getreuen Rückübersetzung aus dem (bereits fehlerhaften) Uigurischen oder auf gewisse mangelnde sanskritische Sprachkenntnis der späten Kompilatoren zurückgeführt werden können. Vergessen wir nicht, dass ja über Jahrhunderte die buddhistische Terminologie der Türken nicht durch Formen des klassischen Sanskrit, sondern durch Prakrit-Formen gekennzeichnet war, die zudem durch zahlreiche Gebersprachen z. T. starke Umformungen erlitten hatten. In jedem Fall geht die Vielzahl an ‚korrekten‘ sanskritischen Formen in der oben zitierten uigurischen Behandlung der *bhūmī*'s und *pāramitā*'s weit über das hinaus, was in älteren Handschriften zu finden ist.

Was die Schreibungen betrifft, so kann auch im Abschnitt über die ‚Stufen‘ (skr. *bhūmī*) und ‚Tugendvollkommenheiten‘ (skr. *pāramitā*) das Bemühen der türkischen Schreiber festgestellt werden, in der/den Kompositionsfuge(n) zu trennen, sowie die skr. Auslautvokale korrekt wiederzugeben. Dies ist, wie die oben gezeigten Belege verdeutlichen, jedoch nicht durchgängig praktiziert worden, und häufige Fehler bei der Dekomposition skr. Wörter finden sich insbesondere bei der uig. Wiedergabe der skr. Ordinalia.

Insgesamt zeigt das Lehngut altindischer Provenienz im alttürkischen *Goldglanz-Sūtra* (Petersburger Handschrift) folgendes Bild:

- a) den fast völligen Verzicht auf sogdisch affizierte Lehnwörter; nur habitualisierte Wörter wie uig. *upasi* oder uig. *šamnanč*, die ich dem ‚buddhistischen Grundwortschatz‘ (vgl. hierzu Laut 1986: 143–146) zurechnen möchte, sind gebräuchlich;
- b) die Tendenz zur Normalisierung der Auslautvokale nach tocharischem Muster;
- c) die Habitualisierung und Türkisierung vieler skr. Lehnwörter, etwa von *dyan* und *p(a)ramit*;
- d) den Versuch einer ‚Sanskritisierung‘ des Lehn gutes durch den Gebrauch ‚gelehrter Schreibungen‘, Schaffung eigener skr. Termini, etc.

### 3 Die ‚gelehrten Entlehnungen‘ in Texten der Spätzeit der alttürkischen Kultur

Eine Untersuchung der sonstigen, eingangs erwähnten textlichen Dokumente aus der uigurischen Spätzeit (vor allem UgTot, ETS, BT 3, 7 und 8) hat gezeigt, dass die ‚Sanskrit-Renaissance‘ hier, also in den Stotra-, Tantra- und spätphilosophischen Texten z. T. sogar noch deutlicher als im uig. *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* ist. Dies ist, wie erwähnt, ein deutlicher Hinweis darauf, dass es sich bei diesen Texten um *spät verfasste Werke*, nicht aber um lediglich redigierte Handschriften alter Vorlagen handelt. So sind hier erheblich mehr Belege mit Erhalt des Auslautes *-a* (für skr. *-a*) bezeugt, auch bei einem Wort wie uig. *nirvana*, das im uig. Suv stets in traditioneller Schreibung *nirvan* erscheint. Die skr. Komposita sind in den späten uig. Texten häufig von beträchtlicher Länge und sind fast immer mit Trennung(en) in der/den Kompositionsfuge(n) geschrieben. Auch gibt es Belege für die Übernahme skr. Verb- und Kasusformen.

Im folgenden werden, z. T. korrigiert gegenüber der jeweiligen Edition, zunächst alle Belege angeführt, die den skr. Auslaut *-a* erhalten haben; auf Belege, die bereits im ‚Uigurischen Wörterbuch‘ (UW) vorliegen, wird zumeist verzichtet. Wenn keine weitere Angabe erfolgt, sind die Belege nach der Zeile der jeweiligen Edition zitiert:

ašwa (skr. aśva)	UgTot 1401
baga (skr. bhaga)	UgTot 460; BT 7, S. 85
banduka (skr. bhaṇḍuka)	BT 7, A 144
buda-iñana-pada (skr. buddhajñānapāda)	BT 8, A 93–94, 421
čakir-a-s(a)nbir-a-mula-ṭantir-a (cakrasaṃvara- ramūlatantra)	BT 8, A 286–287
čakir-a-sanbara (skr. cakrasaṃvara)	BT 7, S. 105; BT 8, A 12, 29
čay-a-v(a)čir-a (skr. jāyavajra)	BT 8, A 429
čina-v(a)čir-a (skr. jinavajra)	BT 8, A 429
ḍaka (skr. ḍāka)	BT 8, A 204
darḍa-vačira (skr. dṛḍhavajra)	ETS 96 <sub>212</sub>
ḍarm(a)rača (skr. dharmarāja)	BT 3, 929
darma-piṭaka (skr. dharmapiṭaka)	ETS 96 <sub>209</sub>
darm-a-sanbawa (skr. dharmasaṃbhava)	UgTot, S. 217
dipaṅkara-širi-iñana (skr. dipaṅkaraśrījñāna)	BT 8, A 449
ganda (skr. gandha)	UgTot 1406
guhy-a-samača (skr. guhysamāja)	BT 8, A 12
heruka (skr. heruka)	UgTot, S. 223; BT 7, S. 106; BT 8, A 272



he-v(a)čir-a (skr. hevajra)	BT 8, A 256
iñana-satw-a (skr. jñānasattva)	BT 7, A 118
indir-a-keṭu-ḍuvača-rača (skr. indraketudhva- jarāja)	ETS 98 <sub>238</sub>
kakamuka (skr. kākamukha)	UigTot 421
kaṅk(a)la (skr. kankāla)	BT 7, S. 106
kapala (skr. kapala)	UigTot, S. 221; BT 7, S. 89; BT 8, A 321, 325
kiṣeṭira (skr. kṣetra)	BT 7, A 53
kuluṭa (skr. kulūta)	BT 7, S. 106
kurmapada (skr. kūrmapāda)	BT 7, S. 107
kušala (skr. kuśala)	ETS 238 <sub>12</sub>
lampaka (skr. lampāka)	BT 7, S. 107
m(a)ha-vayročana (skr. mahāvairocana)	BT 8, B 111
maha-bala (skr. mahābala)	BT 7, S. 107
maha-bayrava (skr. mahābhairava)	BT 7, S. 107
mahakala (skr. mahākāla)	UigTot 1332, 1418; BT 7, S. 107
maha-kaṅkala (skr. mahākaṅkāla)	BT 7, S. 107
mantir-a (skr. mantra)	BT 3, 730
manuš-a (skr. manuṣa)	ETS 98 <sub>242</sub>
marga (skr. mārḡa)	ETS 110 <sub>75</sub>
metiripa (skr. maitrīpa)	BT 8, S. 134
naraka (skr. naraka)	ETS 94 <sub>187</sub>
nara-sinh-a (skr. narasiṃha)	ETS 94 <sub>189</sub>
naropa (skr. nāropa)	BT 7, S. 108; BT 8, A 96, 140
nata (skr. nātha)	ETS 94 <sub>188</sub>
nayaka (skr. nāyaka)	ETS 94 <sub>191</sub>
nirmala (skr. nirmala)	ETS 90 <sub>103</sub> , 222 <sub>58</sub>
niroda (skr. nirodha)	ETS 90 <sub>101</sub>
nirvana (skr. nirvāṇa)	ETS 88 <sub>97</sub>
nirvikalpa (skr. nirvikalpa)	ETS 160 <sub>88</sub>
nitya (skr. nitya)	ETS 90 <sub>100</sub>
niyama (skr. niyama)	ETS 88 <sub>96</sub>
niyay-a (skr. nyāya)	ETS 88 <sub>99</sub>
p(a)rama-arta (skr. paramārtha)	ETS 94 <sub>200</sub>
padm-a-sanbaw-a (skr. padmasaṃbhava)	BT 7, S. 108
padma-v(a)čir-a (skr. padmavajra)	BT 8, A 91, 144
pandīta (skr. paṇḍita)	UigTot 430
pirtñ-a-kuta (skr. prajñākūṭa)	BT 7, S. 108
praśna (skr. praśna)	ETS 90 <sub>124</sub>

rača (skr. rāja)	ETS 88 <sub>91</sub> , 98 <sub>238</sub> , 226 <sub>3</sub>
raga (skr. rāga)	ETS 88 <sub>88</sub>
ram-a (skr. rāma)	ETS 88 <sub>93</sub>
raṭṇa (skr. ratna)	UigTot, S. 244
ratna-čanḍira (skr. ratnacandra)	ETS 88 <sub>94</sub>
ratna-sanbawa (skr. ratnasambhava)	UigTot 655, 1214
šabada (skr. śabda)	UigTot 1386
sanpuṭe-ṭantir-a (skr. sampuṭatantra)	BT 8, A 6
šanta (skr. śānta)	ETS 84 <sub>15</sub> , 112 <sub>125</sub>
šaty-a (skr. śāthya)	ETS 108 <sub>35</sub>
su-badir-a (skr. subhadra)	BT 7, S. 109
šukr-a (skr. śukra)	UigTot, S. 249
suwabawa (skr. svabhāva)	UigTot 1317, 1372; BT 7, A 296, 451
ṭantir-a (skr. tantra)	BT 8, S. 130
tanṭira (skr. tantra)	UigTot, S. 250
tilopa (skr. tilopa)	BT 7, S. 110; BT 8, A 97, 424
tuṣita (skr. tuṣita)	BuddhUig II, 111; BT 3, S. 103
upa-melapaka (skr. upamelāpaka)	BT 7, A 72
uraga-sara (skr. uragasāra)	BT 7, A 279
v(a)čira-ḍara (skr. vajradhara)	UigTot 730, 984
v(a)čir-a-ḍuvača (skr. vajradhvaja)	ETS 76 <sub>69</sub>
v(a)čir-a-huṅ-kara (skr. vajrahūmkara)	BT 7, S. 111
v(a)čir-a-pančar-a-tantir-a (skr. vajrapañcarāt- antra)	BT 8, A 255
v(a)čir-a-piraba (skr. vajraprabha)	BT 7, S. 111
v(a)čir-a-satw-a (skr. vajrasattva)	BT 7, S. 111
vayročana (skr. vairocana)	ETS 76 <sub>65</sub> ; BT 7, S. 111
vimala (skr. vimala)	ETS 90 <sub>110</sub>
yam-a-rača (skr. yamarāja)	ETS 122 <sub>43</sub>

Die angeführten Belege zeigen oft, ähnlich wie im atü. *Goldglanz-Sūtra*, die Eigenart, ein mediales oder finales Alif getrennt zu schreiben, insbesondere nach *m*, *r* und *y*. Einige der zitierten Texte sind i. Ü. Blockdrucke, in denen Getrennschreibungen dieser Art ja durchaus üblich sind.

Auffällig ist weiterhin die häufige Wiedergabe des sanskritischen Halbvokals *v* durch atü. *W*, was in frühen Texten sehr selten bezeugt ist. Vielleicht lässt das Graphem <W>, in Verbindung mit vorhergehendem Vokal, auf eine Diphthongisierung schließen.

Die meisten der angeführten Belege sind maskuline Nomina propria, für die ja in den frühen Handschriften und in denen der uig. Koine sowie auch

im *Goldglanz-Sūtra* in der Mehrzahl der Fälle der Auslautvokal -Y/-e (< toch. -e) üblich ist. Dies zeigt, dass in den oben angeführten Belegen der spät verfassten atü. Texte eine noch deutlichere Hinwendung zu ‚korrekten‘ Sanskrit-Formen vorliegt als im *Goldglanz-Sūtra*, das ja in der vorliegenden Petersburger Handschrift eine Überarbeitung einer den Abschreibern bzw. Bearbeitern vorliegenden älteren Handschrift darstellt. In unseren späten Texten ist auch die ‚gelehrte Schreibung‘ atü. -Y (für skr. -ya) nunmehr durchaus gebräuchlich, während im *Goldglanz-Sūtra* stets die traditionelle uig. Form -Y (< toch. -i) vorliegt.

Die ‚Turzismen‘ lassen sich jedoch auch in den Lehnwörtern der späten Zeugnisse der atü. Kultur nicht leugnen, wie etwa die häufigen Schreibungen mit Sprossvokalen zeigen.

Ein typisches ‚Sanskritisierungs-Kennzeichen‘ ist in jedem Falle die in der Mehrzahl auch der oben angeführten Belege durchgeführte Trennung in der/ den Kompositionsfuge(n). Die folgenden Beispiele zeigen diese Eigenart der späten Schreibungen in aller Deutlichkeit:

adarša-urupa-v(a)čirini (skr. ādarśarūpavajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 104
avalokiṭa-išvara (skr. avalokiteśvara)	ETS 76 <sub>70</sub>
buda-avatansaka-suṭur (skr. buddhāvatāṃsakasūtra)	BT 8, A 40
buda-ločani (skr. buddhalocanā)	BT 8, A 233
čakir-a-vartini (skr. cakravartini)	BT 7, S. 105
čakir-a-vegi (skr. cakravegā)	BT 7, S. 105
čakr-a-varmini (skr. cakravarmini)	BT 7, S. 105
čaṇḍa-akša (skr. caṇḍākṣā)	BT 7, S. 105
čandana-širi (skr. candanaśrī)	ETS 92 <sub>158</sub>
čatur-āsiti (skr. caturaśīti)	ETS 92 <sub>152</sub>
darmaḍaṭu-išvari (skr. dharmadhātviśvarī)	BT 8, A 236
darm-a-ḍatu-v(a)čirini (skr. dharmadhātuvajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 105
darma-ḍwače (skr. dharmadhvaja)	UigTot 999
darm-a-mudir-a (skr. dharmamudrā)	UigTot 249–250
darm-a-uday (skr. dharmodaya)	BT 7, A 208
ḍurum-a-čay-a (skr. drumachāyā)	BT 7, S. 110
ganda-hasti (skr. gandhahastin)	ETS 76 <sub>71</sub>
giti-v(a)čirini (skr. gītāvajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 105
hasy-a-v(a)čirini (skr. hāsyāvajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 106
hay-a-karni (skr. hayakarṇī)	BT 7, S. 106
iṇḍiri-ašay (skr. indriyāśaya)	BT 8, B 20
kaga-nani (skr. khagānanā)	BT 7, S. 106
kala-čakar (skr. kālacakra)	BT 8, A 12

kaṇḍa-kapale (skr. khaṇḍakapāla)	BT 7, S. 106
kanda-rohi (skr. khaṇḍarohā)	BT 7, S. 106
kiraśna-čary-a-pa (skr. kṛṣṇācāryapāda)	BT 7, S. 106
kṣīti-garbe (skr. kṣitigarbha)	BT 8, A 237, 468
kusum-a-širi (skr. kusumaśrī)	ETS 94 <sub>198</sub>
laṅka-išvari (skr. laṅkeśvarī)	BT 7, S. 107
laṣy-a-v(a)čirini (skr. lāsyāvajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 107
m(a)ha-pr(a)tña-p(a)ramita-upadeś (skr. mahāprajñāpāra- mitopadeśa)	TT V, B89
m(a)ha-puruš (skr. mahāpuruṣa)	ETS 98 <sub>246</sub>
m(a)ha-s(a)mudar (skr. mahāsamudra)	BT 3, 122
m(a)ha-v(a)čir-a-ḍare (skr. mahāvajradhara)	BT 8, S. 134
maha-bali (skr. mahābalā)	BT 7, S. 107
maha-bayiravi (skr. mahābhairavā)	BT 7, S. 107
maha-mudura (skr. mahāmudrā)	UigTot, S. 228; BT 8, B 58
maha-naši (skr. mahānāśā)	BT 7, S. 107
maha-vire (skr. mahāvīra)	BT 7, S. 107
maha-virya (skr. mahāvīryā)	BT 7, S. 107
mirdaṅga-v(a)čirini (skr. mṛdaṅgavajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 107
narṭa-v(a)čirini (skr. nṛtāvajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 108
nirvana-ketu (skr. nirvāṇaketu)	ETS 76 <sub>70</sub>
niṣṭa-pirakyan (skr. niṣṭhāprakhyāna)	ETS 88 <sub>98</sub>
pari-višuḍi (skr. pariviśuddhi)	ETS 94 <sub>201</sub>
punya-a-širi (skr. puṇyaśrī)	BT 7, S. 108
raṣa-v(a)čirini (skr. rāsavajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 109
s(a)rva-artaside (skr. sarvārthasiddha)	ETS 72 <sub>25</sub>
ṣaḍ-ayaṭan (skr. ṣaḍāyatana)	ETS 112 <sub>123</sub>
saptaṭi-ačari (skr. saptatyācārya)	BT 7, S. 109
satiya-upayačan (skr. satyopayacana)	BuddhUig 11, 278
satv-a-lok (skr. sattvaloka)	ETS 108 <sub>35</sub>
simarti-širi (skr. smṛtiśrī)	ETS 96 <sub>222</sub>
siparš-a-v(a)čirini (skr. sparśāvajriṇī)	BT 7, S. 109
šiyam-a-devi (skr. śyāmādevī)	BT 7, S. 110
sur-a-bakši (skr. surābhakṣī)	BT 7, S. 109
suu-pari-kirtita-nama-dey-a-širi (skr. suparikīrtitanāmad- heyaśrī)	ETS 96 <sub>230</sub>
suu-vikiranṭa-širi (skr. suvikrāntaśrī)	ETS 98 <sub>246</sub>
tiri-loky-a-vičay-a-v(a)čirapan (skr. trailokyavijayavajra- pāṇi)	BT 7, S. 110
vayu-vegi (skr. vāyuvegā)	BT 7, S. 111

### 3.1 Zusammenfassung

Die soeben angeführten Schreibungen bestätigen im wesentlichen das oben Ausgeführte; zusammenfassend möchte ich feststellen:

- a) Häufig erfolgt die Abtrennung eines medialen oder finalen Alif.
- b) Gelegentlich liegt eine Wiedergabe von skr. *ṽ* durch atü. *W* vor.
- c) Mit den ‚gelehrten Schreibungen‘ der Lehnwörter indischer Provenienz gehen ‚Türkisierungen‘ dieses Lehngutes einher, insbesondere durch den Gebrauch von Sprossvokalen.
- d) Bestimmte, in einer frühen Zeit des atü. Buddhismus in das Uigurische eingegangene Termini oder Nomina propria, die zumeist unserem ‚buddhistischen Grundwortschatz‘ zugehörig sind, werden in der Mehrzahl der Fälle in ihrer traditionellen Schreibung beibehalten: uig. *ačari* (skr. *ācārya*), uig. *ṽ(a)čir* (skr. *vajra*), uig. *m(a)ha-* (skr. *mahā-*), uig. *intri* (skr. *indriya*), etc. Es gibt aber auch „gelehrte“ Gegenbeispiele, etwa uig. *koti* (BT 7, H 20; skr. *koṭi*) statt des üblichen *kolti* (< sgd. *kwrtý*), uig. *nama* (BT 8, B 1; ETS 84; skr. *namaḥ*) statt des üblichen *namo* (< sgd. *nmw*) u. a.
- e) Die ‚gelehrten‘ Schreibungen oder Entlehnungen verraten im Allgemeinen eine profunde Sanskrit-Kenntnis der buddhistischen Türken, und es gibt nur selten ‚unstimmige‘ oder ‚falsche‘ Fälle, z. B. uig. *padma-čiyoda* (ETS 94<sub>203</sub>) für skr. *padmajyotis*: dies geht wohl auf die nicht genaue Kenntnis der relativ seltenen skr. *s*-Stämme zurück (vgl. auch das im Abschnitt 2.1 über die *bhūmī*’s und *pāramitā*’s Ausgeführte).

Das Stratum der ‚gelehrten Entlehnungen‘ in der Spätzeit der alttürkischen Kultur zeigt u. a. deutlich, dass den türkischen Buddhisten umfangreiche mehrsprachige Wörterbücher von der Art der *Mahāvyutpatti* vorgelegen haben müssen, war doch der lebendige Kontakt zum – mittlerweile ja auch nicht mehr existenten – indischen Buddhismus schon längst abgebrochen.

Ich bin mir bewusst, dass mit diesem kleinen Versuch einer Betrachtung der Merkmale der ‚gelehrten‘ Schreibungen und Entlehnungen im Alttürkischen keine endgültigen Ergebnisse vorgelegt werden können: jede neue Handschrift, jedes neue Fragment der indisch-buddhistischen Literatur im türkischen (Sprach)-Gewande kann neue Erkenntnisse bringen.

Ich hoffe jedoch, u. a. auch deutlich gemacht zu haben, dass eine Betrachtung der indischen Lehnwörter des Uigurischen helfen kann, eine (zumindest relative) Datierung alttürkischer Texte vorzunehmen. Das indische Lehngut stellt somit einen bedeutenden Mosaikstein für eine – unter Berücksichtigung aller Merkmale und Kriterien – noch zu leistende wirklich tragfähige Chronologie des alttürkischen Schrifttums dar.<sup>18</sup>

18 Dies soll den Wert der bisher vorliegenden wichtigsten Versuche einer chronologischen Klassifikation (Erdal 1979 und Doerfer 1993) aber nicht schmälern!

## Abkürzungen

BHSD	Edgerton 1977
BT	Berliner Turfantexte
BT 3	Tezcan 1974
BT 7	Kara und Zieme 1976
BT 8	Kara und Zieme 1977
BuddhUig	Tekin 1980
ETS	Arat 1965
Scholia	Röhrborn und Brands 1981
SEDTF 1	<i>Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung</i> . 1972. Gesammelte Berliner Akademieschriften 1908–1938. Band 1. Leipzig: De Gruyter.
SEDTF 2	<i>Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung</i> . 1972. Gesammelte Berliner Akademieschriften 1908–1938. Band 2. Leipzig: De Gruyter.
Suv	Radloff und Malov 1913
TT V	Bang und Gabain 1931
Uig II	Müller 1910
UigTot	Zieme und Kara 1979
UW 2010	Röhrborn 2010
UW 2015	Röhrborn 2015
UW 2017	Röhrborn 2017
VdSUA	Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica
VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

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# The Presentation of Kazakh Literature in Hungary

*Raushangul Mukusheva*

## 1 Research

### 1.1 *Hungarian Scholars of 19th Century on Kazakh Literature*

Hungarian scholars have always been interested in the literature of Turkic peoples, especially the literature of Central Asia Turkic peoples. Kazakh literature is an inseparable part of the literary treasury of Turkic people. This is particularly true if one looks at the history of Kazakh literature and if one wants to find its place in the literary heritage of Turkic people.

The first Hungarian scholar to study and write about Kazakh literature was Sámuel Brassai (1797/1780–1897). He was a Transylvanian polyhistor who first reported on the Kazakhs to the Hungarian public in his article, entitled *Kirgiz-Kozákok*<sup>1</sup> that was published in the *Vasárnapi Újság* in 1835. There is not any data available on his journey to Kazakhstan or Central Asia. However, since Brassai could speak and read Russian, he could have used the works of Russian scholars (e.g. Levshin 1832). In this ethnographic work of his he wrote the following: “Their favourite activities are reciting poetry and playing music. The Kirghiz people like to recite poems right away, without any preparation, and reply to each other, in groups of two, three and four, one after the other”. Here is an example of their songs:

*Látod ama' havat?  
Szerettem teste, fejerebb.  
Látod a' vert, mely ama' leölt bárányból foly?  
Arczai pirosbak.  
Látod ezen elüszkölt fa törzsökét?  
Haja feketébb.  
Tudod-é mivel írnak khánunk mulláji?  
Szemöldökei feketeébbek mint az ő tentájok.  
Látod eme' tüzes szemet?  
Szemei elevenebb fénnnyel ragyognak.<sup>1</sup>*

BRASSAI 1835: 750

1 Brassai didn't state the name of poem. It was part of a poem from Er Targyn, which had exactly the same manner of speech as that of Aqzsunis to Er-Targyn.

The following is the English version of the part of the poem:

Do you see that snow?  
 I think her body is whiter,  
 Do you see the blood that has flown from the slain sheep?  
 Her cheeks are redder.  
 Do you see these scorched wooden trunks?  
 Her hair is blacker.  
 Do you know what the mullays of their khans are writing with?  
 Her eyebrows are blacker than their ink.  
 Do you see yonder fiery pair of eyes?  
 Her eyes glow with a more vivid light.

In his work, *The Turkic Race*, the Hungarian Turkologist, Ármin Vámbéry, discusses the Kazakhs, Kazakh ethnicity, the tribal alliance of the Kazakhs, the Kazakh language and literature, its genres, and the popular traditions of the Kazakhs in 40 pages (Vámbéry 1885). He wrote the following on the Kazakh oral tradition, its infinite exuberance and the poetic genius of the Kazakhs: "Such masterpieces of Kazakh memory are praised in Khiva, and it is no wonder that this vivacity of spirit could develop to its fullest as products of phantasia, and it shows such an opulence in popular poetry which cannot be found in other nomads of Central Asia, or indeed, in any people of Asia. However, not only is the popular poetry of the Kazakhs unique from quantitative aspects, but also from qualitative ones. A glance at the third volume of Radloff's *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* quite clearly shows this relation and at the same time, it leads us to conclude how rich a source this unadulterated and primordial poetry has in this primitive Turkic people barely touched by the influence of Iranian and Mohammedan culture! [...] The Kazakhs themselves divide their cultural products into two parts, one is the voice of the people, *kara söz*, the other is the collection of written songs, *kitab ölöng*; the first group is the result of the muse of popular poetry and is not written but transmitted orally among the people; while the other group is the product of Kirghiz scribes, and while their composition shows characteristics of popular thought, their subject mostly belongs to the moral realm and history of Islam and is transferred from Central Asia to the steppe (Radloff 1870: 20). [...] The readers immediately recognise when they encounter the 'voice of the people' from various genres, such as old sayings (*ülgölü söz*), proverbs of blessing (*bata söz*), poems recited while leading the bride home (*uzatkan kizding ölöngü*), dirges (*dzhokhtagan dsir*) and contest songs (*kaim ölöng*), which present an undisputable originality and can be found among the Turkic people

who settled in the south and the west only faintly imitated and in much shortened forms. Although the enticing simplicity of the images, the often appealing elegiac air, the daring metaphors and the surprisingly rich and vivid phantasia in the culture are reminiscent of the far advanced poetry of the easterners, yet the common blazing and over-decorated pomp and glittering of the latter seems artificial and makes one feel the touch of an unnatural frame of mind, while the fine products of the muse of Kirghiz popular poetry delight us into admiration contrary to their whimsicality, naivety and irregularity" (Vámbéry 1885: 354–356). Vámbéry cites excerpts from a poem contest (in Kazakh oral tradition this genre is called '*aitys*'), *Mönök and Opan kyz* (Vámbéry 1885: 358–359), and from a Kazakh lyric-epic poem, *Kozy-Körpesh Bajan sulu* (Vámbéry 1885: 361–362), as well as Kazakh proverbs (Vámbéry 1885: 356–358).

### 1.2 *Hungarian Studies in the 20th Century: The Literature of Central Asian Turks and Kazakhs*

The Hungarian literary scholar, József Thury, did not write specifically on Kazakh literature, but on the literature of Central Asia peoples in general. In my opinion, his words truly reflect the real contribution of Hungarian researchers of Central Asia and Kazakh literature within it respectively.

In order to get this literature known in Europe, we, Hungarians, did the most [...] [Thúry 1904: 1]. The Central Asia Turkic literature is dominated by the cultivation of poetry, [...] the poetic vein's predominant power and general prevalence in the eastern peoples and the Turkic people among them, too. [...] All emotions, thoughts and acts of the people living freely in nature evoked songs from their mouths, or the remembrance of olden times, which relegates the sweetly flowing stream of narrating speech, and all this is obliged to be done, as it is driven by spirit because it is enthusiastic, and sped up by the thought of starting to sing, chant or narrate. So had it been in the far East, among the Central Asia Turks, where, it can be said, every man is a poet or at least a rhymers; one is a poet with a creative force, while the other is one with a power to shape, where all kinds of people in all sorts of professions venerate poetry, where, so to speak, everybody writes or recites poems, tells a tale or narrates a story, or if somebody is not capable of these things, then he listens to them with great admiration and passes on the artistic productions of other minds, and finally where this poetic vein and rhyming talent is endowed in such a great veneration and love that it also dominates the battles for the heart, as lasses most happily marry witty lads.

THÚRY 1904: 1, 6

In the 20th century in 1932 Sándor Bonkáló published his article *Most beautiful epic poem of Turan steppe* ('A turánföld legszebb éposza') about the Kazakh lyro-epic poem *Kozy Körpesh—Bayan Sulu* (Bonkáló 1932). Balázs Béla in his article *The epic poems of Kazakh people* (Kazach népi eposzok) names Kazakh akins (Kazakh poets) as rhapsodists of the steppe and modern Homers (Balázs 1947: 12). Pál E. Fehér also shows some similarities between Kazakh and Greek epic heritages: "I needn't mention how I was surprised, and impressed, that Ulysses time technique is somewhat related to the Kazakh epic" (Fehér 1969).

The next to write on Kazakh literature was Pál Fehér in his article '*Kelet mitoszok nélkül*' (*East without myths*), which was published in *Élet és irodalom*. He reported from the 5th Meeting of African-Asian writers where he had met with the great Kazakh writer Muhtar Auezov and wrote about him with these words: "Mukhtar Auezov—a truly eastern man: in his origin and intellect. He grew up in a world of magical legends, now he is looking for a new path for his country, the world without myths, which is the opposite of French writer André Malraux who was looking for myths in the East" (Fehér 1973: 7).

György Radó is perhaps the literary scholar who dealt with Kazakh literature the most in the 20th century. Radó thoroughly studied Kazakh literature in his work titled '*The literature of the Uralian and Turkic Peoples of the Soviet Union in Hungary*' ('A szovjetunió uráli és türk népeinek irodalma Magyarországon') (Radó 1976: 196–208). Radó highlights the special path of development of Kazakh literature, taking into account the historical and cultural development of the Kazakh people: "In the vast area bounded on the west by the Caspian Sea and the lower Volga, on the east by the Chinese Empire, on the north by Siberia and on the south by the Pamirs and the Himalayas, many peoples lived, swirled, fought, mingled and they became nations with nomadic lifestyles and external spiritual influences, and developed their specific national culture, and within that, their national literature. They have preserved and groomed several common elements" (Radó 1976: 196). He is one of translators of Kazakh Literature. It is true that he translated through the Russian language, but the translation could sumptuously convey the spirit of the literary works.

Besides the above mentioned 20th-century Turkologists, György Hazai also wrote about briefly on Kazakh literature in the *Világirodalmi Lexikon* (Lexicon on World Literature) in 1979. Hazai discussed the general characteristics of Kazakh literature and mentioned important authors and works (Hazai 1979: 133–134).

The 5th Issue of and was published in the same year, titled '*Kazakhstan and Soviet Central-Asia*', in which a chapter was dedicated to Kazakh literature. The authors of the chapter were Péter Ábel, István Garamvölgyi, Ilona Kovanecz,

Zsuzsanna Nemes G., and György Radó. In this issue the scholarly discussions of Kazakh literature sometimes show the influence of Soviet discourse, because the poems of Dulat and Shortanbay are evaluated as pessimistic pieces, which praise underdeveloped patriarchal customs (Ábel, Garamvölgyi et al. 1979: 36–37).

In addition to this, innumerable articles have been published on Kazakh literature in general and in particular Kazakh authors in various journals and periodicals. At the end of November and beginning of December 1986 the then president of the Association of the Writers of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Olzhas Suleymenov, had a delegation of Hungarian writers and poets, led by László Füzi and Ferenc Buda, travel to Kazakhstan by a chartered airplane, and from there to Kyrgyzstan as well. The journey has been described in László Füzi's '504 hours. A description of a journey to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan' ('Ötszáznegy óra. Egy kazahsztáni és kirgíziai utazás leírása') that appeared in the journal *Forrás* (Source), which discussed Kazakh and Kirghiz literature (Füzi 1987: 96).

Hungarian poet and literary scholar Lajos Körmendi examined the characteristics of Kazakh works of fiction and its illustrious authors in his article 'Message from the yurts' ('Üzenet a jurtákból') (Körmendi 1988: 31–33).

The most recent studies on Kazakh literature have been published by the author of this paper. Two studies in Hungarian on Kazakh literature are already published. The first article *The literary appearance of Kazak customary law* (Mukusheva 2013: 131–140) outlined the original government system and life of the Kazakh khanate, as described in zhyrau's<sup>2</sup> poetry and the creative work of sheshens-biys<sup>3</sup> as a priority of spiritual life of the society. The creative works of sheshen-biys has an original form and content; therefore in the aspect of genre they combine prose and poetry. Kazakh biys played an important role in the formation of Kazakh statehood, as well as in the creation of its legal framework on the basis of customary law of the Kazakh people.

The second article called '*The poetry of Kazakh zsyraus and a genre of tol-gau in 15th–18th centuries*', analyses the literature of this period. It looks at the processes and patterns of poetry and literature during the period of Kazakh

2 Zhyrau (from word *zhyr* 'poem, vers')—Kazakh poets of 15th–18th century. Zhyraus were at the same time advisers to Khans and some of them were warriors, who participated in battles against the Dzhungars.

3 The bis presided over the observance of tribal rules (every tribe had their own rules) and unwritten laws. They also headed negotiations, adjudicated and decided on the severity of sins and the method of punishment. In other words, they were simultaneously policemen, lawyers, and judges (Mukusheva 2013: 132). *Sheshen* means a rethor or orator. Actually all bis were good speakers (rethors), so this why the two words are used together as '*bi-sheshen*'.

khanate (*zhylrau* poetry). Authorship, relative sustainability of the text, concrete content, availability of addressee were typical for individual creative activity. Due to the creative combination of previous folklore poetry with a newly beginning one, individual poetry reflected events in Desht-I-Kypchak during the time of Kazakh Kans, which, in turn, created literary patterns of historical persons and fictitious personages. Main themes of *zhylrau* poetry in 15th–18th centuries include the issues of consolidation and unity of tribes that were composed by Kazakh khanate, and the strengthening of the state and its army. *Zhyraus* in their poetic monologues (*tolgau*) have considered ethical and moral issues, which include issues of honour and dignity, life and death, and the changeable and transitory feature of the world. The outstanding representatives of *zhylrau* poetry of 15th–18th centuries were Asan Kaigy *zhylrau* (15th century), Kaztugan *zhylrau* (15th century), Dospambet *zhylrau* (15th century), Aktamberdi *zhylrau* (1675–1768), Bukhar *zhylrau* (1698–1778), etc. The author of this paper presents poems of these above-mentioned *zhylrau*-s with literary analyses. (Mukusheva 2017: 293–312).

The author has also worked on comparative literary studies and the first efforts started with the comparison of Hungarian and Turkic proverbs and Hungarian proverbs with Turkic origin (Mukusheva 2008). The last study published in Hungary was titled '*The Presence of Shamanism in Kazakh and Hungarian Folklore*'. The numerous and unmistakable remnants of the shamanistic worldview, belief-system and aestheticism in Hungarian folk tales are found and Turkic imagery is detected, not only in the fundamental characteristics of these stories, but in their plot and descriptive language, as well. By comparing the shamanistic elements in Kazakh and Hungarian fairy tales and consulting related research, she concluded that there is an ever-present and strong need to conduct further research into this topic, and to foster the preservation of the identity of these nations in comparison with other peoples of the Altaic group, such as the Yakut, Kyrgyz, Tatar, etc. (Mukusheva 2020: 229–237).

## 2 Literary Translations

In spite of the fact that in the Soviet age Russian language played an intermediary role in literary translations, high quality translations were still published. *Literary translations from Kazakh literature* can be divided into four phases: 1938–1944, 1955–1970, 1975–1984 and 1984–today (Wintermantel 1956; 1975–1984; 1982).

These translations from Kazakh appeared in such publications as *Nagyvilág*, *Élet és irodalom*, *Pesti Hírlap*, *Forrás* (literary journal), etc.

Among the translators of Kazakh literature into Hungarian, such famous Hungarian translators have to be highlighted, like Zsuzsa Rab, György Radó, György Rónay, Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel, Sarolta Lányi, Antal Hidas, György Dalos, Péter Szabó, Géza Hegedűs and Erzsébet Katona.

The novel of the famous Kazakh writer Mukhtar Auezov was translated by Zsuzsa Rab from Russian into Hungarian with the title *'The Road of a Poet'*. The novel appeared in 1956 when the writer was still alive. In 1961 the writer's short story titled *'Grey Wolf'* ('A szürke farkas') and his short novel *'Shot at the Mountain Pass'* ('Lövés a hegyszoroson') were also published in Hungarian.

The *Világirodalmi Antológia* (Anthology of World Literature) published literary works of Abaj, Zhambul and Auezov with translations by Radó György (Kardos 1956: 217–218), Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel and Rab Zsuzsa (Lengyel 1958: 920–928).

The Hungarian-Soviet Friendly Society issued the volume titled *'Excerpts from Kazakh Literature'* (Hernádi 1969). Besides the products of oral tradition, the poems of Mahambet Ötemisuly, Abaj Kunanbajuly, Ybyraj Altynsarin, Halizhan Bekhozhin, Zhambul Zhabaev,<sup>4</sup> Sabit Dönentaev, Gali Ormanov, Abu Sarsenbajev, and Zhumagali Sain were presented, as well as a part from the above-mentioned short novel *'The Road of a Poet'* by Mukhtar Auezov and Gabit Musrepov's short story "Mother". It has to be noted that most works of Kazakh literature were translated into Hungarian in the socialist period.

The literary journal *Forrás* published the short story of Sajyn Muratbek titled *'Hunt'* and the book *'The Big Family, Moscow behind Us'* by Bauyrzhan Momushuly in 1980, translated by Lénárt Éva and Lénárt György. Moreover, in 1986 Kazakh short stories collected under the title *'The Prize-winning Horse'* (*A díjnyertés ló*) was published in Hungarian by the Europa Publishing House. The glossary of the last two books was compiled and edited by the Turkologist István Mándoky Kongur. The most recent literary translation of Ebis Kekilbaev's novel *'The End of the Legend'* was published in 1998 and translated by Erzsébet Katona into Hungarian.

Furthermore, two poets also dealt with the direct translation of Kazakh literary works of art into Hungarian. One is Lajos Körmendi who could reproduce the full splendour of Kazakh poetry in Hungarian. If we compare the Kazakh poems that were translated from Russian and from their original Kazakh, we discover that the translations from the native language are more similar in rhythm and structure to the original poems (Körmendi 1996). The other is Fer-

4 Zhambul Zhabaev is one of the most researched Kazakh poets in Hungary (for details, see Gergely 1945: 134; Madarász 1947; Murányi-Kovacs 1946).



enc Buda, recipient of the Kossuth Prize, who translated O. Suleymenov's "Ásia" (Forrás 1977) and thus enriched Kazakh-Hungarian literary relations. In addition to this, Buda (1988) also published a collection of Kazakh folk tales titled *'The Invisible Thief'* (*Láthatatlan tolvaj*) and Kazakh proverbs *'Kimondott szó—Kilótt nyíl'* (Buda 1998), too. Until then, only one volume of Kazakh folk tales was available, which had been collected by Béla Balázs on his journey in Kazakhstan. Its translators were Béla Balázs, László Geréb, and Zsuzsa Rab and it was published in Budapest in 1958 (*Fakó lovacska* 1958).

The Kazakh Turkologist writer Nemat Kelimbetov wrote the novel 'I don't want to lose hope', which was called the 'Poem of heroism and wisdom' by the Kazakh writer Azilhan Nurshajykov. Chronologically, it is the last literary translation from Kazakh literature. It is the story of man who had to undergo an operation on his spinal column and hence became physically disabled. The Hungarian poet Lajos Körmendi attached his study *'Adventures in the history of Kazakh literature'* to the end of his volume containing translations of poems *'The Sons of the Steppe'*. In this study Körmendi called attention to two important features of Kazakh literature: "Kazakh writers' and poets' fundamental experience is nature [...]. The other important characteristic is strong moral sensitiveness. Faith to the spouse, to the homeland, to traditions—law." The novel of Nemat Kelimbatov is a plausible testimony to these words. This wonderful work of Nemat Kelimbetov enriches both Kazakh literature and Kazakh-Hungarian literary relations, and it will not be the last translation from Kazakh literature.

### 3 Conclusion

Hungarian scholars paid considerable attention to the research of Kazakh literature. They regarded Kazakh literature as an important part of the literature of Turkic people, within the Central Asian Turkic people. They emphasized the richness and colourful genres of Kazakh oral tradition. 20th-century research has shown the impact of Soviet discourse. However there is research that has detected similarities between Kazakh and ancient Greek epic poems. Modern writers have had literary relationship with Kazakh writers, exchanged their writing directly in meetings or interacted with each other through their literary translations. We have to admit though that most of the literary translations were published in the Soviet period. Despite the fact that translations were done via the Russian language, they were good quality. However, after Kazakhstan gained independence of there are some translations from Kazakh to Hungarian, mostly Turkologists helped with these works. In addition, there

are some Kazakh researchers who are studying Kazakh-Hungarian literary relations, we mentioned some of these recent publications in Hungary in the section on Kazakh literature. The research of Kazakh literature goes on and new literary translations are under way.

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## Some Characteristics of Cardinal Numerals between 2 and 19 in Karaim Bible Translations: New Results Based on New Karaim Materials

*Zsuzsanna Olach*

I gave one of my first academic talks at the International Conference on Turkish Linguistics organised by the University of Szeged in 2010. At the time I was still a doctoral student of Uppsala University. It was also the first occasion when Professor Róna-Tas had heard me speak on a scholarly topic. In that conference presentation, I discussed the characteristics of the numeral system found in a Halich Karaim Bible translation.

More than ten years later, I am delighted to have the honour of saluting Professor Róna-Tas on the momentous occasion of his 90th birthday. Given the special nature of this event I have decided to investigate the same topic again. New and exciting research projects on Karaim Bible translations have provided us with access to fresh sources, as a consequence of which the Karaim numeral system, heavily influenced by the Hebrew numeral system, is worth a revisit.<sup>1</sup> In this study, I will discuss the singular/plural markings on cardinal numerals 2–19 that appear in various Karaim Bible translations.

### 1 Sources of the Study

For the purposes of this discussion, I have made use of previously published Karaim translations (i.e. HKB, ADub.III.73 and the Crimean Karaim translations). In addition, however, I have also consulted a number of hitherto unpublished South-Karaim texts (TKow.02, JSul.III.01 and ADub.III.84).

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1 Two Western Karaim sources used in this study have been edited within the framework of the research project *KaraimBible* [(Re)Constructing a Bible. A New Approach to Unedited Biblical Manuscripts as Sources for the Early History of the Karaim Language], which was funded by the European Research Council (ERC) within the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement number 802645). I am grateful to my colleagues, Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth and Dorota Cegiółka, for providing me with their transcriptions of Books from JSul.III.01 and ADub.III.84 before publication.

One of the main texts to which I have referred in this study is the oldest known North-Western Karaim translation in print (catalogue number: ADub.111.73). The main part of the manuscript was copied and translated by Simcha ben Chananel in 1720.<sup>2</sup> The text is vocalised, although the vocalisation signs were added at a later date by the copyist (Németh 2021: 5–6).<sup>3</sup> The manuscript contains the Torah and The Five Megillot (Németh 2021: 4–5).<sup>4</sup> The manuscript is part of the private collection of Aleksander Dubiński (Németh 2021: 8).

One of the South-Western Karaim sources (HKБ) included in this study was originally analysed and partly edited by Olach (2013). The copyist was probably Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz (1802–1884) and the manuscript was in the possession of Amelija Abrahamowicz. It contains the Torah and the Haphtarot (Olach 2013: 10–12).

Another text that was consulted was the South-Western Karaim translation of the Book of Chronicles (catalogue number TKow.02). The manuscript contains the Former Prophets and 1–2 Chronicles and was discovered recently in the private collection of Tadeusz Kowalski (Németh 2021: 16).

Yet another valuable source was the South-Western Karaim Torah translation (catalogue number JSul.111.01) made by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz (Németh 2021: 15). In an annotation given at Exo. 30:34, Mordkowicz refers to Simcha ben Chananel. Hence, this translation was used to create JSul.111.01 (Németh 2021: 7). The manuscript can be found in the private collection of Josef Sulimowicz.

Examples were also taken from the Book of Psalms as well as the Book of Nehemiah (catalogue number ADub.111.84). The translation was made by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz and it contains the Ketuvim with the exception of 1–2 Chronicles (Németh 2021: 16). The manuscript is kept in the private collection of Aleksander Dubiński.

As for the Eastern Karaim sources, the main texts analysed in this paper were those published by Jankowski et al. (2019). This publication incorporated several manuscripts kept in libraries and private collections together with the so-called Gözleve Bible (xvi–xx). Of the several translations comprising this group, BSMS 288 was the principal source for this volume. It was probably copied in the second half of the 18th century (Jankowski et al. 2019: xvi–xvii). This edition also includes the oldest Eastern Karaim translation (catalogue number JSul.111.02) which was copied by Abraham ben Samuel at the end of

2 Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz was the other copyist of the manuscript, but unidentified copyists contributed as well (Németh 2021: 7–8).

3 For those parts left unvocalised, see Németh 2021 (6).

4 For the missing folios, see Németh 2021 (5).

the 17th century (Jankowski et al. 2019: XIX).<sup>5</sup> Specific sources will be referred to in this study whenever needed.

## 2 Cardinal Numerals in Karaim Bible Translations

It is well-known that nouns following cardinal numerals take the singular form in modern Turkic languages (Menges 1968: 118). However, in the case of Karaim the plural marking on an enumerated Hebrew noun was copied in Bible translations, i.e. the plural marking patterns in Karaim texts mainly follow the Hebrew original. Hence, the use of the plural marker and/or the demonstrative pronoun *ol* 'that' performing the function of the definite article is governed by the rules of Hebrew grammar (Olach 2013: 120–133). In the following sections, the plural marking characteristics of cardinal numerals 2–19 that appeared in various Karaim Bible translations will be compared.

### 2.1 Cardinal Numeral 2

In the corpus, nouns modified by the numeral *eki* 'two' are in the singular if the corresponding Hebrew expression does not contain any numeral for 'two', but instead assumes a dual form of the noun (see also Olach 2013: 120–121). Since Karaim lacks a dual category, the translation of this Hebrew expression is a typical Turkic numeral construction, for instance, Biblical Hebrew: Exo.21:21 *yômáyim* [days.N:MASC.DUAL.ABS] 'two days', South-Western Karaim: HKB: Exo. 21:21 *eki kin* [two day] 'two days', JSul.III.01: Exo. 21:21 *eki kin* [two day] 'two days', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Exo. 21:21 *eki kün* [two day] 'two days' (Németh 2021: 366), Crimean Karaim: Exo. 21:21 *eki kün* [two day] 'two days' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 126).<sup>6</sup> Observe that the noun *kin* 'day' is in the singular. The same pattern occurs in the translation of Num. 9:22 *yômáyim* [days.N:MASC.DUAL.ABS] 'two days', thus South-Western Karaim: HKB: Num. 9:22 *eki kin* [two day] 'two days', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Num. 9:22 *eki kün* [two day] 'two days' (Németh 2021: 672), Crimean Karaim *eki kün* [two day] 'two days' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 240).

Different strategies can be observed in the translation of the same Hebrew dual form in the case of Num. 11:19 *yômáyim* [days.N:MASC.DUAL.ABS] 'two days'. Once again here South-Western Karaim and Crimean Karaim copyists/

5 JSul.III.02 became available for research recently, as a consequence of which only the translation of the Book of Ruth published by Németh (2016) was consulted for the edition (Jankowski et al. 2019: XIX).

6 No examples can be found in JSul.III.02, ADub.III.84 and TKow.02.

translators used a noun in the singular: in South-Western Karaim: HKB: Num. 11:19 *eki kin* [two day] 'two days', JSul.III.01: Num. 11:19 *eki kün* [two day] 'two days', in Crimean Karaim: Num. 11:19 *eki kün* [two day] 'two days' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 244). The North-Western Karaim translation, however, reflects this expression with a noun in the plural: ADub.III.73: Num. 11:19 *eki kün:lar* [two day:PL] 'two days' (Németh 2021: 680).

Similarly, the dual form of the Hebrew noun 'cubit' (Exo. 25:10 *'ammāṭāyim* [cubits.N:FEM.DUAL.ABS] 'two cubits') was translated into South-Western and Crimean Karaim with a numeral construction containing a noun in the singular: HKB: Exo. 25:10 *eki loqot da jarym* [two cubit and half] 'two cubits and a half', JSul.III.01: Exo. 25:10 *eki loqot da jarym* [two cubit and half] 'two cubits and a half', Crimean Karaim: Exo. 25:10 *eki aršyn da jarym* [two cubit and half] 'two cubits and a half' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 131). However, in the North-Western Karaim text a noun following such a numeral is in the plural: ADub.III.73: Exo. 25:10 *eki loqot:lar da jarym* [two cubit:PL and half] 'two cubits and a half' (Németh 2021: 380).

On the other hand, in Hebrew expressions containing the attributive numeral 'two', the noun is in the plural, for instance Exo. 25:12 *ūšatē ṭabbā'ōt* [two.CARD:FEM.DUAL.CONST. ring.N:FEM.PL.ABS] 'two rings', Lev. 5:7 *štē ṭōrîm* [two.CARD:FEM.DUAL.CONST. turtledove.N:FEM.PL.ABS] 'two turtledoves', Deut. 21:15 *štē nāšîm* [two.CARD:FEM.DUAL.CONST. wife.N:FEM.PL.ABS] 'two wives' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 276). Such expressions are translated into Karaim with the numeral 'two' and the plural form of the noun (see also Olach 2013: 122), for instance, South-Western Karaim: HKB: Exo. 25:12 *eki izik:ler* [two ring:PL] 'two rings', JSul.III.01: Exo. 25:12 *eki izik:ler* [two ring:PL] 'two rings', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Exo. 25:12 *eki jüzük:ler* [two ring:PL] 'two rings' (Németh 2021: 382), Crimean Karaim: Exo. 25:12 *eki ḥalqa:lar* [two ring:PL] 'two rings' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 131).<sup>7</sup> In the case of the other expressions, South-Western Karaim: HKB: Lev. 5:7 *eki bedene:ler* [two turtledove:PL] 'two turtledoves', JSul.III.01: Lev. 5:7 *eki bedene:ler* [two turtledove:PL] 'two turtledoves', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Lev. 5:7 *eki bedena:lar* [two turtledove:PL] 'two turtledoves' (Németh 2021: 482), Crimean Karaim: Lev. 5:7 *eki tor:lar* [two turtledove:PL] 'two turtledoves' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 171); and

7 Similarly, the numeral 'two' and the noun in the plural can be found in the Crimean Karaim manuscript JSul.III.02: Ru. 11 *eki oġlan:lar:y* [two son:PL.POSS3SG] 'his two sons' as the translational equivalent of Ru. 11 *ūšanē ḥānāyw* [and two.CONJ.CARD:MASC.DUAL.CONST his sons.N:MASC.PL.CONST.SUFF:MASC3SG] 'his two sons' (Németh 2016: 169). In TKow.02 2Cr. 9:18 *eki arslan:lar* [two lion:PL] 'two lions', cf. Hebrew 2Cr. 9:18 *ūšanāyim 'ārāyōt* [and two.CONJ.CARD:MASC.DUAL.ABS lions.N:MASC.PL.ABS] 'two lions'.



South-Western Karaim: HKB: Deut. 21:15 *eki qatyn:lar* [two wife:PL] 'two wives' and JSul.III.01: Deut. 21:15 *eki qatyn:lar* [two wife:PL] 'two wives', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Deut. 21:15 *eki qatyn:lar* [two wife:PL] 'two wives' (Németh 2021: 914), Crimean Karaim: Deut. 21:15 *eki xatyn:lar* [two wife:PL] 'two wives' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 333).

In Biblical Hebrew, multiplicative expressions can be formed by means of the numeral in question. To express 'double, twice', either the cardinal numeral 'two', or its derived form, is used (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 286–287). As the cardinal numeral is a dual form without a nominal element, Karaim translators/copyists resorted to a numeral construction as an equivalent.<sup>8</sup> This is the Hebrew dual form in Neh. 13:20 *ûštáyim* [and two.N:FEM.DUALABS] 'and twice' and in Ps. 62:12 *štáyim* [two.N:FEM.DUALABS] 'twice' are rendered as ADub.III.84: Neh. 13:20 *eki keret* [two time(s)] 'twice (two times)' and ADub.III.84: Ps. 62:12 *eki keret* [two time(s)] 'twice (two times)' into South-Western Karaim: Gen. 27:36 *pa'ámáyim* [occurrences.CARD:FEM.DUALABS] 'two occurrences', in South-Western Karaim: HKB: Gen. 27:36 *eki keret:ler* [two times:PL] 'twice' and JSul. III.01: Gen. 27:36 *eki keret:ler* [two times:PL] 'twice', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.72: Gen. 27:36 *eki keret:lar* [two times:PL] 'twice' (Németh 2021: 156), Crimean Karaim: Gen. 27:36 *eki kerät:lär* [two times:PL] 'twice' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 43). Observe the plural forms in the Karaim translations, the only exception can be seen in ADub.III.84.

Another multiplication based on the cardinal numeral 'two' appears in Deut. 21:17 *pî šənáyim* [mouth.N:MASC.SG.CONST two.CARD:MASC.DUALABS] 'two/double portions'. Although the cardinal numeral in Hebrew is a dual form while the expression also contains a nominal element, its translational method is the same in all the Karaim Bible translations. That is, the Karaim translators/copyists made use of an interpretation as the equivalent of this Hebrew numeral expression by employing the word *ilis/ülüš/paj* 'portion' instead of the noun 'mouth': South-Western Karaim: HKB: Deut. 21:17 *eki paj* [two portion] 'two portions', JSul.III.01: Deut. 21:17 *eki ilis* [two portion] 'two portions', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.72: Deut. 21:17 *eki ülüš* [two portion] 'two portions' (Németh 2021: 914), Crimean Karaim: *eki paj* [two portion] 'two portions' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 333).<sup>9</sup> Consider the singular form of the noun 'portion' and the difference between Hebrew and Karaim in the ordering of the elements.

<sup>8</sup> No instances occur in JSul.III.02.

<sup>9</sup> What is remarkable is the difference in the lexicon, *paj* is used in HKB while *ilis* appears in JSul.III.01.

## 2.2 Cardinal Numerals between 3–19

### 2.2.1 Nominal in the Plural

In the case of the numerals from three to nineteen, the Hebrew enumerated noun is usually in the plural (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 278–279). One such example is Exo. 25:33 *šəlōšā<sup>h</sup> ġəbī'im* [three.CARD:MASC.SG.ABS bowls.N:MASC.PL.ABS] 'three bowls', which has been translated into Karaim with a numeral expression containing a noun in the plural (see also Olach 2013: 121–124). Thus, in South-Western Karaim: HKB: Exo. 25:33 *ic cara:lar* [three bowl:PL] 'three bowls', in JSul.III.01: Exo. 25:33 *ic cara:lar* [three bowl:PL] 'three bowls', in North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.72: Exo. 25:33 *üč čara:lar* [three bowl:PL] 'three bowls' (Németh 2021: 382), in Crimean Karaim: Exo. 25:33 *üč syrča:lar* [three bowl:PL] 'three bowls' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 132). The plural suffix of the enumerated noun can also be seen in the following examples: Exo. 2:16 *šəba' bānôt* [seven.CARD:FEM.SG.ABS daughters.N:FEM.PL.ABS] 'seven daughters', in South-Western Karaim: HKB: Exo. 2:16 *jedi qyz:lar* [seven daughter:PL] 'seven daughters', JSul.III.01: Exo. 2:16 *jedi qyz:lar* [seven daughter:PL] 'seven daughters', in North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.72: Exo. 2:16 *jedi qyz:lar* [seven daughter:PL] 'seven daughters' (Németh 2021: 278), in Crimean Karaim: Exo. 2:16 *jedi qyz:lar* [seven daughter:PL] 'seven daughters' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 93); Num. 11:32 *äšārā<sup>h</sup> ħömār'im* [ten.CARD:MASC.SG.ABS homers.N:MASC.PL.ABS] 'ten homers', in South-Western Karaim: HKB: Num. 11:32 *on qupa:lar* [ten homer:PL] 'ten homers', JSul.III.01: Num. 11:32 *on qupa:lar* [ten homer:PL] 'ten homers', in North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.72: Num. 11:32 *o[n] oba:lar* [ten homer:PL] 'ten homers' (Németh 2021: 684), in Crimean Karaim: Num. 11:32 *on oba:lar* [ten homer:PL] 'ten homers' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 244); Biblical Hebrew: Deut. 1:23 *šənēm 'āsār 'änāšim* [two.CARD:MASC.DUAL.ABS ten.CARD:MASC.SG.ABS men.N:MASC.PL.ABS] 'twelve men', in South-Western Karaim: HKB: Deut. 1:23 *on eki eren:ler* [ten two man:PL] 'twelve men', JSul.III.01: Deut. 1:23 *on eki eren:ler* [ten two man:PL] 'twelve men', in North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.72: Deut. 1:23 *on eki eren:ler* [ten two man:PL] 'twelve men' (Németh 2021: 818), in Crimean Karaim: Deut. 1:23 *on eki kiši:lär* [ten two man:PL] 'twelve men' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 295).<sup>10</sup>

10 The enumerated noun is also in the plural in ADub.III.84: Neh. 8:18 *jedi kün:ler* [seven day:PL] 'seven days' as the translation of Hebrew Neh. 8:18 *šib'at yāmim* [seven.CARD:MASC.SG.CONST days.N:MASC.PL.ABS] 'seven days', as well as in JSul.III.02: Ru. 4:2 *on kiši:lär* [ten persons:PL] 'ten men' as the translational equivalent of Hebrew Ru. 4:2 *äšārā<sup>h</sup> 'änāšim* [ten.CARD:MASC.SG.ABS men.N:MASC.PL.ABS] 'ten men' (Németh 2016: 184). In TKow.02, the noun generally is in the plural, e.g. 2 Cr. 7:9 *jedi kin:ler* [seven day:PL] 'seven days' as the translation of Hebrew 2 Cr. 7:9 *šib'at yāmim* [seven.CARD:MASC.SG.CONST days.N:MASC.PL.ABS] 'seven days'.

### 2.2.2 Nominal in the Singular

A noun following a cardinal numeral can take the singular form in Hebrew when the word is a collective noun or a word of time, weight or measure (Davidson 1958: 52–55). “The noun is sometimes sing. after units in the case of words used collectively, [...] and in cases where the thing weighed or measured is omitted” (Davidson 1958: 52); for instance, a noun used collectively after a numeral can be attested in Exo. 21:37 *ḥāmiššā<sup>h</sup> bāqār* [five OX:N:MASC.SG.ABS] ‘five oxen’, in Exo. 21:37 *wəʿarbaʿ-šō<sup>n</sup>* [and four sheep:N:BOTH.SG.ABS] ‘and four sheep’ and in 2 Cr. 4:4 *ʿal-šānēm ʿāsār bāqār* [on two.PREP.CARD:MASC.DUAL.ABS ten.CARD:MASC.SG.ABS OX:N:MASC.SG.ABS] ‘on twelve oxen’. In such cases, the Karaim translations reflect the original Hebrew properties and use nouns in the singular following the cardinal numerals. Hence, translations of the above-mentioned examples into Karaim are as follows: South-Western Karaim: HKB: Exo. 21:37 *bes syğyr* [five oxen] ‘five oxen’ and Exo. 21:37 *dert qoj* [four sheep] ‘four sheep’, JSul.III.01: Exo. 21:37 *bes syğyr* [five oxen] ‘five oxen’ and Exo. 21:37 *dert qoj* [four sheep] ‘four sheep’, and TKow.02: 2 Cr. 4:4 *on eki syğyr istine* [twelve oxen on] ‘on twelve oxen’; North-Western Karaim: A.Dub.III.73: Exo 21:37 *beš syğyr* [five oxen] ‘five oxen’ and Exo. 21:37 *dört qoj* [four sheep] ‘four sheep’ (Németh 2021: 368), Crimean Karaim: Exo. 21:37 *beš syğyr* [five oxen] ‘five oxen’ and Exo. 21:37 *dört qoj* [four sheep] ‘four sheep’ (Jankowski et al. 2019: 295).<sup>11</sup>

### 2.2.3 Fluctuation in the Number of Nominals

Since the singular and plural forms of nouns in numeral expressions can fluctuate in Hebrew (Davidson 1958: 54), the same is accordingly true of Karaim translations. See for example Gen. 31:41 *ʿābadtīkā ʿarbaʿ-ʿesrē<sup>h</sup> šānā<sup>h</sup> bištē bənōte<sup>j</sup>kā wəšēš šānīm bəšō<sup>n</sup>nékā* [serve:V:QAL.PRF.1SG.SUFF:MASC.2SG four-ten year:N:FEM.SG.ABS for two:PREP.N:CARD.FEM.DUAL.CONST your daughters:N:FEM.PL.CONST.SUFF:MASC.2SG and six years:N:FEM.PL.ABS your flock:N:BOTH.SG.CONST.SUFF:MASC.2SG] ‘I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock’ and its renderings: South-Western Karaim: HKB: Gen. 31:41 *qulluq et:ti:m sana on dert jyl eki qyz:lar:yn icin da alty jyl:lar qoj:un icin* [serve:DI.PST.1SG you:DAT ten four year two daughter:PL.POSS2SG for and six year:PL flock:POSS2SG for] ‘I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock’, JSul.III.01: Gen. 31:41 *qulluq et:ti:m sana on dert jyl eki qyz:lar:yn ücün da alty jyl:lar qoj:un ücün* [serve:DI.PST.1SG you:DAT ten four year two daughter:PL.POSS2SG for and six year:PL flock:POSS2SG for]

11 No proper examples can be found in ADub.III.84 and JSul.III.02.

'I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Gen. 31:41 *qulluq et:ti:m saja* [o]ndört *jyl eki qyz:lar:yj üčün da alty jyl:lar qoj:uj üčün* [serve:DI.PST.1SG you:DAT ten four year two daughter:PL.POSS2SG for and six year:PL flock:POSS2SG for] 'I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock' (Németh 2021: 178), Crimean Karaim: Gen. 31:41 *qulluq et:ti:m saja on dört jyl eki qyz:lar:yn uçun da alty jyl:lar qoj:yñ uçyn* [serve:DI.PST.1SG you:DAT ten four year two daughter:PL.POSS2SG for and six year:PL flock:POSS2SG for] 'I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 52). Consider the singular form of the noun *jyl* 'year' following the numeral 'fourteen' and its plural form after the numeral 'six'.

In the Book of Numbers, the Hebrew noun 'day' is expressed in the plural after the numerals 'five' and 'ten', but is in the singular when following the numeral 'twenty', see Num. 11:19 *wālō' ḥāmīššā' yāmīm wālō' 'āšārā' yāmīm wālō' 'eśrīm yôm* [and not five:CARD.MASC.SG.ABS days:N.MASC.PL.ABS and not ten:CARD.MASC.SG.ABS days:N:MASC.PL.ABS and not ten: CARD.MASC.PL.ABS day:N:MASC.SG.ABS] 'and not five days and not ten days and not twenty days'. South-Western Karaim: HKB: Num. 11:19 *ani tivil bes kin:ler ani tivil on kin:ler ani tivil egirmi kin* [or not five day:PL or not ten day:PL or not twenty day] 'or not five days or not ten days or not twenty days', JSul.III.01: Num. 11:19 *ani tivil bes kün:ler ani tivil on kün:ler ani tivil egirmi kün* [or not five day:PL or not ten day:PL or not twenty day] 'or not five days or not ten days or not twenty days', North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Num. 11:19 *da tüvül beš kün:lar da tüvül on kün:lar da tüvül igirmi kün* [and not five day:PL and not ten day:PL and not twenty day] 'and not five days and not ten days and not twenty days' (Németh 2021: 680), Crimean Karaim: Num. 11:19 *da dügül beš kün da dügül on kün da dügül jigirmi kün* [and not five day and not ten day and not twenty day] 'and not five days and not ten days and not twenty days' (Jankowski et al. 2019: 244). Interestingly, the North-Western Karaim and the Crimean Karaim translations maintain the original Hebrew conjunction whereas the South-Western Karaim translations provide an interpretation with the use of *ani* 'or, neither'. As for the number of the noun, most of the translations with the exception of the Crimean Karaim text follow the Hebrew singular and plural forms of the noun. In the Crimean Karaim corpus, on the other hand, the numerical expression displays Turkic characteristics, i.e. the enumerated noun is always in the singular after the numeral.<sup>12</sup>

12 Note that the original Hebrew noun is in the plural; however, in the Crimean Karaim translation the Karaim translator used an enumerated noun in the singular instead JSul.III.02,

Davidson notes that the measure ‘cubit’ in Hebrew is often used in the plural (1958: 54), for example in Exo. 36:15 *wə’arba’ ʾammôṭ rôḥab hayərîʾāḥ hāʾēḥāt* [and four.CARD:FEM.SG.ABS cubit.N:FEM.PL.ABS breadth.N:MASC.SG.CONST the curtain.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS the one.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS] ‘and four cubits was the breadth of one curtain’ and in 2 Cr. 4:1 *wəʿéser ʾammôṭ qômâtô* [and ten.CONJ.CARD:FEM.SG.CONST cubit.N:FEM.PL.ABS its height.N:FEM.SG.CONST .SUFF:MASC3SG] ‘and ten cubits (is) its height’. In such cases, the Karaim translations feature plural forms as well, South-Western Karaim: HKB: Exo. 36:15 *dert loqot:ler kenlig:i ol bir en:nin* [four cubit:PL breadth:POSS3SG that one curtain:GEN] ‘four cubits was the breadth of one curtain’, JSul.III.01: Exo. 36:15 *dert loqot:ler kenlig:i ol bir en:nin* [four cubit:PL breadth:POSS3SG that one curtain:GEN] ‘four cubits was the breadth of one curtain’, TKow.02: 2 Cr. 4:1 *da on loqot:lar turu:su anyn* [and ten cubit:PL height:POSS3SG it:GEN] ‘and ten cubits (is) its height’; North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Exo. 36:15 *dört loqot:lar kenlig:i ol bir en:nin* [four cubit:PL breadth:POSS3SG that one curtain:GEN] ‘four cubits was the breadth of one curtain’ (Németh 2021: 440). The only exception once again is the Crimean Karaim translation where the singular form can be found: Crimean Karaim: Exo. 36:15 *dört arşyn bilän keylik:i ol bir biz:nin* [four cubit with breadth:POSS3SG that one curtain:GEN] ‘with four cubits was the breadth of one curtain’ (Jankowski et al. 2019: 155).

Besides the typical plural form of ‘cubit’, the form *bāʾammāḥ* [in the cubit .PREP.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS] ‘in the cubit’ became “common in later style” (Davidson 1958: 55), e.g. Exo. 26:2 *wəroḥab ʾarbaʾ bāʾammāḥ hayərîʾāḥ hāʾēḥāt* [and breadth.CONJ.N:MASC.SG.ABS four.CARD:FEM.SG.ABS in the cubit.PREP.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS the curtain.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS the one.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS] ‘and the breadth of one curtain four cubits’ and 2 Cr. 4:2 *ʿéser bāʾammāḥ* [ten.CARD .FEM.SG.ABS in the cubit.PREP.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS] ‘ten cubits’. The Karaim translations render this special form with the noun in the singular, i.e. South-Western Karaim: HKB: Exo. 26:2 *da kenlik dert loqot byla ol bir en* [and the breadth of four cubit with that one curtain] ‘and the breadth of one curtain four cubits’, JSul.III.01: Exo. 26:2 *da könlik dert loqot byla ol bir en:nin* [and the breadth of four cubit with that one curtain:GEN] ‘and the breadth of one curtain four cubits’, TKow.02: 2 Cr. 4:2 *on loqot byla* [ten cubit with] ‘with ten cubits’; North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Exo. 26:2 *da kenlig:i dört loqot ol bir en:nin* [and breadth:POSS3SG four cubit that one curtain:GEN] ‘and the breadth of one curtain four cubits’ (Németh 2021: 386), Crimean Karaim: Exo. 26:2 *da keylig:i*

see Hebrew Ru. 1:4 *kəʿéser šānūm* [about ten.PREP.CARD:FEM.SG.CONST years.N:FEM.PL .ABS] ‘about ten years’, JSul.III.02: Ru. 1:4 *on jyl* [ten year] ‘ten years’ (Németh 2016: 170).

*dört arşyn bilän ol bir bez:niñ* [and breadth:POSS3SG four cubit with that one curtain:GEN] ‘and the breadth of one curtain four cubits’ (Jankowski et al. 2019: 133). It should be noted that definitude is not denoted in this case by means of the demonstrative pronoun *ol* ‘that’.<sup>13</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Omission

A number of measure words are omitted in the Hebrew Bible (Davidson 1958: 54–55), for instance, the word ‘shekel’ is missing in Gen. 24:22 *‘āšārā<sup>h</sup> zāhāb* [ten gold:N:MASC.SG.ABS] ‘ten (shekels) gold’. Most of the Karaim translations feature this characteristic, e.g. South-Western Karaim: HKB: Gen. 24:22 *on altyn* [ten gold] ‘ten gold’, JSul.III.01: Gen. 24:22 *on altyn* [ten gold] ‘ten gold’, North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Gen. 24:22 *on altyn* [ten gold] ‘ten gold’ (Németh 2021: 368). However, the Crimean Karaim copyists/translators provide an interpretive translation by adding the word *misqal* ‘shekel’ to the numeral expression, see Crimean Karaim: Gen. 24:22 *on misqal altyn* [ten shekel gold] ‘ten shekels gold’ (Jankowski et al. 2019: 35).<sup>14</sup>

Though not typical measure words, some terms clearly performing the function of a unit have been added to the text in TKow.02 where the Hebrew original has no equivalent for the expression. For instance, in Hebrew only the number ‘four’ occurs in verse 1Cr. 3:5 ‘And these were born unto him in Jerusalem; Shimea, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon, four’ (1Cr. 3:5 *‘arbā’ā<sup>h</sup>* [four.CARD:MASC.SG.ABS] ‘four’), but in TKow.02 the word ‘son’ is added as well (TKow.02: 1Cr. 3:5 *dert uvul* [four son] ‘four sons’).

We have, however, some counterexamples as well. The Hebrew word ‘measure’ is omitted again in Ru. 3:15 *šēš-šā’ōrīm* [six.CARD:FEM.SG.CONST barley:N:FEM.PL.ABS] ‘six (measures of) barley’, but the Karaim copyists/translators preferred to add the word ‘measure’ to provide an intelligible Karaim text, e.g. North-Western Karaim: ADub.III.73: Ru. 3:15 *alty ölc’ov ol arpa:lar:ny oşpu:lar:ny* [six measure that barley:PL:ACC that:PL:ACC] ‘the six measures of barley (ACC)’ (Németh 2015: 70), Crimean Karaim: Ru. 3:15 *alty ölcä arpa* [six measure barley] ‘six measure barley’ (Jankowski et al. 2019: 370), JSul.III.02 *alty {oşbu ölcä arpa:ny}* [six that measure barley:ACC] ‘the six measures of barley (ACC)’ (Németh 2016: 183). Consider the occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun *oşpu* ‘that’ in ADub.III.73 and *oşbu* ‘that’ in JSul.III.02 and the accusative

13 This is probably due to the combination of the prefix and the definite article in Hebrew. The definite article has no translational equivalent in Karaim when it is combined with a prefix (Olach 2013: 70–71).

14 No instances or counterexamples can be found in ADub.III.84.

form of the noun *arpa:lar:ny* ‘barley (PL:ACC)’ / *arpa:ny* ‘barley (ACC)’ in the North-Western Karaim manuscript and in one of the Crimean Karaim texts.

3 Conclusions

Overall, the new Karaim materials confirm earlier observations regarding the translational methods applied to Hebrew numeral expressions containing number 2–19. Thus, the translational equivalent of a Hebrew dual form is a numeral expression containing the numeral ‘two’ and the noun in the singular. However, the oldest North-Western Karaim text includes exceptional cases as well, with the noun sometimes following the numeral.

Furthermore, new characteristics can also be detected. For instance, in the Karaim translations of multiplicative expressions based on the Hebrew numeral ‘two’ (i.e. ‘twice’), a noun is inserted which is usually in the plural (*keretler*, *keretġar*, *kerätġär*). However, in the South-Western Karaim ADub.III.84, the nominal is actually in the singular (*keret*). Another Hebrew multiplicative expression is translated into all Karaim varieties with a numeral expression containing a noun in the singular (*paj*, *ilis*, *üliüş*). In this case, the Hebrew original has a noun in the singular, too. See also Table 9.1.

TABLE 9.1    Rendering of dual forms into Karaim

	Singular	Plural
Dual forms	HKB (SWKar) ADub.III.73 (NWKar) CrKar	ADub.III.73 (NWKar)
Multiplicative expressions— Dual forms without nominals	ADub.III.84 (SWKar)	HKB (SWKar) JSul.III.01 (SWKar) ADub.III.73 (NWKar) CrKar
Multiplicative expressions— Dual forms with nominal	HKB (SWKar) JSul.III.01 (SWKar) ADub.III.73 (NWKar) CrKar	

The publication of new sources has enabled identification of further characteristics of numerals from 3 to 19. As was previously noted, nouns usually take the plural form after numerals 3 to 19. However, nominals in the singular can also be found. Moreover, variations can be attested as well, i.e. while nouns are, for the most part, expressed in the plural, they sometimes also appear in the singular.

Although words of measure are generally in the plural, in one specific form (*bā'mmāh*) they are in the singular. For the most part the Karaim translations follow the Hebrew original patterns for singularity/plurality. The one exception is the Crimean Karaim texts, where the singular forms are more often applied.

Measure words tend to be omitted in Biblical Hebrew. The translational strategy of Karaim copyists/translators was not consistent in such cases. For example, measure words are sometimes omitted, but often they additionally appear in Karaim translations.

### Abbreviations

1	first person	FEM	feminine
2	second person	GEN	genitive
3	third person	MASC	masculine
ABS	absolute state	N	noun
ACC	accusative	PL	plural
BOTH	common gender	POSS	possessive
CARD	cardinal numeral	PREP	preposition
CONJ	conjunction	PRF	perfect
CONST	construct state	QAL	verb form <i>qal</i>
DAT	dative	SG	singular
DEF	definite article	SG	singular
DI.PST	past in <i>-DI</i>	SUFF	suffix
DUAL	dual	V	verb

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## ***Süci/sücü* ‘wine’: The Career of an Old Turkic Word in Classical Anatolian and Ottoman Turkish Poetry**

*Benedek Péri*

*Süçig/süçüg* ‘wine’ is an old Turkic word first attested in Old Uyghur documents (Zieme 1997: 438–439). Clauson’s *Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth Century Turkish* lists several later Turkic languages, Ottoman Turkish among them where the noun occurred in some form or other (for these pieces of data, see Clauson 1972: 796–797). The present paper aims at investigating the history of the word in Old Anatolian Turkish and Ottoman with a special focus on its career in classical Turkish poetic texts produced in Anatolian Turkish principalities and the Ottoman Empire.

Though Anatolia was slowly but steadily conquered by Oghuz Turkic tribes from the second half of the 11th century and several Turkic states were established in the region in the oncoming centuries Persian remained the dominant language of poetic production until the early 14th century. The first verses composed in Turkish were conceived in the late 13th century and it took quite a few decades until Turkish was firmly established as a language used for creating classical poetic texts. The term ‘classical’ refers here to a Persianate literary tradition that came into being in the second half of the 10th century and developed into a full-fledged literary system during the course of the next centuries. This tradition relied on a fixed system of prosody and rhetoric, had a series of genres and an ever widening *mundus significans* with a rich set of poetical tools.

The classical Persianate literary system became the dominant literary paradigm in the Persianate Islamic world univocally cultivated at royal courts. As poetry following the written and unwritten rules of this tradition conveyed the message that both its producers and consumers were educated and cultured people, it was quite natural that it became adopted by various Turkic speaking authors as well. The first Turkic poet composing a classical poetic text in a Turkic language was Yūsuf Ḥaş Ḥājib, a Qarakhanid author who produced the first classical Turkic narrative poem (*meşnevi*), the *Ḳutadḡu bilig* in 1069.

A great dilemma of Turkic authors was how to adapt a poetic system that was originally developed in a linguistically foreign environment. They tried to address issues like how to use quantitative metres with a language that doesn’t have long vowels, how much to borrow from the signifying universe, especially

from the vocabulary of Persian classical poetry and how much Turkic element can be inserted into poems. The period until the second half of the 15th century was a period of experimentation with authors struggling to find individual solutions to these crucial problems. The result was quite distressing and due to the difficulties poets used Persian instead of Turkic. The situation can be best illustrated with the words of Mīr 'Alī-ṣīr Nevāyī (1441–1501), the founder of the Chaghatay, and in a sense the Ottoman classical tradition:

... from the time of Hülegü Ḥān to the reign of Temür Küregen, the Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction, there weren't any poets in Turkic who would have deserved to be mentioned and there wasn't a text that would have been worth mentioning. ... However, from the reign of Temür Küregen, the Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction, to the end of the rule of his successor, Şāhruḥ Sultān, poets using Turkic appeared, and some of them came from among the descendants of his Highness: [poets] such as Sakkākī, Ḥaydar Ḥ'vārizmī, 'Aṭāyī, Muḳīmī, Yaḳīnī, Amīrī and Gadāyī. However, there was no one who could equal the works of Persian poets, except for the only Maulānā Luṭfī who has at least a few lines that can be read out before experts of poetry.

NEVĀYĪ 1996: 188

The situation was a bit different in Anatolia but only as far as the chronology is concerned, because the first poets using Turkish as poetic medium appeared on the scene here much earlier, in the late 13th century. Perhaps it has something to do with the fact that the first poets were not attached to a royal court but were in a sense 'missionaries', spreading the teachings of Islam dressed in a poetic garb.

Sultān Veled (d. 1312), the son of the well-known spiritual leader Maulānā Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), a poet himself and Yūnus Emre (d. 1320), a Sufi poet chose different strategies to convey their messages perhaps because they were targeting different audiences. Sultān Veled composed the bulk of his poetry in Persian and composed only a few lines in Turkish. Yūnus Emre on the other hand, wrote in simple Turkish in forms very close to folk poetry. However, as the concept of 'wine' and 'wine-drinking' was an integral part of the *mundus significans* of classical poetry (For a detailed description of the early history of wine imagery in classical poetry, see Yarshater 1960), the image of wine is often met with in their poems both as a this-worldly beverage and the metaphor of heavenly blessings.

One of the words they used to denote wine was *süci/sücü*, the Anatolian equivalent of *süçig/süçüg*.

The signifying universe of Persianate classical poetry inherited by Anatolian Turkish poets has quite a few words for 'wine'. Nouns of Persian origin such as *mey*, *bāde* and *mul* and words of Arabic origin such as *şarāb*, *hamr*, *şabūḥ* and *sahbā*.

One would expect that Sultān Veled's poetry contained more of these borrowed elements and Yūnus Emre's less. However, it is the other way round. In the few Turkish lines of Sultān Veled the word *süci/sücü* occurs twelve times (Mansuroğlu 1958: 173) while in the voluminous *Dīvān* of Yūnus Emre it comes up only twice because the poet seems to have preferred using *şarāb* to *süci* (Tatçı 2008: 516). Not much poetic imagery is associated with the word in the poems of these two poets not even its colour is mentioned. One example from the poetry of each poet will only be quoted here.

### Sultān Veled

*Kim bunu etdi korkudan geçdi  
Uçmağa girdi bol sücü içdi  
Ol sücüden ki Teñri nürüdur  
Sākisi uçmağ içre hūrūdur*

'That person who did this, overcame his fear,  
He entered Heaven and drank much wine.  
That wine is the light of God,  
And in Heaven it is distributed by houris.'

MANSUROĞLU 1958: 14

### Yūnus Emre

*Ben oruç-namāz için süci içdüm esridüm  
Tebīh-seccāde için dinlerem şeşte-çopuz*

'Instead of fasting and praying, I drank wine and I became intoxicated,  
Instead of [using] my rosary and prayer rug, I listen to the *qopuz*.'

TATÇI 2008: 90

In the works of early 14th century Anatolian poets *süci* occurs quite sporadically. It is missing from two leading Sufi texts from the first decades of the century, Âşık Paşa's (d. 1332) voluminous, approximately ten thousand couplets (*beyts*) long *meşnevī*, the *Garīb-nāme* (Âşık Paşa 2000) and Gülşehrī's (d. after 1317) *Mantık at-Ṭayr* (Yavuz n.d.), though the concept of wine appears in both

poems. Instead of the Turkish word both authors preferred to use nouns of foreign origin, most often *şarāb*, but *mey* and *bāde* are also present in their texts (For *şarāb*, see Âşık Paşa 2000, 1/1: 147, 185; Yavuz n.d.: 32, 197). In the case of Gülşehrî's this is quite understandable as his poem was inspired by a Persian work, Farīd ed-Dīn 'Attār's (d. 1220) *meşnevī* bearing the same title. Âşık Paşa's choice of words can perhaps be explained with educational and cultural background of his target audience, Sufi communities whose members had some knowledge of Persian literature and were familiar with Sufi texts written in Persian.

Tursun Faḳīh's (d. after 1326) short narrative poem, often referred to as *Ğazavāt-i Muḥammed Ḥanefī*,<sup>1</sup> relating the heroic deeds of the Caliph 'Alī and his son, Muḥammed Ḥanefī was written in the same period. The vocabulary of this historical narrative includes *süci* to denote 'wine' (Şener 2010: 165, 166, 167, 168, 171).<sup>2</sup> Out of the five occurrences only one instance is quoted here.

*Tābūt eydür meclis āletin kuruñ  
Süci gelsün soḫbete bunyād uruñ*

'Tābūt says, prepare everything [needed] for a party,  
Let wine come, make a foundation for a conversation.'

ŞENER 2010: 166

*Süci* appears only once in the *Cumhūr-nāme*, another short work relating the heroic deeds of early Muslim heroes, written by the same author:

*Su yerine anlara verdi süci  
Cenge girdükde ola ğāyet güci*

'He gave them wine instead of water,  
To give them power when they go to battle.'

YAZICI 2005: 311

The narrative poems mentioned so far are all on religious subjects. However, during this period romantic *meşnevī*s inspired by Persian models were also composed and these abound in scenes describing lavish feast. Hoca Mes'ūd's narrative poem, *Süheyl ü Nevbahār* composed in 1350 relates the love story of

1 The text was published in the form of an MA thesis with the title Muhammed Hanfei Cengi (Şener 2010).

2 The poem is 640–670 couplets long.

Süheyl the daughter of the Chinese emperor and Nevbahār, the son of the king of Yemen. The 5703 couplet long poem is full of scenes where people are consuming food and wine. In this poem only *süci* is used to designate ‘wine’ and thus, it appears quite frequently, altogether seventy times in the text (for the list of occurrences, see Ciğā 2013: 695). The author describes a sumptuous feast in the following way:

*Aradan ʔaʔamı çü götürdiler  
Bu kez süci içmege oturdular  
Çalındı def ü nây u çeng ü rebāb  
Döküldi süci geldi nuḳl ü kebāb  
Bu zevḳ ile üç günü geçürdiler  
Ḳamusına yidürüp içürdiler*

‘When food was brought in,  
They sat down and began to drink.  
Drum, flute, harp and rubab started to play,  
Wine was poured kebab and dried fruits were served.  
Three days were spent with joy,  
Everyone was given food and drink.’

CİĞA 2013: 74

Faḫrī (d. ?), inspired by Nizāmī’s (d. 1209) romantic *meşnevī*, composed the first ever narrative poem on the *Hüsrev ü Şirîn* theme in Turkish, almost two decades later, in 1367. This poem is full of descriptions depicting people eating, and drinking wine. The author applies several words for ‘wine’, *şarāb*, *mey* and *süci*.<sup>3</sup> Though all of these nouns have the same meaning their use greatly differs. While *süci* is generally employed to denote wine in the text, the other two words occur only in a rhyming position:

*Yidiydi anda içenler şarābı  
Gehī ördek gehī keklik kebābı*

‘Those who were drinking wine ate,  
Kebab made of duck and partridge.’

CİĞA 2013: 374

3 *Şarāb* occurs only once (Ciğā 2013: 374), *mey* five (Ciğā 2013: 379, 440, 442, 450, 451) and *süci* forty two times (Ciğā 2013: 337, 353, 354, 358, 365, 373, 379 (3×), 425, 430, 432 (2×), 433 (2×), 435, 441, 442 (3×), 443, 447, 450, 451, 454, 505, 509, 614 (2×), 615, 617, 628 (2×), 654, 663 (2×), 668 (4×), 670 (2×)).

*Ḳamu şāhı añuban içdiler mey  
Seher olunca işret kıldılar key*

'They remembered all the kings and drank to them,  
And they had a great party until dawn.'

CİĞA 2013: 443

Yūsuf Meddāh's narrative poem entitled *Varḳa ve Gülşāh* was composed in 1343. Though it was also inspired by a Persian model, 'Ayyūḳī's (fl. 11th c.) poem of the same title, the motif of wine-drinking occurs in it only a few times, perhaps because this *meşnevī* telling the love story of Varḳa and his niece Gülşāh, takes place in an Arab environment in the times of the Prophet Muḥammed. Whenever wine is mentioned in the story the word *süci* is used:

*Ḳaḳıdı eydür getürüñüz süci  
Diler ol bî-çāreye ḳıla güci*

'He became angry [and] said: "Bring wine!"  
He wanted to use force on that unfortunate one.'

YŪSUF-I MEDDĀH 1976: 36–37

Aḥmedi's *İskender-nāme*, the first Turkish poetic reply to Nizāmī's version of the Alexander theme composed in 1390, contains quite a few references to 'wine'. Quite interestingly, the noun most often met with in this meaning is *bāde*, followed by *şarāb* and *mey*. These latter two appear mainly in a rhyming position. *Süci* occurs only once in the 8307 couplets long text:

*Ḥayr rahmetdür su Rahmāndan gelür  
Şerr u la'net süci şeytāndan gelür*

'Being good is a blessing, water comes from God,  
Wickedness, curse and wine [all] come from the Devil.'

AHMEDÎ 2019: 463

In Aḥmedi's romantic *meşnevī*, *Cemşid ü Hurşid*, which is an imitation of Sal-mān Sāvajī's (d. 1376) Persian poem bearing the same title, the situation is more or less the same. Mainly words of foreign origin are used and *süci* occurs only once.

Ḥatiboğlu's verse translation of an Arabic text composed in 1414 on the other hand contains *süci* several times. The author based his poem on a commentary

on the 67th chapter of the Quran (The Sovereignty) written by Ibn Berkī. Loan words of Arabic and Persian origin meaning ‘wine’ do not appear in the text, only *süci* is used:

*Ƙaldı ‘avret süci vaƙtın gözedi  
Ƙızını yerlü yerince bezedi  
Çün süci vaƙtı erişdi pādīşāh  
Ƙıur idi ol ƙızuñ ‘aşƙından āh*

‘The woman waited for the time of wine,  
And embellished her daughter from head to toe.  
When the time of wine came, the king,  
Began sighing because of the love he felt for the girl.’

VURAL 1999: 128

Though the noun *şarāb* appears in Hatıboğlu’s *Ferāh-nāme*, a long narrative poem composed in 1426 explaining a hundred Islamic traditions (*hadīs*), *süci* occurs more than twice as many times in the text:

*Dedi ol halk kim bunuñ işi güci  
Gece gündüz dāyim içerdi süci*

‘Those people said that his activity,  
Was to drink wine all day and night.’

ŞAHİN 1994: 578, line 1636

Wine and wine drinking is a recurring key motif in Persianate lyrical poetry and Aḥmedī’s seven hundred odd ghazals in his *dīvān* often include references to this drink and its consumption. The notion of ‘wine’ is expressed by a wide range of words: *şarāb*, *bāde*, *mey*, *şabūh*, *mül*, *hamr*. *Süci*, however, not once does an appearance in the ghazals (Aḥmedī n.d.). Ƙāzī Burhān ad-Dīn was a contemporary of Aḥmedī composing almost exclusively lyrical poems. In his *dīvān* containing more than one thousand two hundred ghazals the same range of words can be seen, however, their relative frequency is very different. *Mey* and *bāde* occur most often, followed by *süci* that shows up two dozen times (Ergin 1980: 29, 52, 63, 70, 79, 95, 102, 112, 116, 126, 134, 135, 170, 212, 236, 240, 284, 362, 423, 431, 479, 535, 538). It is interesting to note that in Ƙāzī Burhān ad-Dīn’s poetry *şarāb* is used only once and it is preceded on the list of words meaning ‘wine’ even by *şabūh* and *mül*.

For Ƙāzī Burhān ad-Dīn *süci* is a synonym for *bāde* and *mey*, and it is used accordingly. The word’s appearance in lines cannot be explained simply by



prosodic considerations. In the following example *bāde* would have been a natural choice because the metrical pattern in the line requires a word with a long first and a short second syllable.<sup>4</sup> By inserting *bāde* instead of *süci*, the lengthening of the short vowel in a Turkish word, a method though accepted, not considered elegant, could have been avoided:

*Yüregüm sücisinden gözi maḥmūr  
Tolu ver ayağı sāķi kefine*

'The wine of my heart makes his/her eyes intoxicated,  
Sāķi, fill a cup and put it in his/her hand.'

ERGIN 1980: 70

Aḥmed-i Dā'ī (d. 1421) a contemporary of the two previously mentioned poets used the whole range of words meaning 'wine' in his three hundred odd ghazals with *süci* occurring twenty times (See e.g. Özmen 2001: 81, 105, 108, 124, 136, 139, 147, 156, 193, 196, 209, 225, 247, 253, 263, 267). Aḥmed-i Dā'ī also used *süci* as a synonym for *mey*, *bāde*, etc. but unlike Ḳāzī Burhān ad-Dīn, in most of the cases, he includes it in his lines only at places where it easily fits into the metrical pattern. A good example for his strategy is the ghazal using the refrain-like *redif içmez* 'he/she doesn't drink'. The poem composed in the metre *mujtas-i müsemmen-i maḥbūn* (. - . - | . - . - | . - . - | . - or - -) applies three synonyms for wine *şarāb*, *mey* and *süci* and each one of them is used in a metrically appropriate position:

*Çemende kim güle karşı bugün şarāb içmez  
Şu taş bağırlı haşındır ki la'l-i nāb içmez*

'The person who doesn't drink wine in the meadow in front of a rose,  
Is a stone-hearted rascal who doesn't drink pure ruby'

...

*İyüzi gül güle karşı piyāle al elüñe  
Gül ile mey çü gül-āb ola kim gül āb içmez*

'Ah, you whose face is like a rose, take a cup into your hands in front of  
the rose,

4 The metre is *hezec-i müseddes-i maḥzūf* (. - - - - | . - - - - | . - -).

Let rose and wine become rose-water; roses [shouldn't] drink water'

...

*Güzel kaçan süci icse günler ay ile gün  
Felekde zîrâ ki mâh ile âftâb içmez*

'When a beauty drinks wine, the moon and the sun envy him/her,  
Because the moon and the sun in the sky cannot drink.'

ÖZMEN 2001: 136

These examples would suggest that *süci* was quite frequently used in early 15th century Ottoman ghazal poetry, however, a huge collection of imitation ghazals from this period shows that new trends began and the word had started going out of fashion. The work compiled by 'Ömer bin Mezîd in 1437 is a snapshot of contemporary ghazal poetry showing the fashionable trends of the genre. Though the motif of 'wine' frequently occurs in the three hundred and twenty odd poems only three of them has *süci* instead of *şarâb*, *bâde* or *mey* and one of them is a ghazal by Aḥmed-i Dâ'î (Durkaya 2011: 228, 306, 326).

The second half of the 15th century brought profound changes on Ottoman literary scene. The successful conquest of Constantinople in 1453 put the Ottomans onto a new level and the project of state building was replaced by a new project: building an empire. The new status required a new cultural system reflecting the new Ottoman imperial identity. Part of this ambitious goal was to create an imperial literary language and an imperial Ottoman Turkish classical literary tradition that could facilitate the production of texts comparable to the works of the classics of the Persian branch of the classical literary tradition. During the process of establishing the literature of Rûm,<sup>5</sup> many typically Turkish elements of the signifying universe of the early phase of Ottoman Turkish classical tradition were purged and the noun *süci* was one of them, perhaps because it was judged old-fashioned and outdated for poetical purposes. Though the word remained in use in 16th century medical works,<sup>6</sup> it is totally missing from the poems of the great representatives of the new poetical paradigm, Aḥmed Paşa (d. 1497), Necâtî (d. 1509), Âhî (d. 1517) and Revânî (d. 1523). Revânî's case is very telling as far as *süci*'s fate is concerned, because his poetry was well-known for focusing on the theme of wine and wine-drinking.

5 For the detailed description of the process, see Kuru 2013.

6 According to Ahmet Turan Doğan's edition of a 16th-century medical treatise, *süci* was used as a technical term referring to 'wine' and *şarâb* meant in the medical vocabulary a kind of fluid medicine made from plants or fruits. See Doğan 2015: 832, 837, 845–847.

Though *süci* resurfaces in the poetry of an extremely prolific author of the period, Edirneli Naẓmî (d. 1553?), it should be stressed here that Naẓmî was experimenting with a short-lived style of poetry termed *Türki-yi basit* ('simple Turkish') that aimed at relying on a Turkish vocabulary and tried to use Turkish words in classical poetic forms, especially in ghazals, instead of Arabic and Persian lexical items.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note here that Naẓmî's use of the word counts so unique in the 16th century that the latest scholarly literature describing the role the image of wine played in classical poetry does not even list *süci* among the words used to denote 'wine' (Doğan 2008: 65–66; Bahadır 2013: 31–64).

The history of the poetic use of *süci* in Anatolian and Ottoman Turkish classical poetry can be summarized in the following way. Together with other words denoting 'wine', *süci* was part of the *mundus significance* of classical Turkish poetry in Anatolia from its beginnings, from the late 13th–early 14th century. The frequency of its use in a poetic texts depended mainly on the author's choices that could be influenced by the topic or in case of translations and poetic replies, the language and nature of the original or the model text. *Süci* was used both in narrative and lyrical poetry until the early 15th century when it started going out of fashion. Its fate was sealed by the ambitious literary project of creating an imperial Ottoman classical literary paradigm that started in the second half of the century. By the early 16th century the noun *süci* totally disappeared from the signifying universe of classical Ottoman poetry.

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## Sturtevant's Law and Chuvash

*Uli Schamiloglu*

It was my good fortune while a doctoral student at Columbia University to spend the Fall 1982 semester studying Turkic linguistics under Professor András Róna-Tas and his former students (my future colleagues) in the Department of Altaic Studies at Szeged University. It was one of the great formative experiences of my academic life. I remember those days fondly and still draw upon the experience regularly in my teaching and research. This paper has its origins in those days in Szeged, when a young Turkologist began his enthusiastic study of the Chuvash language under Klára Agyagási ...



### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

When I first began my study of the Chuvash language, using as one of my textbooks the introduction to the language published by András Róna-Tas (1978), I was struck by how different modern Chuvash is compared to anything else I had encountered in Turkic until then (or since) with respect to many basic features, but especially the opposition of voiced intervocalic singleton–unvoiced geminate consonants and the stress pattern. Of course, many Siberian Turkic languages such as Altay or Tuvan voice intervocalic consonants (OT *kışi*: > Altay, Tuvan, Chalkan, etc. *kiji*) (Johanson 1996: 95–96). I am not aware, however, of another Turkic language which has a voiced intervocalic singleton consonant–unvoiced geminate consonant opposition; I will abbreviate this as ‘VISC–UGC opposition’.

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This feature is also seen in the unique system (in Turkic) of nominal and adjectival numbers in Chuvash, as in the nominal series *përre* '1', *ikkë* '2', *viššë* '3', *tāvattă* '4', *pillëk* '5', *ultă* '6', *şıççë* '7', *sakkăr* '8', *tăxxăr* '9', *vunnă* '10' and the adjectival series *për* '1', *ikë~ik* '2', *višë~viš* '3', *tāvăt* '4', *pillëk* '5', *ultă~ult* '6', *şıçë~şıç* '7', *sakăr* '8', *tăxăr* '9', *vună~vun* '10'. In the nominal series the intervocalic geminate consonants /ç, k, ś, t, x/ are all pronounced long and voiceless; in the adjectival series the singleton consonants are all pronounced voiced. (Singleton consonants are also voiced adjacent to a sonorant.) Describing these as fortis and lenis respectively, as is the custom, sidesteps the issue of length of the unvoiced geminate consonant (cf. Baitchura 1983; Clark 1996: 435–436; Savelyev 2020: 449–450). In literary Chuvash unvoiced geminate consonants are represented orthographically by doubled consonants.

Equally curious is the stress system of Chuvash, in which the final syllable with a full vowel is stressed, as in *çávaş'sem* 'Chuvash (pl)'. If there is no full vowel and the word has only short vowels, the stress falls on the first syllable, as in *vākăr* 'ox'. (If the only full vowel is in the first syllable, it will be stressed, of course.) I have consulted with colleagues who are much more knowledgeable in such matters than I in search of parallel examples to help me understand these two phenomena, but without success.

In this contribution to honor Professor Róna-Tas on his goth birthday, I would like to explore briefly both these issues over time and space as well as across disciplines. While I would not say that I have found a definitive answer to the question of the origins of these two features in Chuvash, I would at least like to frame questions (and speculate wildly) about their history, suggest chronologically remote parallels, and perhaps contribute to a discussion of their history from a broader perspective.

I would also like to note that this paper represents a somewhat different approach to the comparative study of Turkic languages in contrast to the recent movement to study 'Traneurasian' languages (Johanson and Robbeets 2010; Robbeets and Savelyev 2020). For recent approaches to the study of the relationships between languages and language families which may be distantly related (or not), see Greenberg (2000; 2002); Robbeets (2017; 2020). These approaches are now becoming a familiar part of the scholarly landscape of the broader interdisciplinary study of our human past by linking the study of language families, archeological cultures, and aDNA studies of the history of fauna, flora, populations, and even diseases. In this regard, at Nazarbayev University I am collaborating with colleagues as part of a larger initiative bringing together researchers in archeology, genetics, history, linguistics, and other fields in an effort to bring the 'Science of Human History' to Kazakhstan. This essay may be seen as one step in trying to think in these broader interdisciplinary modes over a longer period of time reaching back into prehistory.

## 1 The Missing History of the VISC–UGC Opposition in Chuvash?

As is well known, the Old Turkic unvoiced singleton intervocalic stops *-k-*, *-p-*, *-t-* generally become voiced in Chuvash. There are also exceptions, such as OT *-p-* corresponding to Chuvash *-pp-* as in the kinship term OT *apa:*, etc. (a term which has a long series of definitions as ‘ancestor’ and various male or female relatives) > Chuvash *appa* ‘older sister, aunt’ (Egorov 1964: 30; Fedotov 1996/1: 53; cf. Clauson 1972: 5), or OT *-t-* corresponding to Chuvash *-tt-*, as in OT *ata:* ‘father’ > Chuvash *atte* ‘father’ (Egorov 1964: 36–37; Fedotov 1996/1: 70; Clauson 1972: 40), with the stress falling on the final full syllable in both words. It is not clear whether these two examples as well as some other kinship terms are a part of the native Chuvash lexicon or whether they may be loanwords in Chuvash.

Based upon the lexical evidence provided by the historical and modern Turkic languages, there is no systematic evidence to propose such a system of unvoiced singleton versus geminate consonants in Proto-Turkic except in the case of the numeral system, as in Uzbek *ikki* ‘2’, *yetti* ‘7’, *sakkiz* ‘8’, *to‘qqiz* ‘9’ or Azerbaijani *yeddi* ‘7’, *säkkiz* ‘8’, *doqquz* ‘9’ (including voiced geminate consonants in the case of Azerbaijani) (Johanson 1996: 40–41, 74; Schönig 1996: 253). Some other modern Turkic languages also share this feature (Blažek 2020: 661–663). Clauson (1959: 20–22) considers that this feature in the numeral system predates the split between Western Old Turkic (WOT) and Eastern Old Turkic (EOT), to use the more recent terminology introduced by Róna-Tas and Berta (2011).

Let us turn now to a tentative exploration of the history of the development of this opposition in Western Old Turkic. In this regard, we can take as a basis for a consideration of this topic Klára Agyagási’s magisterial work on Chuvash historical phonetics (2019). (For reviews of this work, see Róna-Tas 2019; Zimonyi 2020.) A different approach is offered by Levitskaya 2014, which in most cases is not a useful source for the present discussion. According to Agyagási, WOT *\*t* continued Proto-Turkic *\*t* in all positions, including intervocalic position (2019: 89). In her discussion of the three Volga Bulğarian dialects of Western Old Turkic (WOT/VB), she presents evidence that the intervocalic consonants or consonants adjacent to a liquid appear to be voiceless. She reconstructs for example *\*erti* > WOT/VB *eti* > *eçi* ‘he/she/it was’ (2019: 90), which means that the secondary voicing of singleton consonants had not developed as yet.

The following examples of unvoiced consonants from an inscription in Volga Bulğarian from 1307 (Róna-Tas 1976: 155–156) support the notion that this voicing had not yet taken place intervocalically or in the vicinity of a sonorant: *c’ýēti* ‘7’ (line 5), *altışi* ‘6th’ (line 6), *barsa* ‘going’ (line 8), *velti* ‘died’ (line 8). We cannot be sure, however, about *eçi* ‘(it) was’ (line 7), since it is spelled with a *cīm*. The



Arabic script as used for the Volga Bulğarian inscriptions does not distinguish /b, p/ or /c, ɕ/, unlike the Arabic script as used for Persian and later Ottoman Turkish. On the other hand, /s, z/ are readily distinguished, as are /t, d/ with *dal* used twice in this inscription (in Arabic proper nouns) and *tā'* and *ṭā'* used elsewhere.

Agyagási places the time of the secondary (partial) voicing of consonants to sometime between the Mongol invasions and the early 18th century (2019: 185–187). This suggests that there was no VISC–UGC opposition before that time. While this does not explain the history of the VISC–UGC opposition, it allows us to infer based on her analysis that it developed only much later, perhaps only after the 18th century. Indeed, Levitskaya offers examples showing that certain words may have a singleton consonant in one Chuvash dialect and a geminate consonant in another dialect (2014: 174, 184, and elsewhere). It may be that it is possible to study the development of this feature over time in greater detail based on medieval and early modern published and archival Russian sources (especially of personal names and toponyms), but I could not find any references to such published research.

## 2 Sturtevant's Law: A Parallel to Chuvash Geminate Consonants?

I would like to turn now to an exploration of a temporally remote parallel to the VISC–UGC opposition in modern Chuvash, namely the example of geminate consonants in Hittite, a very archaic Indo-European language. I hasten to add that I pretend to be a specialist neither in Proto-Indo-European linguistics nor in Proto-Uralic linguistics. Yet I find Sturtevant's Law a compelling parallel to the problem of the VISC–UGC opposition in Chuvash. What follows is an attempt to explore how far and in what directions a comparison of the two languages may take us.

In a groundbreaking article on Hittite, Edgar H. Sturtevant wrote that 'original voiceless stops are usually represented in Hitt. by doubled consonants wherever the cuneiform writing makes this possible, while the tendency is to write single *p*, *t* (*d*), and *k* (*g*) for original voiced stops and voiced aspirates' (1932: 2). Sturtevant later expanded on this in his grammar of Hittite (1933: 65–67, 73–86, 116–131). While Sturtevant's grammar was later revised and has been superseded, I only had access to the original edition for the purposes of this paper. Since I most certainly am not a specialist on Hittite, I will note only his discussion about whether the set of singleton consonants and the set of geminate consonants were both unvoiced. He writes (Sturtevant 1933: 67):

The marked preference for *k*, *t*, and *p* indicates that the Hittite sounds may have been nearer Akkadian *K*, *T*, and *P*; but, on the other hand, in the Cappadocian tablets the tendency is for Akkadian *K*, *T*, and *P* to be written *G*, *D*, and *B* respectively, and the confusion of the voiced and voiceless sounds is probably due to the same linguistic substratum in Kanes as in Hatusas.

He adds, however, that he agrees with the view that Hittite had only the voiceless lenes and so is inclined to think that Hittite stops were voiceless (Sturtevant 1933: 67). (I write these lines while riding out the COVID-19 pandemic in modern Bodrum, which is in ancient Caria, where a related ancient Anatolian language was once spoken ....)

It goes without saying that Indo-Europeanists have studied this topic in great depth since Sturtevant and have offered a wide range of learned opinions on what is underlying what is now known as ‘Sturtevant’s Law’. Since I am not qualified to evaluate this body of literature, I will refer the reader instead to the review of the literature in the recent systematic study of Sturtevant’s Law by Yates (2019). Yates identifies as one of the main points of contention the question of whether there was a real phonological change or just an orthographic practice. In other words, if PIE voiceless stops remained voiceless in Hittite and voiced stops remained voiced, there was no change, only an orthographic convention. On the other hand, Sturtevant’s Law suggests a real phonological change, with voiceless stops developing into long stops and voiced stops into non-long stops (Yates 2019: 247–250). I refer the reader to Yates’s discussion for additional details and the earlier scholarship related to this question, as well as his own analysis of Sturtevant’s Law with respect to voiceless stops which did not become geminates in pre-stop contexts.

If I have understood the different arguments regarding the singleton–geminate consonant opposition in Hittite stops correctly, it seems to me that modern Chuvash may offer a comparative example for studying this same range of issues in Hittite, including the third option of a possible contrast in both length and voice in Hittite, as in the *visc*–*ugc* opposition in Chuvash. I leave further consideration of this topic to scholars of Hittite and/or Chuvash more qualified than I to undertake such an in-depth comparison.

### 3 The Stress Pattern in Chuvash: The Influence of Substrata?

Returning to the question of stress patterns, it appears that we will never be able to ascertain conclusively the stress pattern of Volga Bulğarian. I do not see how the written sources in Volga Bulğarian in Arabic script can allow us to analyze this. Agyagási considers that it continued the the system of stress on the final syllable which it had inherited from Proto-Turkic, as does Bereczki (1994: 144). She also proposes that the impetus for the change to a new stress pattern began in Early Middle Chuvash (see below). She dates this to after the Mongol invasions, given the Middle Mongolian loanwards in Volga Bulğarian in which these changes are also present (Agyagási 2019: 195). This explanation may well be the correct explanation, but I would like to explore other possible factors as well.

One may also ask whether any of the local languages serving as a substratum may have influenced stress patterns in Volga Bulğarian. It is clear that speakers of Volga Bulğarian were in close contact with the ancestors of speakers of modern Mari. I am not a specialist in Finno-Ugric languages, so I find it difficult to address the question of stress in Mari. A review of the literature accessible to me suggests that in Uralic stress is on the first syllable (followed by secondary stress on the third syllable, tertiary stress on the fifth syllable, etc., as in Hungarian), see Litkin (1970). From what I have been able to find for Mari, it seems that the system in Mari has moved away from this system under foreign influence, see Bereczki (1994: 143–145). On the other hand, Agyagási argues that reduction of final syllables would have been the mechanism for shifting the stress forward in Chuvash (Agyagási 2019: 216).

We will see below that speakers of Volga Bulğarian may also have been in contact with the speakers of remnants of the West Baltic community in addition to speakers of Proto-Mari. Halle and others have written about the stress pattern of Proto-Indo-European based upon Sanskrit and Baltic languages, especially Lithuanian. Halle concludes that the earliest Indo-European languages had stress on the initial syllable (1997). Might it also be appropriate to suggest that stress in the initial syllable was a feature of the larger linguistic area inhabited by the earliest speakers of Indo-European and Uralic languages? See also the discussion in Yates (2016), Abondolo (1998: 9). Could this have also had an influence (direct or indirect) on spoken Volga Bulğarian?

#### 4 The Hittites: From Western Eurasia to Anatolia

The Hittites established a state in central Anatolia around 1680–1650 BCE. It is believed that speakers of Anatolian languages migrated from the Proto-Indo-European homeland sometime in the preceding millennium, see the discussion in Melchert (2003: 23–26), Bryce (2003: 28–35). According to the Kurgan Hypothesis, the Proto-Indo-European homeland is situated in the southern steppes of Western Eurasia and is associated with the Yamnaya culture. It is not known why the speakers of Anatolian languages may have migrated from their original homeland to Anatolia.

In leaving the southern steppes of Western Eurasia or the forested areas adjacent to them, the language of the Hittites would reflect the linguistic situation in the area in which they lived previously. Put differently, their language offers a snapshot of what a language in that region might have looked like circa 4000+ years BP. Based upon our review of Sturtevant's Law, it is clear that there is the real possibility that there were geminate consonants in Hittite. There does not seem to be any evidence for suggesting that Proto-Indo-European had such a system, but it appears that Proto-Uralic had an opposition between unvoiced singleton and unvoiced geminate consonants. On Proto-Uralic geminate consonants see Abondolo (2017) and Aikio (2019). Dialects of modern Finnish also have a similar system, see Viitso (1998: 105).

Could it be that Hittite was influenced by or part of a linguistic area including Proto-Uralic? Scholars disagree on whether there ever was such a Proto-Uralic unity, see the discussion in Janhunen (2009). If so, the area of the Middle Volga region (which falls north of the area of Yamnaya culture), could have been a zone for shared contact. While the distance between these two regions (say between the Lower Volga and Middle Volga regions) may seem at first a significant barrier to such shared a linguistic area, we should keep in mind that for well over a millennium the region has been dominated by the Turkic language family, albeit with local regional specificities. Moreover, we know that in the 13th–14th centuries there were regular seasonal migrations along the Volga and other river systems, including the camps of the khans and other members of the Golden Horde élite. In other words, the Lower and Middle Volga regions, i.e. the sedentary regions south and north of the steppe zone, were closely linked and formed a unified linguistic area over the past millennium or more.

## 5 Extralinguistic Factors in the History of the 'Volga Sprachbund'

There have been many productive discussions of the Middle Volga region as a *Sprachbund* or 'linguistic area' and the close relations between languages of many families are readily apparent to a student of any of the languages of the region, see for example Bereczki (2007). Agyagási (2019) is nothing less than an ode to the Middle Volga region as a linguistic area. In this section I would like to introduce some additional historical perspectives.

As I have noted elsewhere, disease can also be a factor, especially movements into areas newly depopulated by pandemic (Schamiloglu 1993; 2016b; 2019). In this regard it is significant that there were 'five plague samples tightly clustered between 2700 and 2900 BCE, from Sweden, the Altai, the west Caspian, and Croatia' (Brooks and Misa 2020: 22). This could have been a reason to leave the steppe region, or perhaps more likely for the depopulation of Anatolia, as would be the case later in the 6th–8th and 14th centuries (Schamiloglu 2004). Another possible factor is that 'a climate event of global impact brought severe drought to the steppe' around 2200 BCE (Brooks and Misa 2020: 23). This may offer another potential clue as to why the ancestors of the Hittites and speakers of other 'Anatolian' languages may have felt pressure to leave their earlier homeland for Anatolia.

Agyagási raises the issue of West Baltic populations mixing with Finno-Ugric populations in the 3rd–7th centuries in the region of the Middle Volga–Lower Kama–Sura rivers (Agyagási 2019: 266–269). She cites Xalikov (1987), according to whom the Imen'kovo culture comes to an end by the late 7th century, though he believes that representatives of the community could have survived until the 11th or 12th centuries (Agyagási 2019: 269 and n.). This community and other neighboring communities in the region are likely to have been greatly reduced in size as a result of the Plague in the Time of Justinian (mid-6th through mid-8th centuries) (Schamiloglu 2016b). Even though large segments of the local populations would have perished, we know from the Black Death of the 14th century that some towns or neighborhoods may lose 90% of their population, while other nearby areas may remain unaffected (Schamiloglu 2017: 326–327). This would make sense in explaining why some of the local West Baltic population and Finno-Ugric population may have survived, though perhaps in far smaller numbers than before the pandemic.

I would argue that later, at the beginning of the Medieval Warming Period (ca. 900 CE), Bulgar populations moved to a relatively depopulated region around the Volga-Kama confluence (Schamiloglu 2016a: 12–14). Perhaps the arriving Bulgarians were also relatively small in number. There they may have encountered speakers of West Baltic languages and most certainly ancestors of

the Mari (who had been influenced by the speakers of West Baltic). The evidence for this is in the form of loanwards from West Baltic into Proto-Mari, which then entered from Proto-Mari into Volga Bulğarian, and later from Volga Bulğarian into dialects of modern Tatar (Agyagási 2019: 270–287). I would argue that later in the mid-14th century, the sizeable Volga Bulğarian-speaking population would be devastated in the region of the Volga-Kama confluence and especially in the region of the cities now referred to as Bolgar and Bilär (*Velikiy gorod* in the Russian sources). This would open the door to the later Kipchakization of the Middle Volga region. Even though she does not agree with my argument regarding the destructive loss of population on the fate of the Volga Bulğarian language, I am grateful to Agyagási nonetheless for citing my theory regarding the impact of the Black Death (Schamiloglu 1991; Agyagási 2019: 9n).

It has been noted recently that the aDNA for the sample of the bacterium *Yersinia pestis* responsible for bubonic plague found in Bolgar is ancestor to all the strains of aDNA for the bacterium *Yersinia pestis* found in Europe (Spyrou 2016), which is certainly proof positive that the Black Death visited the Volga Bulğarian lands. I have devoted many additional studies since 1991, some of which I have cited here, to the First and Second Pandemics and its human legacy as well as its impact on Turkic languages and cultures. The reason I mention this is that the First Pandemic explains the end of the Imen'kovo culture just as the Second Pandemic explains the disappearance of the Volga Bulğarian population and therefore their language (and other Turkic languages as well) in the 14th century. As I have already noted above, there were also waves of bubonic plague which have been identified for pre-historic times. Their impact on Bronze Age human populations in Eurasia is only now beginning to be understood.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper I have ventured far outside of my usual scholarly comfort zone to attempt an exploration of questions which have puzzled me as a Turkologist for nearly four decades. I would like to make clear that I am not arguing that the VISC–UGC opposition in Chuvash is a direct continuation of the phonological system of Hittite. Rather, I am simply proposing that the issues surrounding the consonant system of Hittite and Chuvash are remarkably similar to each other. Moreover, the case of Chuvash—as a modern language which is well attested—can serve to inform the theoretical discussion of Hittite.

I do not see how one can make the case for the Chuvash consonant system being a direct continuation of the Hittite consonant system. The most

likely scenario is that a Mari substratum (perhaps also influenced by West Baltic) influenced the development of numerous features of the Chuvash language, including the stress pattern and possibly the consonant system as well. Agyagási (2019) has of course clearly demonstrated this path for the historical phonetics of Chuvash. Another possibility is that the development of the *visc*–*ugc* opposition in Chuvash is totally a coincidence, an instance of history randomly repeating itself.

In the end, even though I have argued for elements of discontinuity in the population history of the Middle Volga region, the case of Hittite suggests that one of the main features of the history of the Volga *Sprachbund* is the shared history of the evolution of Hittite and Proto-Uralic singleton and geminate unvoiced consonants, which in the case of Uralic linguistics is a phenomenon known as ‘consonant gradation’. The case of Chuvash suggests that this pattern repeats itself in the Middle Volga *Sprachbund*. The questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ are worthy of further study by specialists in these languages.

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# Magic, Sorcery and Related Terms in Early Turkic

*Jens Wilkens*

*Misty morning, clouds in the sky  
Without warning, the wizard walks by  
Casting his shadow, weaving his spell  
Funny clothes, tinkling bell  
Black Sabbath 'The Wizard'*



## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Two publications from the 1970s have inspired the following considerations: firstly, a widely known article penned by the scholar celebrated with this volume, namely 'Dream, Magic Power and Divination in the Altaic World' (Róna-Tas 1972), and secondly, Robert Dankoff's (1975) classic study on what Kāšgārī has to say about 'beliefs and superstitions' including omens and portents but also evil spirits, demonic possession (Arabic *saʿfah*), and the evil eye.

'Magic', 'sorcery', 'witchcraft', and related terms are much debated in Religious Studies and some scholars tend to avoid them altogether. Several now outdated theories have used 'magic' to explain certain stages in the development of 'religion' or scholars have opted for an artificial distinction between 'magic' and 'religion'. (The singular 'religion' is also highly problematic.) More recent studies use the terms 'magic' and 'sorcery' without recourse to a theoretical framework based on an unconvincing evolutionist scheme.<sup>2</sup> Certain

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- 1 All translations—unless otherwise indicated—are my own. In quoting original texts, brackets indicate lost letters or words, while parentheses denote defective spellings. In translations parentheses are used for explanations. A subscript letter 2 or 3 in the translations stands for a pair of words or for three words with (nearly) identical meaning.
  - 2 See, for instance, the excellent study on Buddhist 'magic' by van Schaik (2020) who writes explicitly on p. 8: "In general, I think it's best to avoid grand theories of magic, whether they are attempting to describe the psychology of magical acts, as Frazer does, or their social setting, as Durkheim does." For his working definition of 'Buddhist magic', see pp. 40–41.

practices in various religions can be understood as being similar to what is commonly described as 'magic' or 'sorcery' in European or 'western' writings, namely a focus on ritual and formulae and their use in manipulating by means of cursing, chanting, conjuring, etc. certain aspects of the field of human experience in clearly defined situations such as healing, protection against supernatural forces, pregnancy and birth, etc. 'Magic' and 'sorcery' remain critical terms in so far as widely accepted definitions are lacking. The term 'witchcraft' is culturally determined and thus is hardly suitable to describe certain actions and ideas of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Asia that are the subject of this study. The aim of the present paper is not so much to elucidate the practical or ritual aspects of 'magic' but rather to collect and review materials concerning the issues of 'magic' and 'sorcery' in early Turkic with a special focus on the terminology in Old Uyghur (hereafter abbreviated as: OU) texts. Although this is a complex issue hardly to be covered in a single article, the most important topics can be discussed briefly, while highly specialized Buddhist ritual terms are out of the scope of this paper. For the sake of brevity, astrology and divination are also not taken into account although they are often treated as subcategories of 'magic'. The same goes for 'wonder-working' which is an important issue in Buddhist sutras and hagiographies and sometimes subsumed under the heading of 'magic'. Because the majority of OU texts belong to the religious traditions of Buddhism, Manichaeism, and the Church of the East and most of the Middle Turkic ones to Islam, it is nearly impossible to find early native Turkic traditions of 'magic'. Only parts of the terminology are apparently conservative, while many terms were borrowed from other languages. A possible early exception is a text that was previously interpreted as a collection of rhymed sayings (Tezcan and Zieme 1994). However, it is more likely that it is an incantation (Wilkens *forthc.*; section 2.8). There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that the text is of Buddhist or Manichaean provenance. Peter Zieme (2013b: 483) later edited another small fragment of this manuscript.

At times 'magic' and 'sorcery' are treated as literary themes either in stories or in similes and metaphors. Narrative texts and also sutras sometimes mention 'magical' acts some of which will be cited below. A Buddhist text provides a description of a genuine wizard's duel between one of the Buddha's disciples and his opponents (Zieme 1998), while the *Altun Yaruk Sudur* features a simile about a 'magician' or illusionist and his pupil (see below). Furthermore, there are many spells and charms, for instance different versions of an apotropaic snake charm of Indic origin (Zieme 1984). This category of works was certainly intended for practical use. In Rachmati's collection of texts with astrological, divinatory, and apotropaic content published in the year 1937, sac-

rifices to the planets, almanachs, amulets,<sup>3</sup> and talismans are included. Zieme (2005) published an important selection of basically apotropaic and ritual texts of Uyghur Buddhist provenance. Some of the medical texts edited by Rachmati (1930, 1932) appear to have much in common with ‘magical’ manipulations known from other cultural contexts. Medical ingredients such as soil collected from a crossroads (Rachmati 1930: 458, line 114) or the milk of a red female donkey (Rachmati 1932: 404, line 10) remind us a bit of European medieval ‘magic’. Some of the OU medical texts have a Sanskrit original and belong to the respected tradition of Indian medicine. Here we can see how difficult it is to define exactly what is meant by ‘magic’ and what acts and ideas we would like to exclude. Sam van Schaik points out the overlap of ‘magic’ and medicine at various occasions in his recent book ‘Buddhist Magic’ (van Schaik 2020). In Buddhist medical practice a distinction between the two is highly difficult to make (ibid., pp. 64–68). This observation applies certainly to Uyghur Buddhism as well.

## 2 Magic, Sorcery, and Illusion

There are surprisingly few studies about ‘magic’ and ‘sorcery’ among Turkic speaking peoples, the study by Molnár (1994) about ‘weather-magic’ and the rain stone in Inner Asia being one of the few but important exceptions. The present paper tackles the subject mainly from a terminological perspective. The most common term to be classified as an equivalent for English ‘magic’ or ‘sorcery’ is *yelvi* and its corresponding denominal verbs *yelvik-* ‘to be affected by sorcery’ and *yelvilä-* ‘to practise sorcery’ (Erdal 1991: 497). Scholars have pointed out the difficulties of segmenting the term.<sup>4</sup> A word of foreign origin underlying *yelvi* was also suspected (Clouston 1972: 919b). As many terms in this semantic field were borrowed from other languages, and *yelvi* itself is a loan in Mongolic too (*ilbi*, *yilbi*, *jilbi*, etc.), this line of reasoning is quite appealing. Marcel Erdal (1991: 336, footnote 383) has suggested a borrowing from Early Mongolic *elbe*(+sün). He also reconstructed a noun-verb *\*yelbi* for Proto-Turkic to explain

3 There are different variants of amulets, for instance, those that are to be worn on different parts of the body, those to be placed under the doorstep, those that you should lick etc. On the Chinese loan *fiu* (< Chin. *fú* 符) see, e.g., Zieme 2005, Kara and Zieme 1986: 336, line 404, Rachmati 1937: 36–38, texts 26, 27. See also *fiu darni* ‘an amulet (inscribed with a) magical formula’ in BT XIII 46:7 and Yakup 2010: 92, line B488. On amulets such as lions’ paws, gems etc. in the DLT see Dankoff 1975: 76.

4 Erdal (1991: 337) explains his reasons for not analyzing the term as a formation containing the suffix *-vl*.

the verbs *yelpi-t*, *yelpi-n*-, and *yelpi-š*- in the DLT (ibid.).<sup>5</sup> Erdem Uçar (2012–2013: 124) has proposed another etymology. He considers *yelvi* (or *yilvi*) to be a deverbal noun derived from (y)*il*- ‘to catch (something, with the hand, a hook, a noose, etc.)’, ‘to hang (something *Acc.*, on to something *Dat.*)’ (Clauson 1972: 125b). In OU, however, the verb does not appear to have the meaning ‘to catch’ and there is only one instance in a damaged context where it is spelled with an initial *y*- (Özertural and Röhrborn 2020: 116). Often, *yelvi* appears in a word pair with *kömān*. Whether this lexeme can actually be derived by the suffix *-mAn* from *kör*- ‘to see’ (Erdal 1991: 389) is doubtful. Both terms often describe the effect (‘illusion, phantasmagoria’) produced by a specialist (‘magician, illusionist’). Combined they correspond, for instance, to Chinese *hua* 化 (‘transformation’) (Wilkens 2007/1: 228, line 2842) or 幻 *huan* (‘deception, magic’) (Wilkens 2007/1: 292, line 4027; Yakup 2010: 142, lines C311–312, etc.). Chinese *huan huo* 幻惑 (‘illusions’) can be rendered by *yelvi kömān* alone (Wilkens 2007/1: 76, line 0382) or even by a whole phrase such as *yelvi kömān tāg yeläyü ärip* ‘while they are unreal<sup>6</sup> like an illusion<sub>2</sub>’ (Wilkens 2007/1: 76, line 0380) or *yelvi kömān tāg äzüg igid ärdöki üzä* ‘because (the world) is false<sub>2</sub> like an illusion<sub>2</sub>’ (Wilkens 2007/1: 230, lines 2898–2899). A slight difference in meaning with regard to *yelvi* and *kömān* can be surmised for the following passage because the comparative particle *tāg* is placed after each of the two terms: *alku etiglig nomlar ärsär k(a)lti tül tāg yelvi tāg kömān tāg köligä tāg salkım tāg yašin yarukı tāg ymä äriür tep* ‘as regards all conditioned *dharmas* (= phenomena), they are like a dream, like an illusion, like a phantasmagoria, like a shadow, like dew or like a bolt of lightning’ (Yakup 2010: 156, lines C539–542). (Instead of two semantically related terms, the corresponding Chinese version has only *huan* 幻.) Another text places the particle after both terms: *tül tāg sakıg tāg yelvi kömān tāg yok kurug ärip* ‘being empty<sub>2</sub> like a dream, like a fata morgana, like an illusion<sub>2</sub> ...’ (Kasai 2011: 152, lines 596–597).

Using Chinese characters, a text from Dunhuang describes the creation of ‘magically transformed objects’ (化 [= *bälgürtmä*] *ädlär*) ‘by means of sorcery’ (*yelvi* 力-*intä* [= *küçintä*]) (Tekin 1980a: 222, lines 462, 465). The term *b(ä)lgürtmä* is well known as a designation for one of the three bodies of the Buddha, the ‘transformation body’, OU *b(ä)lgürtmä ätöz* = Skt. *nirmāṇakāya* (Wilkens 2001: 233).<sup>7</sup> A *b(ä)lgürtmä bodis(a)t(a)v* ‘transformation Bodhisattva’

5 Further etymologies are discussed in Uçar 2012–2013.

6 *yeläyü* ‘similar to *māyā*’ is often a modifier of *at* ‘designation’ (Röhrborn 2017: 22).

7 See also 化 (= *bälgürtmä*) *burhan* ‘a magically created Buddha’ (Tekin 1980a: 219, line 420). A ritual text mentions the ‘transformation body of the blue-clad Vajrapāṇi’ (*kök tonluğ basiranıñ b(ä)lgürtmä ätözi*) (Yakup 2016: 155, lines E30–31).

(Zieme 2000b: 112, line 0752) and a *b(ä)lgürtmä balık uluş* 'illusory city<sub>2</sub>' are also found in the texts (*Maitrisimit* plate 167 r. 9–10; ed. Tekin 1980b: 152). *b(ä)lgürtmä* is the outcome of a 'magical' act, usually accomplished by gods or Buddhas.<sup>8</sup> For instance, in a narrative from the collection of stories called *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* ('garland of legends pertaining to the ten courses of action') god Indra conjures up (*b(ä)lgürt-*) numerous Brahmins to test king Hariścandra's resolve whether he is willing to give away all his possessions (Wilkens 2016,1: 524, lines 05728–05730). They are called '(magically) created/phantasmagorical Brahmins' (*bālgürtmä bramanlar*) (Wilkens 2016,1: 526, line 05752) who ask the king for alms. In the wizard's duel mentioned above the deverbal noun is found in the accusative in the sense 'magical creation': *b(ä)lgürtmäg yänä buḡay[ın]* 'and let us destroy the magical creation' (Zieme 1998: 434, line 30, with the reading *b(ä)lgürtmāk*). The base verb *b(ä)lgürt-* is used in the sense of 'to conjure up out of nothing' in the same text (Zieme 1998: 434, lines 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 45, 47). It can also be used after an act of self-transfiguration: *öz körkin tągşürüp č(a)štane eligniḡ yeg üstiünki amrak hatunıñ körkin b(ä)lgürtüp* 'after (the demoness) had changed her own appearance and made appear the form of the beloved queen<sub>2</sub> consort of King Caştana ...' (Wilkens 2016,2: 688, lines 08817–08819). *yelvi* and *kömān* can be instrumental in producing the desired effect: *birök yelviči y[el]vin kömänin bir meni tąg kız b(ä)lgürtsä* 'if a magician lets appear a girl like me by means of magic<sub>2</sub>' (Kasai 2011: 152, lines 586–587). The *Maitrisimit* informs us that the Buddha incarnated in the body of a tiger and transformed himself into a tiger: *bars ätöziḡ kädilip kántü ätözin bars b(ä)lgürtüp* (Geng and Klimkeit 1988: 14, lines 3–4). The first verb *kädil-* is sometimes used in OU to describe a deliberate (re)incarnation which is imagined as putting on a robe or a garment.

From the perspective of most Buddhist authors, *yelvi* and *kömān* are merely unreal and illusory effects not to be trusted at all or the powers instrumental in producing these apparitions.<sup>9</sup> But there are other examples that show that the

8 In one text the word can be translated as 'phantom'. Cf. *satva atl(ı)g bālgürtmä osugluglar* 'those beings who are like phantoms called *satva* (Skt. *sattva*)' (Zieme 2020a: 132).

9 Cf. also *bilig ärsär yelvi tąg čnsız y(a)rpsız b(ä)lgürär* 'consciousness appears unreal and impermanent like an illusion' in Suv 364:17–19 (= Tekin 1971: 42). *yelvi* renders here Chinese *huan hua* 幻化. Zieme (1985b: 134) discusses another possible instance where *yelvi kömän* corresponds to *huan hua* 幻化. Although attested in a fragmentary context, *kömān* seems to translate *huan hua* 幻化 whereas *yelvi* renders *huan* 幻 in Zieme 1999: 459, lines 7 and 9. Combinations with nouns are *yertinčülüḡ yelvi sav* 'mundane illusory words' (Suv 386:15; ed. Tekin 1971: 64), *yelvi kömän uzanmakı* 'magic<sub>2</sub> skills' (Suv 389:18–19, :22–23; ed. Tekin 1971: 67) or *yelvi kömän işiḡ käd bütmiš* 'accomplished in the act of illusion<sub>2</sub>' (Suv 384:11–12; ed. Tekin 1971: 62). The so-called *Book of the Dead* mentions a subtle body under the name *yelvi köm(ä)n*

terms can refer to sinister machinations. The Buddhist spell *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* is said to avert such dark arts if properly applied: *nāṇy yelvi kömān tēgmāgāy* ‘sorcery<sub>2</sub> will not affect (those people) in the least’ (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005: 40–41, lines 380–381). But *yelvi* can also be used with well-meaning intentions: *yelvi barıgılıg kutrulmak küç üzä* ‘through the power to redeem (living beings) through magic action’ (Zieme 1991: 159). Some texts specify the term by adding a loan based on a Sanskrit word: *inḍraçal atl(ı)g yelvi kömān tēg* ‘like the illusion<sub>2</sub> called *indrajāla*’ (Wilkens 2016, 1: 398, lines 03497–03498)<sup>10</sup> or *inḍiraçal yelvi üzäki küçünin körzün [bakz]unlar* ‘may (the people) see<sub>2</sub> your power which is based on the *indrajāla* sorcery’ (Zieme 1998: 434, line 29–30).<sup>11</sup> In Sanskrit, *indrajāla* (‘the net of Indra’) is a special weapon used by the epic hero Arjuna but also a term for ‘sham, illusion, delusion, magic, sorcery, juggle; the art of magic’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 166b). The word is attested without reference to *yelvi* in the following sentence: *bilü ugusuz inḍraçal toorka ogşatı birtäm-läti tudulışmaz küü kälīg kulur* ‘he displays completely unimpeded magic powers<sub>2</sub> similar to the incomprehensible *indrajāla* net’ (Zieme 1991: 169). The combined words *küü kälīg* alone denote ‘magic power’ also in other texts (Wilkens 2007/1: 218, line 2643, 242, line 3142), especially if they are used in conjunction with *ädräm* ~ *ärdäm*, as in *küü kälīg ädrämlär* (Suv 392: 20).<sup>12</sup>

*Yelvi* and *kömān* are not the only crafts which enable the ‘sorcerer’ to conjure up objects. One of the most complex terms, *bügü*, is also the means by which charismatic persons can produce similar effects: *amtıki [balık ul]luşug bügün b(ä)lgürtir* ‘(Maitreya) conjures up the current city<sub>2</sub> by means of supernatural power’ (*Maitrisimit* plate 101 r. 21–22; ed. Tekin 1980b, 1: 226). In a visualization text, the Buddhist practitioner employs this craft: *ärğäk üzä tümän törlüg y(a)ruk üntürüp t[ut]mıš<sup>13</sup> k(ä)rgäk ol y(a)ruk içintä burhanlar bügün b(ä)lgürt-mıš k(ä)rgäk* ‘through a finger one should let emerge constantly 10,000-fold rays of light and in that (i.e. each) ray of light one should let appear buddhas by means of magic power’ (Zieme 2020a: 121, lines 58v05–07). Charismatic persons such as buddhas, bodhisattvas, or seers possess the five (or six) supernatural powers or superknowledges as in *beş bügülänmāk ädrämlär* ‘the five supernatural powers (Skt. *pañcābhijñā*)’ (Zieme and Kara 1979: 144, line 812). The Sanskrit

*ätöz* (Zieme and Kara 1979: 74, line 209). This term renders Tibetan *bag chags yid lus* ‘mental body of unconscious tendencies’. See also *yelvi ätöz* in Zieme and Kara 1979: 54, lines 19–20.

10 Damaged in the manuscript but restored according to a parallel.

11 In this example as well as in the phrase *inḍiraçal yelvi küçü üzä* ‘by means of the *indrajāla* sorcery’ (Zieme 1998: 434, line 31) it is a Brahmin who employs this specific craft.

12 For further combinations, see Wilkens 2021: 446b.

13 Restored as *b[il]mıš* in the edition. The auxiliary *tut-* usually follows the vowel converb.



term is a loan in OU too, borrowed via TA/TB *pañcābhijñe* (Adams 2013: 376): *pañcabintñe aržilar* ‘the *pañcābhijñā*-seers’ (Röhrborn 1976: 96, line 26). With reference to the Buddha *bügü* is often combined with *biliglig*, for instance: *bügü biliglig burhan bahşı* ‘the Buddha who is well-versed in magic, the teacher’ (Yakup 2010: 140, line C266).<sup>14</sup> One basic meaning of *bügü* is ‘supernatural knowledge’. After Maitreya is born as a beautiful child, he is examined by certain diviners: *bil[gä] t(ä)ñri yalñok irü b(ä)lgü biltäçi bügülüglär* ‘wise people possessing supernatural knowledge who know the divine and human marks,<sup>2</sup>’ (Geng and Klimkeit 1988,1: 104, lines 1319–1321). With respect to a seer *bügü-lüg* is used as an attribute of *ärdäm*: *tükäl bilgä bügülüg ärdämi* ‘his completely knowledgable supernatural power’ (Geng and Klimkeit 1988,1: 158, lines 2053–2054).<sup>15</sup> The Chinese Buddhist term *liu shen tong li* 六神通力 ‘the six supernatural cognitive powers’ (Skt. *ṣaḍabhijñā*) is translated in the repentance text *Kšanti kılguluk nom bitig* as *altı törlüg bügülänmäk ädrämlig küçlär* (Wilkens 2007/1: 182, lines 1956–1957, 202, lines 2321–2322, 222, lines 2718–2719) or *altı törlüg bügülänmäk ädrämlär* (Wilkens 2007/1: 224, lines 2792–2793)<sup>16</sup> respectively. Already in early Manichaean texts *bügülänmäk* denotes supernatural powers, e.g., a sequence of four faculties are ascribed to the Father of Greatness, the highest divinity in Manichaeism: *vedin bügülänmäkin küsin kädin kamağ t(ä)ñri yerintäki t(ä)ñrilär üzä inčä b(ä)lgürtir [ya]rutır yaşutır* ‘he lets appear his sacred wisdom, magic power, fame, and faculty over all the gods in heaven and makes them shine<sup>2</sup>’ (Le Coq 1912: 21, lines 1–5 below = Özertural 2007: 127–130). The first word is presumably best explained as corresponding to Skt. *veda* ‘sacred knowledge’ and borrowed from TB *ved* (Adams 2013: 622). (As a literary term OU *ved* designates one of four sacred scriptures of Brahmanism in India; Röhrborn 1991: 154, line 1800.) Note that usually the Manichaean Father of Greatness has the following four aspects: God, light, power, and wisdom.

14 In an early Manichaean text *bügü* is an attribute to *burhanlar* (‘buddhas’) while usually this latter term designates the apostles in Manichaeism: *ontun sıyarkı bügü burhanlar* ‘the buddhas of the ten directions with supernatural knowledge’ (Le Coq 1922: 34, line 24 above). In Uyghur Buddhism, *bügü* is also an attribute of gifted monks: *bügü bursonlar birlä so[kuš]madm(ı)z* ‘we did not meet up with monks possessing supernatural knowledge’ (Zieme 2001: 409, line A 033).

15 With respect to eight bodhisattvas it says in the *Säkiz Yügümäk Yaruk*: *k(ä)ntünüy y(a)ruk küçlüg bügülüg ärdämin ädgü kılınčın kam(a)ğ tnl(ı)glarn(ı)ñ k(a)rarıg anıg kılınčıya katıp* ‘mixing their own splendid and powerful magic power and good deeds with the dark and evil deeds of all beings ...’ (Oda 2015: 206, §§ 353–355). Thus, *bügülüg ärdäm* is a supernatural ability.

16 The same text renders Chinese *shen li* 神力 by *küü kälüg ädrämlig küç<lări>* (Wilkens 2007/1: 228, lines 2867–2869).

A specific ability is ascribed to the Buddha and his followers, e.g. the Arhat Maudgalyāyana, as in *t(ä)ñridäm bögü közin ... tetirü kördi* 'he perceived clearly ... with his divine supernatural eye (Skt. *divyacakṣus*)' (Geng and Klimkeit 1988,1: 232, lines 3080–3082).<sup>17</sup> Supernatural hearing (*t(ä)ñridäm bögülüg kul-kak*; Skt. *divyaśrotra*) is another supernatural ability, in this instance grammatically a derived form with suffix (Geng and Klimkeit 1988,1: 212, line 2817, 218, line 2865). The agent noun *bögülängüči* 'wizard, conjurer' discussed below is rarely used in a negative sense. The denominal verb *bögülän-* means also 'to divine': *t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burhan bögülüg köñlin bögülänü* 'divining (the matter) with his supernatural ability the god of gods Buddha ...' (Geng and Klimkeit 1988,1: 158, lines 2058–2059). A unique example of the verb *bögülä-* with a ruler as the agent in a sentence is found in a Christian letter (Zieme 2013a: 86, line 10). The meaning of this verb is according to Erdal (1991: 434) 'to make one's mystical wisdom bear on the matter'.

Charismatic rulers have often *bögü* in their official titles,<sup>18</sup> one of the original meanings of the term might have been 'wizard' (Erdal 1991: 271),<sup>19</sup> a connotation which is still found in the *Codex Cumanicus* (Guliyev 2019: 274). In the transfer of merit section in the Toyok inscription *bögü* is part of the epithet of the ruler of the West Uyghur Kingdom, while *bögülüg* is apparently part of his name: *yänä ävirä ötünü täginürbiz bo buyanıg t(ä)ñri bögü t(ä)ñrikänim(i)z kut[lug] bögülüg ulug ıdok kut kutıya* 'and we humbly transfer this merit to His Majesty, our divine and wise ruler, the Idokkut Kutlug Bögülüg Ulug'.<sup>20</sup> In literary texts, too, *bögü* and its derivatives are associated with rulers. In the biography of Xuanzang it refers to the Chinese emperor: *bögülänmāk iş küdüg işlätdäçilärniñ tümänlig alıp ol* '(His Majesty) is the military leader of a unit of 10,000 who put magical acts<sub>2</sub> into operation' (Aydemir 2013,1: 65, lines 122–124). There are further instances in the same chapter: *ärdinilig bögüsinä tayanturup* 'giving support through His jewel-like supernatural wisdom ...' (Aydemir 2013,1: 68, lines 155–156)<sup>21</sup> or: *bögülänmāk ädrämi ülgülänčsiz ärür* 'His magic power is immeasurable' (Aydemir 2013,1: 122, lines 734–735).

17 Cf. also the following phrase which refers to the Chinese emperor: *bursañlar ürkmäkin tünlä küntüz korkmakın bögü köz üzä körüp* 'after (His Majesty) had perceived with (his) supernatural eye the fright of the monks and their fear during night and day ...' (Aydemir 2013, 1: 164–165, lines 1191–1193).

18 See, e.g., *t(ä)ñri bögü el bilgä arslan t(ä)ñri uyğur tärkän* in Geng and Klimkeit 1988,1: 10, lines 22–23.

19 On the etymological connection with Mongolic *böge* see Khabtagaeva 2017: 361.

20 There are several editions of this inscription. I follow the reading and interpretation in Zieme 2020b: 15, lines 22–23.

21 This phrase corresponds to Chinese *tuo bao si* 託寶思 'by these precious thoughts' (Aydemir 2013,2: 274).

A certain buddha has a specific ‘magical ability’ (*bügülänmək*), namely *bar käl kılmaqlıg bügülänmäki* ‘his magical ability of making come-and-go (i.e. to let things appear and disappear)’ (Zieme 1991: 221).<sup>22</sup> One finds the combination of playfulness and ‘magical’ appearance and disappearance in other texts: *bodis(a)t(a)vlar tugmak ölmäkkä kälü barı ilinçüläyür* ‘the bodhisattvas practice playfully their come-and-go (thing) (i.e. appearance and disappearance) through birth and death’ (Kasai 2011: 166, line 698). Other classes of supernatural beings find joy in this kind of sport, too:

*beş kırk yılda bärü basa basa üstün kök kalıkdaki ulug küçlüg t(ä)ñrilär asurlar luular yäklär kintirelar g(a)ntarwlar ögrünçülüğün sävinçliğin käl bar kılurlar* ‘since 35 years the very powerful gods in heaven above, the *asuras*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *kiṃnaras*, and *gandharvas* joyfully practice again and again the come-and-go (thing) (i.e. appearance and disappearance)’.

GENG AND KLIMEIT 1988: 118, lines 1483–1487

The effect of *yelvi* may result in the illusion of appearance and disappearance, expressed by two verbal nouns: *yelvi* 力-*indä* (= *küçindä*) 𐰇𐰪 (= *bälgürtmä*) *ädlärig adkansar barmakı kälmäki bolur* ‘if (enticed) by the power of sorcery one grasps (erroneously) imaginary objects, this results in going and coming (i.e. the illusion of disappearance and appearance)’ (Tekin 1980a: 222, line 465). The action noun *kälig* is a synonym of *bügü* to render the Buddhist Sanskrit term *upapāduka*: *bügün kälgin tugm(a)k* ‘birth by spontaneous generation<sub>2</sub> (through magic power)’ (Zieme and Kara 1979: 64, line 102).<sup>23</sup>

To let things appear out of thin air is not the only branch of ‘magic’. The Buddha manages also to transfigure dangerous objects: [*ayagka*] *täğimlig* [*tükäl bilgä t(ä)ñri*] *burhan ol* [*yalnayu tu*] *rur č(a)kirin lenhwa* [*čäčäk ku*] *žatre b(ä)l-gürtüp* ‘after the completely wise god Buddha, who is worthy of honour, had magically transfigured his (i.e. the demon’s) ever flaming disc into lotus flowers and parasols ...’ (Wilkens 2016;2: 576, lines 06865–06868).<sup>24</sup> ‘Conjuring up’

22 Zieme has shown in footnote 450 that *bar käl kılmaqlıg* corresponds to Skt. *vikrīḍita*, which means ‘sport’, but it also corresponds to Tibetan *nam par rol pa* ‘to practice sorcery, to cause to appear by magic’.

23 Cf. also *bügün b(ä)lgürtmä* ‘appearance through spontaneous generation’ in Yakup 2010: 160, line C575. The first word was mistakenly translated as ‘today’.

24 One of the protagonists of the Manichaean cosmogony, Primal Man, takes part in an epic struggle: *ol üdüin hormuzta t(ä)ñri oot t(ä)ñrig baltuča kulp š(i)mnu başın biçti* ‘then Primal Man, after having transfigured the god of fire into an axe, cut off Ahriman’s head’ (Le Coq 1912: 20, lines 12–14 = Özertural 2008: 50, lines 70–72).

(*b(ä)lgürtmāk*)<sup>25</sup> and ‘transfiguring’ (*tägšürmāk*) are mentioned as two types of ‘magic’ (*yad*) in the Buddhist wizard’s duel.<sup>26</sup> The latter word (variants: *yad* and *yat*), which is also found in the DLT (Dankoff 1975: 77), is a loan from Sogdian where only derivatives such as *y’tmwnd* (‘(of) magic’; Gharib 1995 no. 10918), *y’twq* (‘magician, sorcerer’; Gharib 1995 no. 10922) or *y’twkny* (‘sorcery’; Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012: 227a) are attested so far. It appears in a figura etymologica in *yat yatlan-* ‘to perform magic’ (Wilkens 2016,2: 746, line 09772), *yad yadla-* ‘to perform magic’ (Zieme 1994: 148, below line v. 2) and *yat yatlangučī* ‘wizard’ respectively (Wilkens 2016,2: 744, lines 09718–09719, 765, lines 09963, 09984–09985). Note that the etymologically related *jadu* ‘witchcraft’ was borrowed from New Persian into Chagatay (Károlyi 2015: 270a). With a Turkic suffix the term appears as *jaduluq* (‘magic, magic device’) in Khwarezmian Turkic (Boeschoten and O’Kane 2015,1: 633b) and as *jadulıq* in the *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Poppe 1938–1939: 200a). Etymologically related to *yat* is *jada* in Middle Mongolic ‘magic, the ability of sorcerers to make rain’ (Poppe 1955: 39). Peter Zieme (1994: 148, above line r. 4) edited a small fragment in OU in which the rain stone is mentioned: *yad tašların sürt-* ‘to rub the rain stones’. The rain stone (*yad taši*) is attested in another fragment, too (Zieme 1994: 149, line v. 6).

Another Sogdian loan in OU is *w(a)rž* (< Sogdian *wrz* ‘miracle, magic’; Gharib 1995 no. 10194) used in collocation with the verb *ba-* ‘to bind’, i.e. ‘to use, to apply’ (Zieme 1989a: 198, line 6).<sup>27</sup> This term is restricted to only one example from the early phase of Uyghur Buddhist literature which was still partly impacted by Sogdian Buddhism.<sup>28</sup> Sogdian *sytt* is the source of OU *sit* ‘spiritual accomplish-

25 Buddhas and bodhisattvas are able take on the appearance of other persons: *kuanši im bodis(a)t(a)v bir yürü[ŋ ton]lug bayagut körkin b(ä)lgürtüp* ‘the bodhisattva Guanshiyin took on the shape of a white-clad merchant ...’ (Kara and Zieme 1986: 330–331, lines 205–206).

26 *b(ä)lgürtmāk tägšürmāk üzä yad kılalım* Zieme 1998: 433, line 22. See also Zieme 1998: 433, line 01. Cf. the verbal noun *yatlamak* in Zieme 1993: 275, lines 29–30. The DLT has also the causative *yatlat-* (Dankoff 1975: 77). On the specialist *yadčī* see below.

27 The verb *ba-* is found with a variety of collocations, e.g., with keeping the precepts of a bodhisattva (Kasai 2011: 90, line 168), the construction of a *maṇḍala* (Zieme 1991: 217; 1994: 148, above line v. 2), to use *mantras* and to bind *nāgas* and snakes by means of ‘magic’ power (Zieme 2016: 313), rendering a spell or power innocuous (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005: 39, lines 353, 354–355), swearing compact (Eckmann 1976: 85) etc. The undoing of a ‘bewitchment’ is often expressed by the verb *käs-* ‘to cut off’ (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005 *passim*).

28 It is likely that the term was also borrowed from Sogdian into Tocharian A where it is hitherto unexplained. Cf. the phrase *tmāš bādhari brāmmaṇ nirdhanem brāmnā waršeṇ kto* ‘Then Bādhari the Brahmin, cursed by the Brahmin Nirdhana, ...’ (Ji, Winter and Pinault 1998: 50–51; manuscript YQ 1.15 1/1 v. 5).

ment, magic power' (Wilkens 2016, 3: 1049a), which ultimately goes back to Skt. *siddhi*. This term was borrowed again during the Yuan Dynasty, and this time directly from Sanskrit in the shape *sidi* ~ *siḍi* (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005: 34, line 273; Zieme 1985a: 142, line 31; Oda 2015: 246, line 14 above). A combination of two Indic terms is *ridilg sidi* 'the spiritual accomplishment (Skt. *siddhi*) of the magic powers (Skt. *ṛddhi*)', in which the first constituent part is an attribute of the second (Kara and Zieme 1986: 332, line 261). The Chinese equivalent is *shen* 神 which has a wide range of meanings including 'magical' and 'supernatural'. The base of the first constituent term, *ridi* (<< Skt. *ṛddhi*), is used with a variety of collocations in OU, for instance, the in the adjective *ridi bügülän-mäklig* which corresponds to Chinese *shen tong* 神通 'magic power' (Zieme 1999: 456, line 5). As one of the *ṛddhis*, a specific 'magic' power by the name of *manočap* (<< Skt. *manojavā*) is also known: *manočap ridi küü kälig* (Arat 1965: 98, line 240) or *manočap küü kälig ä[dräm]* (Wilkens 2007/1: 114, line 0970). As one of the *ṣaḍabhijñā* mentioned above, the term *ridivut* ~ *riḍivid* is found, which goes back to the Skt. compound *ṛddhividhi* 'magical operations' (Zieme 2011: 75, lines 06, 09; 2012: 3 v. 12, v. 21, 4 v. 26, and commentary pp. 5–6).

### 3 Spells and Curses

As a considerable part of OU literature is comprised of apotropaic and ritual texts, spells and curses are quite an important issue. One of the most common terms is *arviš* which often refers to a spell uttered by a specialist as in the phrase *arviš sözlä-* (Zieme 2005: 72, lines D051, D052, D068, D070–071). If a spell has been cast, it can be imagined as something concrete, a knot or chain for instance. The Living Spirit, a Manichaean divinity, presses down a cosmic demon by means of *arviš* (Le Coq 1922: 8 r. 14 = Özertural 2015: 365, line 15). In the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* various beings—human, divine, or demonical—are mentioned as potential spellcasters. As an example of the latter category, the formula against *bhūtas* is quoted here:

*munčulayu bolarnıy alku kamag butelarnıy kulmuş arvišların kılıç üzä käsär m(ä)n v(a)čır üzä kazgok tokyur m(ä)n* 'By means of a sword I thus cut off the sorcery worked by them (i.e. various demons) and all *bhūtas* and nail it down with a *vajra*'.

RÖHRBORN AND RÓNA-TAS 2005: 31, lines 232–235

The word *arviš* appears in Buddhist titles of scriptures as in: *t(ä)ṇrili yerli säkiz yügmäk bügülüg arviš nom bitig* 'the book<sub>2</sub> of the magic spell of the eight aggre-

gates (in) heaven and (on) earth' (Oda 2015: 238, §§ 465–466; and variants), *bügülü[g] ar[viš darni]* 'magical spell<sub>2</sub>' (Zieme 1989b: 377, line 38 above), or *arviš bitig* 'spell book' (Zieme 1986: 186, line 6). *arvišlar eligi* 'king of spells' is an epithet of the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* (Zieme 1985a: 172, line 2).<sup>29</sup> Thus, the written form of a spell is one aspect of *arviš*. Both aspects, the written and the spoken, are relevant with regard to the loan *darni* 'spell, efficacious formula' (< Skt. *dhāraṇī*), found in countless examples in OU literature because *dhāraṇīs* are essential elements of many sutras of the Greater Vehicle (Skt. *mahāyāna*) as well as of tantric and esoteric Buddhism. Erdal (1991: 250) has convincingly demonstrated that *tutruk nom* is a loan translation of the term *darni* in a Buddhist context, the basic meaning of *tutruk* in a non-Buddhist context, however, being 'a substance to glue things together' (ibid.). In their edition of the spell *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* Röhrborn and Róna-Tas (2005: 16, line 13) interpreted *arviš-lu p(a)daklar* as 'dhāraṇī verses'. A translation 'verses of the protective spell' is equally possible. In the same text the loan *šap* < TB *śāp* 'curse, imprecation' (Adams 2013: 682) < Skt. *śāpa* is used in a positive sense in OU as in *š(a)p alkiš* 'protective spell<sub>2</sub>/benediction<sub>2</sub>' (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005: 17, lines 25, 26). Another example is *šap alkišlug tözünlär* 'the nobles ones possessing protective spells<sub>2</sub>' (Zieme 1985a: 76, line 35).<sup>30</sup> A word pair which combines *arviš* with a quasi-synonym is, e.g., *arviš saviš šlök* 'protective spell<sub>2</sub> in verse' (Shōgaito 2003: 286, line 214;<sup>31</sup> parallel in Zieme 2000a: 75, line 1va4<sup>32</sup>). The word pair *arviš saviš* corresponds to *zhou* 咒 'curse, hex, incantation' in the Chinese text from which the OU translation was made. (The context implies that the Buddha pronounces the apotropaic spell to urge the demon Rāhu to free the moon during an eclipse.) The ancient incantation mentioned above calls itself in the text *saviš* (Tezcan and Zieme 1994: 259). In a bilingual text the OU participle *s(a)vilmuš* 'bewitched' corresponds to TB *yāyāṇko* (for the regular form *yāyāṇkau* 'having been deluded' in Peyrot, Pinault and Wilkens 2019: 81, no. 28). As the verbal base of both derivations *sav-* means 'to ward off' (Boeschoten and O'Kane 2015,1: 671b) one can assume that *saviš* also meant 'counter-jinx, protec-

29 See also *arvišlar eligi mariči nom* 'the Mārīcī-Sūtra, the king of spells' (Zieme 2005: 110, lines F197–199).

30 Röhrborn (2015: 99) gives a different interpretation: 'die mit Fluch und Segen [begabten] Edlen'. Another instance, in which the term is used in a positive sense, is: *idoklartin raž-vartlu šap* /// 'the lapis lazuli blue blessing /// from the holy ones' (Zieme 2020a: 137, line 24).

31 The editor reads *s(a)rviš* instead of *saviš*.

32 In the next line (Zieme 2000a: 75, 1va5) *karguš šulok* is used. The first word usually means 'curse' in OU. On 'cursing' (*karguš*) in Kāśgarī's DLT see Dankoff 1975: 74. See also for Khwarezmian Boeschoten and O'Kane 2015,1: 655a–b.

tive spell'. The formation is parallel to the derivation *arwiš* from *arva-* 'to charm, bewitch'<sup>33</sup> (Röhrborn 2015: 280) or *kargiš* 'curse' from *karga-* 'to curse'. We owe the correct interpretation of *saviš* to Erdal (1991: 271) who gives the translation 'exorcism'. The meaning 'charm' for *bitig*, which is found in the DLT (Dankoff 1975: 76), seems to be restricted to Karakhanidic.

#### 4 'Bewitchment', Possession, Summoning and Averting Spirits

OU texts mention occasionally attacks from evil spirits. The verbs used in this context are manifold such as in the colophon to the *Yetikän Sudur*:

*kim kayu tözünlär oğlu tözünlär kızı azu yäkkä içgäkkä basındurmuş bolsar tärs tätrü š(i)mnu örlätmiş ärsär* 'if any son or daughter of good family should be oppressed either by demons or evil spirits,<sup>34</sup> or if an opposing<sub>2</sub> Māra torments (them) ...'.

RACHMATI 1937: 49, lines 34–38 above = ZIEME 2005: 140, lines G184–188

A host of evil agents and threats are mentioned in an apotropaic text:

*učar ordolardın ügitin fuulartın čıvsaglartın ölütcilärtin kıy(ı)nčılartın buzgučılartın artatgučılartın yağıtın y(a)vlaktın yelvitin kömāntin anttın kargištın bušetın amanužılartın yäktin içgäktin naivazikelartın ... adak-örlät- bulgaıl- 'be endangered, tormented, or confused by flying palaces (Skt. vimāna), owls, amulets, magic threads,<sup>35</sup> killers, torturers, destroyers, corrupters, enemies, evil ones, sorcery<sub>2</sub>, oaths, curses, bhūtas, amanușyas, yaqșas, demons or naivāsikas ...'.*

KARA AND ZIEME 1986: 330, lines 177–184, 187

33 *arba-* in the *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Poppe 1938–1939, 1: 104b). In the DLT *arwiš* fluctuates with *arwaš* (Dankoff 1975: 76).

34 *yäk içgäk* corresponds to Chinese *gui mei* 鬼魅.

35 See for the Chinese etymology (*zhou suo* 咒索) Kara and Zieme 1986: 349–350. The word is attested only in this text. In the *Altun Yaruk Sudur* it is recommended to pronounce a certain *dhāraṇī* 21 times and make 21 knots with a white thread (Kaya 1994: 250, section 440b19–23). Knots and threads in the context of 'bewitchment' and 'magical' protection against it are known in various regions of Asia. For the Buddhist *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* see Ogihara 2020: 181. In this text, hundred knots made of threads in five colours are recommended to protect children from demons. The binding of demons is also mentioned (ibid.). For an example in Kuchean Buddhism see ibid., p. 175.

One means to avert evil spirits is highly recommended, namely making merit (Rachmati 1937: 38, line 2 below). Washing with pure enchanted water (*a[r]ıg yel[vi] suvin yumak*) dispels certain demons (Zieme 2020a: 136, line 15). Amulets might effect some kind of ‘exorcism’: *bo yäk içgäk tar kolgu fu ol* ‘this is an amulet to corner evil spirits<sub>2</sub>’ (Rachmati 1937: 37, line 5 middle = Zieme 2005: 182, no. v) or: *[k]içig oylan yel tartsar bo fu oñ ayasınta bärg[ü] o[l]* ‘if a small boy is possessed by an evil spirit, one should give him this amulet into his right palm’ (Rachmati 1937: 37, line 8 middle = Zieme 2005: 182, no. viii). The evil spirit (OU *yel*)<sup>36</sup> as originator mentioned here may cause specific medicinal problems: *kimniñ közin ağızın yeel tartıp kıyık kulmuş ärsär* ‘if a demon contorts the eye or mouth of somebody and makes it lopsided ...’ (Rachmati 1930: 458, lines 124–125).<sup>37</sup> In the DLT the same terminology is used: ‘the common source of a sa‘fah is *yel*, ‘a demon’ (Dankoff 1975: 75). We also find a verbal form in *är yelpindi* ‘the man was struck with a sa‘fah from the jinn’ (ibid.). The illness caused by a demonic entity and the demonic entity itself are often identified: *kaltı utmat ap(a)smar yel köñülüğ saçıp koður*<sup>38</sup> *ögsüz kılur* ‘insanity, epilepsy, and possession befuddle the mind and completely render (a person) senseless’ (Rachmati 1932: 420, line 27). The same Sanskrit term for ‘insanity’, but with a different line of borrowing, is listed as one category of demons causing ‘possession’: *utmade tutdaçıları* ‘the *utmāda* demons of possession (Skt. *utmādagraha*)’ (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005: 37, lines 332–333). ‘Possession’ is expressed by the native OU verbal noun *tutmak* in various contexts in the *Sitātapatrādhārānī* (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005). ‘The demonic stroke itself is *yelpik*’ in the DLT (Dankoff 1975: 75), as in *ärkä yelpik tädgi* ‘The man was struck with a sa‘fah’ (Dankoff 1975: 75). In OU, *yelpik* is one category of demonic beings, as we find several enumerations including this term: *oñzin yelpik yäklär* (Oda 2015: 130, § 59; cf. also Oda 2015: 138, § 97), *oñzin yelpik yäk içgäklär* (Röhrborn 1976: 92, line 11), *uçık yelpik* (Zieme 2005: 183, no. xxx) or *inçık tançık kuçık yelpik* (Zieme 2020a: 136, lines 14–15). *yelpik* is apparently etymologically related to *yelvi* and *yelvik*-. The *p* is found in the verbal noun *yelpikmāk* ‘being bewitched by ...’ with the agent (two categories of demonic beings) followed by the postposition *üzä* in *yäk içgäklär üzä yelpikmäkintin* (Zieme 2020b: 588, line 032). (The ‘striking’ [OU *tokumak*] of the planets [OU *grah*] is mentioned

36 Note, however, that *ağız y(e)l* in Rachmati 1930: 462, line 177 is interpreted as ‘aphthous oral infection’ or ‘bad breath’ (Röhrborn 2015: 67). In Turki, *yäl* is ‘rheumatism’ (Le Coq 1911: 99b).

37 The correct translation is given in Röhrborn 2015: 66.

38 Rachmati reads *kuður*.



in the same line.) The interesting term *ešlig* (from *eš* ‘companion’) in the DLT designates a person possessed by a demon or spirit (Dankoff 1975: 75). This specific meaning of *ešlig* is not attested in any published OU text.

Spirits are not only warded off by means formulae etc., they can also be summoned. One such ceremony is mentioned in a Buddhist text under a Chinese term *kau-čau* (Bang and Gabain 1931: 330, line 113) which probably goes back to *gui zhao* 鬼招 (LMC *kyj’ tšiaw*), although the phonetic correspondence is not perfect for the first syllable. A gloss explains *kau-čau* as: *t(ä)ŋri ulatı yäk ičgäklärig okumak törösi* ‘the ceremony of summoning gods and other spirits<sub>2</sub>’ (Bang and Gabain 1931: 330, line 114). A second instance of *kau-čau* is found a few lines further down in: *ört yalınluğ otlug kau-čau tamga* ‘the flaming<sub>3</sub> seal of the evocation’ (Bang and Gabain 1931: 331, lines 118–119).

In the DLT the term *ägit* denotes ‘A medicine which is rubbed on the faces of babies to ward off demonic possession and evil eye. It is made from herbs mixed with saffron, or the like’ (Dankoff and Kelly 1982–1985, 1: 98). The word *ägit* clearly is the Karakhanidic equivalent of the Sanskrit term *agada* ‘antidote, elixir of life’ which is found in OU as *agat* (Röhrborn 2015: 55) but the use against the evil eye is not found in the published OU texts. A search for the concept of the evil eye in OU literature has revealed that one Buddhist text, the *Kuanši im pusa*-sutra, speaks about a person who chants the name of the bodhisattva Guanshiyin (OU *kuanši im pusa*) when demons attack and intend to kill. When pronouncing the name, the demons will not be able to look at the practitioner ‘with a squinting and evil eye’ (OU *kıjırtı yavlak közin*; Tekin 1993: 10, line 33).

## 5 Specialists

The most popular OU text, the *Altun Yaruk Sudur*, which was translated from a Chinese version of the *Sūtra of Golden Light*, gives a detailed and colourful description of a ‘magician’ (*yelviči*) at work:

*bo muntag osuglug čınšu tegmä ärdöktäg čünkertü töztä öŋi bolmaguluk eŋiglig nomlar ärsär aŋa ogšatı ärür : k(a)ltı yelvi kömän täg : nä üçün tepte-sär : inčä k(a)ltı yelviči är ažu yelvičiniŋ tetsesi ärsär : ymä yelvi kömän işiŋä käd bütmiš ärsär : ötrü ol yelviči tört yol bältirindä kıg yam ot ıgaç alıp bir oronta urup : yelvi küči üzä ötrü atluğ yaŋalıg kaŋlıluğ yadag : tört bölök süü b(ä)lgürtsär altun kümüş vaiđuri siparir ulatı yeti ärđinilärin adrok adrok öŋi öŋi äsriŋü äd tavarların tolu ulug aguluklar körgitsär : anta birök kim kayu tümgä biligsiz yalaŋoklar ärsär : ötrü olar ol antag yelviniŋ tözin tüpin*

*ad(ı)ra bilmätin ol yelvi küçintä b(ä)lgürtmiş tınl(ı)gların körkün mäjizİN  
körmäk üzä ünİN çogısn äşİdmäk üzä inčä tep sakınurlar :*

SUV 384:5–385:3; ed. TEKIN 1971: 62

‘As for these *saṃskṛtadharmas* (i.e. contingent phenomena) that cannot be distinguished from suchness (Skt. *tathatā*; i.e. the highest reality), they resemble that and are similar to illusion<sub>2</sub> (produced by magic). Why? As for a magician or a pupil of this magician who are skilled in the art (lit. act) of illusion<sub>2</sub>, (assume) then that the magician takes dirt<sub>2</sub>, grass and wood (collected) at the intersection of four paths and places (them) in one place, and when he makes a fourfold army (comprised of soldiers) on horses, elephants, chariots, or on foot appear through the power of illusion, and if he shows large treasure houses filled with gold, silver, beryll, rock-crystal and the other seven precious jewels as well as manifold<sub>3</sub> commodities<sub>2</sub>, and if some dull-witted and feeble-minded people are present, they will think (this) because they see the figures<sub>2</sub> of living beings and hear sounds<sub>2</sub> (the magician) has made appear by means of that illusion without (them) knowing exactly the basis<sub>2</sub> of that illusion: ...’<sup>39</sup>

The description of the illusion created by the ‘magician’ or illusionist is quite detailed. He relies on actual ‘raw materials’ (dirt, grass, and wood) to achieve the desired effect. What is also clearly shown is that the specialist called *yelviči* (*är*)<sup>40</sup> can create these complex visual and auditory illusions through his craft.<sup>41</sup> But there are also people who see through ‘the basis<sub>2</sub> of that illusion’ (*ol antag yelvinİj tözİN tüpİN*). They know very well that the figures they see in this ‘show’ (*körünč*) such as horses, elephants etc. are unreal (*čİnkertü ärmäzlär*) as are the sounds they hear (SUV 385:9–18; ed. Tekin 1971: 63):

*täk yelviči ärnİj yelvi küči üzä yalañoklar közİN bamaktın ötgürü üzügİN  
armakın bo muntag ať yañata ulatı tınl(ı)glar kuvragın altun kümüştä ulatı  
äd tavarlar yügİtmİş közüntürmİş ärür*

‘Just because the magician had bound the eyes<sup>42</sup> of the people by means

39 The opposite, namely wise people looking through the illusion, is the topic of the next section in the *Altun Yaruk Sudur* (SUV 385:9–386:4; ed. Tekin 1971: 63).

40 For *yelviči är* see also SUV 385:19 (ed. Tekin 1971: 63).

41 For *yelviči* as a specialist see also Kasai 2011: 152, line 587.

42 The phrase *közİN bamak* ‘binding of the eyes’ corresponds to modern Turkish and Old Anatolian *göz bağlamak* ‘to bewitch’. Cf. also the discussion in Uçar (2012–2013: 126) where

of the power of illusion, he showed<sub>2</sub> through his deceit<sub>2</sub> the host of horses, elephants and other beings as well as heaps of gold, silver and other valuables<sub>2</sub>’.

SUV 385:18–386:1; ed. TEKIN 1971: 63

A similar but shorter account of ‘magicians’ (*yelviči äränlär*), who conjure up and later on make disappear again an army comprised of riders on horses, elephants, and chariots as well as infantry and furthermore animals, is given in the story of Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata (Tekin 1980a: 221, lines 456–458). While one might think, after reading the passage about the illusionist, that the general attitude towards ‘magic’ in the *Sūtra of Golden Light* is one of criticism and rationalization, the reverse is true. Other parts describe the construction of magic circles for protection from enemies, the employment of spells and formulae, ritually embedded forms of healing etc. The OU version is no exception.

In one of the chapters of the *Maitrisimit*, which deals with the Buddhist hells, three different religious specialists are enumerated. People reborn in the pitiful state of dwellers in the major hells declare: *biz öyrä yalḡok [ažunıta] ärkän kamlar bügölängüçilär b(ä)lgü sözlädäçilä[r ärdimiz]* ‘we were shamans, wizards, and soothsayers while being in the existence of human beings’ (*Maitrisimit* version from Hami, chapter 20, folio 13 v. 29–14 r. 1; ed. Geng, Klimkeit and Laut 1998: 24–25). The first category is of special interest because *kam* is the usual designation for ‘shaman’ or similar religious specialists in Middle Turkic<sup>43</sup> and in modern Turkic languages (Nugteren 2020: 142).<sup>44</sup> The term is found in Karakhanidic texts from the 11th cent. In Kāšgari’s DLT it corresponds to Arabic *kāhin*. In the DLT a *kam* is a specialist for casting spells (*arvış*; Dankoff 1975: 76). However, the oldest attestations so far are in OU Manichaean texts from Turfan. The term refers to a religious specialist of the pre-Manichaean native religion of the Turks, however scarce the information about this Inner Asian religion in general may be. The problem is that the Manichaean texts which attest the word and the *Maitrisimit* are translations from Indo-European languages and the religious background to which these texts originally refer is certainly not the native religion(s) of the Turks. In a Manichaean text, which is among the most archaic Turkic manuscripts, the specialist *kam* appears, too. He is mentioned immediately after another specialist, a healer or doctor (OU *otači*): *ymä näčä*

*közin ba-* is also cited from the *Kutadgu Bilig*. See *ibid.* pp. 126–127 for derived forms.

43 See Clauson 1972: 625 who cites the female form *kam hatun* from the *Codex Cumanicus*. See also Mollova 1993: 132 (*kam hatun kišidir*) who also refers to *kamluk et-* ‘to shamanize’ in the *Codex Cumanicus*.

44 Clauson (1972: 625) gives the following meanings: ‘sorcerer, soothsayer, magician’.

*otači otın birlä k(ä)lsär anı otayu umagay t(a)kı k(a)mag kamlar ter(i)läp nän tirgürmägäy* ‘However many healers may come with remedies, they won’t be able to cure him. And if all the shamans would convene, they won’t revive him’ (Le Coq 1912: 15, lines 6–9 below = Özertural 2008: 86, lines 334–337). The second text is about a dialogue between the Manichaean missionary of the East, Mani’s pupil Mār Ammō (3rd cent. CE), and a *kam* who is said to dwell inside a temple (OU *t(ä)nrilik*) (Le Coq 1912: 32–34). A protective spirit (OU *wah-šik*) is also mentioned. Another Manichaean text mentions adversaries of the prophet Zoroaster (OU *zrošč burhan*) in the city of Babylon (Le Coq 1908: 400–401). In this case the plural *kamlar* stands for priests of the Neo-Babylonian religion in Late antiquity. In a Buddhist text called *Säkiz Yügümäk Yaruk* one gets the impression that a *kam* belongs to the sphere of supernatural beings: *üč ärdinikä tapıgçı tnl(ı)glar az yäkkä içgäkkä kamka tapıgçı tnl(ı)glar üküš* ‘devotees of the Three Jewels (Buddha, doctrine, community) are few, devotees of Yakšas, demons, and *kams* are many’ (Oda 2015: 112, §§ 017–018). There are several instances of *kam* in the *Kutadgu Bilig*. Dankoff (1983) translates the term with ‘diviner’ although it is often used in the context of healing and curing.<sup>45</sup> It is not altogether certain that in the earliest period of Turkic *kam* really can be translated as ‘shaman’. (‘Shaman’, of course, is another highly controversial term in Religious Studies.) Thus the translation offered above is only tentative.

The second term in the *Maitrisimit* passage, *bügülängüči*, is a participle of a verb which itself is derived by the suffix *+An-* from the base *bügü* discussed above. The third category of religious specialists is *b(ä)lqü sözlädüči*, again a participle meaning ‘one who tells (the significance) of signs (or portents)’. A denominal noun with similar semantics is Khwarezmian *körümči* ‘soothsayer’ (Boeschoten and Kane 2015: 1: 650a), derived from *körüm* ‘vision, view, sight’.

Only a few attestations of *arvišči* ‘sorcerer, specialist in *dhāraṇīs*’ are recorded so far (Röhrborn 2015: 281–282), although some occurrences were overlooked. The activity in a ritual context is one important aspect of an *arvišči*. In one text he is the specialist who performs the ritual (Zieme 2005: 72, lines D045, D062). The aspect of his healing power is suggested by the juxtaposition of *arvišči otači* (Zieme 1985a: 81, line 136). The edition treats *arvišči* as an attribute (‘zaubermächtig’). A relatively early Buddhist confession text mentions several professions viewed very negatively because they are harmful to living beings

45 Zieme (2008) argued that the word *šaman* in OU is not only used for ‘monk’ but also for a person resembling a shaman in the traditional sense of the term but this assumption turned out to be problematic (Nugteren 2020: 141).

from a Buddhist perspective. In this list of 12 evil-doers we find *luu üntürgüçi* 'snake charmer' and *yadçı* 'magician, rain stone magician' (Bang and Gabain 1930: 438, line 60; a close parallel in Müller 1911: 84, line 12). The latter term is known from the DLT as *yatçı* (Dankoff 1975: 77). In a text edited by Zieme (1994: 149, line v. 5) the specialist is called *yadçı ür*.

A few other experts appear in OU texts. In Sanskrit *vidyādhara*s 'people who possess magic powers' or 'magic users' (van Schaik 2020 *passim*) are either human or semi-divine beings who are experts in magical arts (Skt. *vidyā*). The term was borrowed via TA *vidyādhare* into OU where it appears once alone and once in combination with *arži* ('seer') (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005: 17, lines 28, 24). We find *ugan* ('mighty') often used together with *arži* but it is not always clear whether it is only an attribute or occasionally rather a synonym of *arži*.<sup>46</sup> The virtuous people, who were first reborn in the heavenly realms to enjoy themselves only to be later reborn in the city of Ketumatī when Buddha Maitreya has appeared in this world, are addressed as *sizlär uganlar* in the *Maitrisimit* (Plate 194 v. 11; ed. Tekin 1980b: 244; cf. also Erdal 1991: 383). In a colophon from Dunhuang the context points to the fact that the Buddha himself is meant by the following homage: *yükünür m(ä)n ol tört sıyarkı uganka* 'I bow to that powerful one of the four directions' (Hamilton 1986, 1: 8, lines 1:31'–32'). In a poem in strophic alliteration the epithet *ugan* refers to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Zieme 2020a: 282, section XI1b). In a Manichaean letter *ugan* seems to be combined with *bügü* as an attribute to qualify *y(a)rl(ı)g* 'command' (Moriyasu 2019: 46, lines 73–74). The choice of words underlines the charismatic status of the addressee. It is highly likely that *ugan* is a pre-Buddhist and pre-Manichaean term because it appears also in Karakhanidic in the 11th cent. and later in Khwarezmian Turkic as an epithet of the Muslim god 'almighty' or 'omnipotent'.<sup>47</sup> Another highly specific term is found only once in OU, namely *atarvana* (Röhrborn and Róna-Tas 2005: 32, line 253), a direct loan from Skt. *ātharvaṇa* 'a priest or Brahman whose ritual is comprised in the Atharva-veda, a conjurer' (Monier-Williams 1899: 136b).<sup>48</sup> A late text from the Yuan dynasty mentions a specialist in Buddhist magic formulas (*darniči*) (Kara and Zieme 1977: 38, line A124). This seems to be the only occurrence in the published OU texts known so far. In an Islamic environment the terminology is

46 Röhrborn (2015: 288–289) translates *ugan arži* always with the Sanskrit term *devaṛṣi* ('divine seer').

47 For Karakhanidic see Erdal 1991: 384 and DLT 51 (Dankoff and Kelly 1982–1985, 1: 115; Dankoff 1975: 70). For Khwarezmian Turkic cf. Boeschoten and O'Kane 2015, 1: 618b.

48 On (medical) practices based on the Atharvaveda in Buddhist monasteries see van Schaik 2020: 177, endnote 13.

different. The Persian loans *muġ* and also *ġaduċi* ‘magician’ appear already in Khwarezmian Turkic (Boeschoten and O’Kane 2015, 1: 665b, 633b). The Chinese loan *bahši* ‘teacher, master’ underwent a slight semantic shift because in some modern Turkic languages it came to mean ‘sorcerer, fortune-teller’ (Nugteren 2020: 142).

## 6 Conclusion

When the Turkic speaking peoples of Central Asia translated texts from other languages they encountered foreign concepts of ‘magic’ and ‘sorcery’. During the translation process they sometimes adopted foreign concepts that had a particular religious and cultural background. Some loan words are so rarely attested that they were certainly never part of the common vocabulary. The texts as we have them today owe their origin and transmission in many cases to expert knowledge. The written tradition could give a false picture of ‘magic’ as it was actually practiced. We can safely assume that rituals that included ‘magical’ practices were formerly more diverse and widespread than the extant textual evidence would have us believe. Only the divinatory texts showcase a great variety of mantic approaches probably employed by non-specialists as well. However, it is of great importance that in Turkic Studies and in Turfan Studies in particular even short or fragmentary texts have always been treated as significant evidence. It is thanks to this orientation of research that we have a certain amount of information on the subject of ‘magic’ and ‘sorcery’ at all.

## Abbreviations

AKPAW	Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe ~ Klasse
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
DLT	<i>Dīwān luġāt at-Turk</i> (see Dankoff and Kelly 1982–1985)
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
OU	Old Uyghur
r.	recto
SIAL	<i>Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū</i> 内陸アジア言語の研究 <i>Studies on the Inner Asian Languages</i>

SKPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
Suv	Radlov and Malov 1913–1917
TA	Tocharian A
TB	Tocharian B
TDA	<i>Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları</i> [Researches in Turkic Languages]
v.	verso

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## On the Expanded and Revised Second Edition of the *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish* by Andreas Tietze

Emine Yılmaz

### 1 The *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish* by Andreas Tietze

Andreas Tietze began collecting data on Turkish when he was still a student in Vienna (1932–1937). Preparations were made for publication by himself and his students starting in 1995, and the first volume (A–E) was published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 2002 while he was still alive. The second volume (F–J), which he himself had mostly prepared for publication also, was completed in 2003 six months after his death, and this volume was published, again by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, in 2009.

In 2015, the remaining materials and all publication rights were handed over to the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA: *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi*) in accordance with an agreement between TÜBA, the family of Tietze, and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and the *TÜBA Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish Project* was started. Under the project, which was run by Semih Tezcan, the first of the two previously published volumes was revised and divided into two, one volume was prepared for publication by Semih Tezcan, and in this way, the first four volumes (A–L) were prepared for publication by TÜBA in 2016. We took on this duty in this publication with Nurettin Demir as assistant editor. Semih Tezcan left us on 14 September 2017, and the *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish Project*, with Emine Yılmaz and Nurettin Demir as editors, and with a team composed of Duygu Özge Gürkan, Işıl Aydın Özkan, Hasan Güzel, Hasan Hayırsever and Emre Çetinkaya, was prepared for publication. The last six volumes and the *Index* were completed between 2018 and 2020, and published by TÜBA.

However, the new head of TÜBA, Muzaffer Şeker, who came to the post during the printing of the *TÜBA Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish*, felt that the new font and design of the dictionary were not suitable, and that there were too many volumes, and stopped distribution, and it was decided



FIGURE 13.1 First edition of the *TÜBA Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish*

to bring out a second edition immediately, incorporating these changes. As editors, we saw this as a chance to add 6478 new index cards belonging to Tietze's dictionary, which we obtained from Sena Doğan, who was on the old publication team.

In the second edition, two basic changes were made to format and content. The first was that the font was changed to Helvetica Neue and the point size was reduced to 9.5. All illustrative examples were scanned individually and were made italic but not bold type; sub-items were also scanned individually and made not italic but only bold. In addition, references made to the first four volumes under our editorship had not been made to the subsequent volumes, and so all volumes after volume 4 were compared, and the pertinent references were made. There was no consistency in the organization of the sub-items. All volumes were reviewed for this, and an attempt was made to secure consistency in the sub-items, and checks were made from beginning to end with regard to the internal consistency of item headings and the chronological arrangement of examples. Also, the dictionary was completely reviewed for the unity of terms and wording to be expected from such a work, and for explanations, ordering and sources.

Starting from the letter *O*, nearly half of Tietze's dictionary index cards contained only the headword of an item. That is, the item was in fact not written. In some of the unwritten items, there were abbreviations of sources where there were relevant examples, and even the meaning of many items was not given. In the first meeting which we held with TÜBA officials, a decision was taken to preserve this type of item headings so as not to lose data, but not to process them. Nevertheless, we decided in the editorial process that because there were very many of these items and nearly half of the pages were blank, we would use Tietze's database that we now had control over to write these items. That is, from the letter *O* onwards, the volumes appeared not only with the arrangement of written material, but with direct entry writing.

From the letter *S* onwards, because we were working only with index cards, Tietze had no saving concerning the choice of item headword or the creation

of sub-items. It was not clear what would be item headings and what would be sub-items. Our feelings on this topic were basically that the material should not go to waste and that in whatever form, it should reach the reader. This is because in order to be able to prepare material according to the true principles of dictionary making, a period of at least two years would have been needed for each volume, but the time which TÛBA gave us was only five months. For example, one index card only contained the deleted data *cingen tûfeđi gibi* 'pompous, spectacular, glamorous', but there was no item heading in the relevant volume under which to place this data. There was not even an item heading *silin-* on the index cards. For this reason, this type of data was taken directly to the item heading so that it would not be lost. Even so, the reader may find item headings such as *saat hořla-* (Az.) wind the clock odd, but these were taken as item headings both because they were separate index cards and some items were very long, and we were nervous about dividing them as well as being pressed for time.

The Turkish which Andreas Tietze used in explaining the dictionary lexemes contained a great many Arabic and Farsi words. An attempt was made to preserve Tietze's wording as much as possible, but simplifications were made where it was really necessary. Many words which appear in two forms such as *dahil / dâhil* were changed to a single form in accordance with the *Turkish Language Association Writing Guide*.

The final form of the *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish* consists of seven volumes and an *Index*. It has 4,215 pages, 41,981 headwords and 71,318 example sentences. The second expanded and revised TÛBA edition will appear in 2021.

## 2 Editing of Lexical Items in the *Historical and Etymological Turkish Dictionary*

In the *Historical and Etymological Turkish Dictionary*, when arranging the items, first of all, the phonetic variants of the item are specified with abbreviations like EO (Old Ottoman), Osm. (Ottoman), AD (Anatolian Dialect), RD (Rumelian Dialect), etc., or by words in brackets such as (Argo) 'slang', (Halk dili, Halk ağzı) 'dialect', (Konuşma dili), 'colloquial', etc. For example:

EOsm. *ac-* 'to be hungry' < Etk. *aç-* id. Clauson 1972 s. 19.

(Dialect) *bilāmeccani* 'free, unpaid' < Ar. *bilā-* 'without ...' and *meccani* 'free, unpaid'.

Maybe under the influence of the word *bilāücret* 'free, unpaid'.

(Colloquial) *cam III* 'window'

(Slang) *ahçik* / *ahciyh* 'foreign woman; foreign female tourist' H. Aktunç 1990 s. 32 < Arm. *ağçig* 'girl', Dankoff 1995 no. 14.

AD. *dumbi* / *tumbi* / *tombu* 'small hill, hump' DS 3956, 3991, 4488, B.A. Yanıkoğlu 1943 p. 295 < Gr. (dial.) *τομπι* (*tumbí*).

RD. *bödür bödür* 'rough' < *pütür* 'small bubble'

If there is no such sign in the headword, the word is Standard Turkish.

Then all phonetic variants of the headword are sorted by slash from the oldest record to the present. For example:

*bračyol* / *paraşol* / *piračol* / *piračol* (nautical term) 'bracket, clamp holding together the beams of the deck' (L. Gürçay 1943 s. 258) < It. *bracciolo* id. Kahane-Tietze 1958 no. 120.

Again, as seen in this example, if the headword is a technical term, the field to which it belongs is shown in parenthesis.

Then, the main meaning, sources, etymology, some data, secondary meanings, word combinations and derivations that are worth mentioning form the end of the paragraph. For example:

*bıçak* lit. (knife) < OTk. *buçaq* id. G. Clauson 1972 pp. 293–294 [*buč-* 'to cut' + *nomen instrumenti -aq*, see *apuldak* □]. \* *Almayı soydum, bıcaq uciyle sunuvérdüm.* (Ferec 855/1451 v. 44a). *bıçakla-* 'to kill with a knife' (for *-la-* / *-le-* see *acabla-* □) \* *Rāzuñı baña dē ve illā ben gendözümi bıcaqlaram.* (Ferec 855/1451 v. 144a).

This is followed by illustrative examples from old and new sources and, if necessary, idioms of the headword and its use with suffixes. Illustrative examples of headwords used since early stages of the language have been selected from literary works belonging to a wide period of time from the earliest Ottoman Turkish to today's Turkish.



### 3 The Vocabulary of the *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish*

The 41,981 headwords of the second edition of the *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish* include items such as words, phrases, sayings, set expressions, and proverbs which can be dictionary units. Also, Tietze frequently takes affixes as headwords and gives examples. This material is selected from a time slice of written works which stretches from the first written texts produced in Anatolia to the end of the 20th century. These works consist of Old, Middle and New Ottoman Turkish texts, Turkish texts published in the Armenian or Greek alphabets, texts from the transitional period to the New Turkish alphabet (1928–1950), texts from the period 1950–2002 (literary texts, oral collections), historical and etymological dictionaries, oral dictionaries, dictionaries of quotations, and newspapers. Some novels written in 2002 were even scanned, such as Murat Uyrakulak (2002), *Tol, a Novel of Revenge*.

A small number of examples are taken from Old Turkish, Chagatay and modern Turkic languages, but there are more examples from Azeri.

Among Tietze's sources, texts which are closer to the spoken language which are ignored by traditional lexicography have a special place. Historical texts written in the Arabic alphabet, texts like *Ferec ba'de's-Şidde*, which has attracted much popular attention, the poems of Ottoman poets who wrote in a language close to the spoken language, the stories and novels of Sermet Muhtar Alus and Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, which are considered to reflect Istanbul Turkish very well, the works of writers who took as the topic of their works the village or the poor, and oral texts are among these particular sources. One of its aspects that makes this dictionary unique is that it attempts to bring together these examples of Turkish words which have been ignored.

An important part of the texts which Tietze worked on are among the main sources of the dictionary. The first among these is *Ferec ba'de's-Şidde*. In identifying the first text in which a word appears Tietze takes one or more example sentences from this work for almost every entry. However, in checks that we made, we found that sentences taken into the dictionary from *Ferec ba'de's-Şidde* showed serious differences from the 2006 edition of *Ferec ba'de's-Şidde*. Reading and transcription differences are the most noticeable. For example, enclitics such as *idi* and *ile* appear in the dictionary without vowel harmony as for example *var-idi*, *anuñ-ile*, but in *Ferec ba'de's-Şidde*, they harmonize as *varıdı*, *anuñıla*, etc. Long /i/ is always written as /iy/ in the *Ferec ba'de's-Şidde* examples in the dictionary, but in the text it always appears as /i/. Also, we encountered problems such as some sentences being incompletely transferred to the dictionary, lines being missed, or an example used as evidence being read

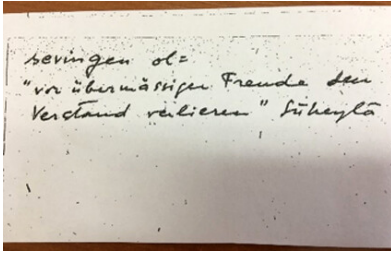


FIGURE 13.2

Tietze compiled the data *sevingen ol-* from his wife Süheyla Hanım

in quite a different way. The 7,257 sentences in the dictionary from *Ferec ba'de's-şidde* are re-set based on the printed work, and we attempted to bring the dictionary into accordance with the 2006 Tietze-Hasai edition of *Ferec ba'de's-şidde*.

#### 4 Oral Data in the *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish*

Among the material compiled by Tietze over 70 years are many index cards marked 'oral material'. Let us read Tietze's opinion on evaluating these cards from his foreword to the dictionary:

Among the material which I have collected are many notes of this kind. However, I decided not to insert them in this work, because these were only rough notes. For example, a student by the name of Nihat from Urfa told me they used 'their' verb *dögüşmek* to mean verbal argument only, without coming to blows. What would have been the use of writing this down? As far as I can remember, among about 10,000 dictionary items which I have processed, only twice was I moved to take a word which I had heard but had not seen in a written source. This was a word from hunters' language: *amaka et-* 'to ask for or take game which someone else shot claiming that you shot it' < Yun. *amāka* a.m. < İt. *a maça/ a maçça* 'dirt cheap', *amakacı* 'a hunter doing this, a scrounger'. The reason why I accepted this word was no doubt that its etymology was clear. However, this remained the exception.

TETTL 1, 2016: 52

Among the index cards which TÛBA passed on to us were hundreds of examples of this sort which we could not use. This data was mostly collected from the housework assistant Fatma and her partner Süheyla. For example:

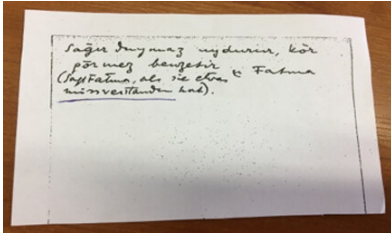


FIGURE 13.3

Tietze compiled the data *sağır duymaz uydurur, kör görmez benzetir* from his housework assistant Fatma

Apart from this, in the years in which he worked in Turkey, he collected from students and from people wherever he met them. These people are sometimes recorded only with their names, sometimes with their professions (*Baha Bey the Dentist, Architect Orhan Arda*, etc.), sometimes with the place they come from (*Halepli Necip Efendi, Akasaraylı Hafız*, etc.), of with the names of their relatives (*Fatmas neffe Mustafa, Habbanım's son*, etc.), or with their nicknames (*Dönme Haççanım, Çaçaron Zehranımın kızı*, etc.) The data is often one word, a proverb or a saying:

*Türkün gözü kırmızıda* (liebt die rote Farbe), Süheyla

*Tülü Fedime* (Frau mit viel haar auf der Kopf), Fatma

A small part of this data appears in the *Compilation Dictionary*, and a part is data which in reality it is difficult to find in Turkish, at least in written sources (German translations are from Tietze):

*hafız* 'Fleischen ausdruck für minderwertiges; bad meat' Fatmas neffe Mustafa

*teneke üstüne kalay*, Ali Sami

*yaralı kuşa sıkı atma*, Cevat (Rize)

*yaz yağmuru dul karı ağlayışına benzer*, Fatma

*herşeyin höhösüne gidilmez* 'You don't say yes to everything', Cevat

*yemin yemin, gakogilin Emin*, 'komischer Eid' Fatma

## 5 Slang in the *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish*

There are about 1,500 words in the dictionary which Tietze labelled *slang*. To exemplify this data, use was made of Old, Middle and New Ottoman Turkish texts, Turkish texts published in the Armenian or Greek alphabets, texts of the period of transition to the New Turkish alphabet (1928–1950), texts from the period 1950–2002 (literary texts, oral compilations) and newspapers.

As might be expected, most of the slang data concerns the worlds of crime, drug taking, sex and especially homosexuals, and other small closed groups. In the area of drugs alone there are 62 slang expressions. Most of these slang expressions are of foreign origin—Greek, Armenian or Italian—and fewer have Turkish roots. It is seen that the slang expressions in the dictionary are created from proper names or commercial names, by changing the meaning, with onomatopoeic words, or by such methods as grammaticalization, metathesis, abbreviation, back formation, joining, or adding together.

## 6 The *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish* and Semih Tezcan

In the first four volumes, which Semih Tezcan edited, different from subsequent volumes, there are texts which to a large extent were written by Tietze's students. For this reason, Tezcan's greatest contribution to the publication was the solution to the vocabulary of ancient texts, problems of reading and transmission, and, with his great grasp of the literature of Turcology, when necessary the reading of dictionary items, definitions and exemplifications. Tezcan was extremely meticulous, especially on the topic of etymological explanations in the dictionary. Tezcan's corrections are shown with the statement *note by Semih Tezcan* in parentheses in order to distinguish them from contributions by Emine Yilmaz and Nurettin Demir.

One of the most important interventions by Tezcan in Tietze's etymologies was to show that 42 words shown as borrowed into Ottoman from Chaghatai were found in both Ottoman and Chaghatai. Tezcan explained this in the following way: "So that the reader should make no mistake, in such situations I presumed to make a small intervention and changed the label '< Çağ.' to '< Çağ.!!'" For this reason, the entry which appeared in the edition before TÜBA as *çay I* 'small river, stream' < Çağ. appears in the TÜBA edition as *çay I* 'small river, stream' < Çağ.!!.

## 7 The *Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish and Etymology*

The etymologies of all lexemes are not given in the TETTL. This is also the case in the first volumes. However, from volume five onwards, all etymologies which can be determined are given, but this has not been possible for all lexemes.

Even when the explanation of some lexemes is not valid for today, they have been preserved as they are for their historical value. For example, *Nevşehir* 'a town in the vilâyet of Niğde' < Yun. *Νεαπολις* (Neápolis). This information is no longer true: *Nevşehir* today is itself a province, not part of *Niğde*.

An attempt was made to define the many lexemes without definitions in Tietze's index cards, working from dictionaries and examples. However, a number of examples such as *meşaleme* and *naskaz* could not be found in dictionaries and there were not enough examples to give a meaning, and so they were left with a double question mark. Nevertheless, in the draft dictionary, the symbol \*\* used to mean 'no example' was reduced to the least possible by scanning Tietze's bibliography and adding examples to the lexeme in question. However, examples taken from dictionaries were not used.

From the letter S onwards, one of the greatest problems was the etymology of the headwords. On very few index cards are there etymologies given by Tietze. Therefore, information for etymology was used from sources which Tietze had previously used, and new expanded or revised editions of them, such as *Griechische Lehnwörter im Türkischen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anatolischen Dialekte)*; R. Dankoff, *An Evliya Çelebi glossary*; H. Eren, *Türk dilinin etimolojik sözlüğü*; S.G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*; M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*; B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk*; J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*; F.M. Meninski, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae, arabicae, persicae ... lexicon turcico-arabico-persicum*, etc. In cases where etymological explanations were dubious or did not appear in such sources, we preferred not to use Tietze's etymology. However, in very clear cases, particularly when there was conflict with previous volumes, we gave our own explanations and gave a reference to the old explanation. For example, the etymology of the item *ısluk* is given with a question mark. However, *ısluk* is clearly from the same root as *sıkluk*, *sıtluk*, *sülüik*, and *siluk* 'whistle' in later volumes, and comes from Middle Turkish forms *sıkluk*, *sısluk*, and *sıtluk*. In this case, we put the reference *see ısluk* at the end of entries such as *sıkluk*.

A similar situation is seen with *gözden sürmeyi çek-*. This expression is placed under *göz*, and explained by Tietze as *gözden sürme oğurla- / gözden sürme çal-* 'to be a master thief' < *göz* 'the organ of seeing' + *sürme* 'eye makeup'. In our

S volume, it comes under the headword *sürme III: sürme III* “a type of timber used in shipbuilding, kept in sheds separated into compartments called ‘çeşm.’” *sürmeyi gözden çal- / sürmeyi gözden sil- / sürmeyi gözden kap- / sürmeyi gözden oğurla-* ‘to do something by sleight of hand’. The reason for our preference here is the explanation in one of Tietze’s main sources, M.Z. Pakalın’s *Historical dictionary of sayings and technical terms* that “it must have come from stealing the timber from the compartments under the watch of watchmen in shipyards” (1993-III: 299).

This kind of dictionary preparation work is not something which can be brought to a final conclusion. It is clear that such a dictionary will always be in the process of expansion with new materials and methods. We have tried to bring together the material given to us to be as internally consistent as possible and to reflect the effort of the original holders. To do better is among the duties of experts on the Turkish language.

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## Baumwolle und Indigo

Peter Zieme

Der Jubilar hat sich vor längerer Zeit mit *böz*, dem bekanntesten Wort für ‚Baumwolle‘ beschäftigt (Róna-Tas 1983). Auf hauptsächlich altuigurischen Materialien basierend hat S.-Chr. Raschmann eine Monographie über *böz* verfaßt (Raschmann 1995). Von Zeit zu Zeit kommen auch neue Quellen und Belege hinzu. Das im Altuigurischen stark vertretene Wort *böz* lebt in den älteren türkischen Sprachen noch weiter, wurde dann aber von dem mittelliranischen Wort *pambag* überflügelt mit seiner heutigen Fülle von Varianten. Hierher gehört auch *pamuk* im DLT (Clauson ED: 345–346). Wie im Persischen, so finden sich auch in einigen türkischen Sprachen Formen, die einen *-n-* / *-m-* Wechsel bezeugen. Ein weiteres aus einer iranischen Sprache stammendes Wort ist *paxta*, das ebenfalls in den heutigen Türksprachen weit verbreitet ist.

Blicken wir ein Jahrtausend zurück. Baumwolle, aus Indien kommend, war in Zentralasien schon gut bekannt, doch für Chinesen war es seit dem Ende der Tang-Zeit ein ‚neuer‘ Stoff, der neben der Seide auch schnell beliebt wurde. In einigen buddhistischen Texten dieser Epoche gibt es Anweisungen für das Malen auf Stoffen, wobei oft ‚weißer Baumwollstoff‘ genannt wird (Raschmann 1995: 89–91; BT 23: 75).

Meine nachfolgenden Notizen betreffen ein seltenes Wort für Baumwolle. Als Ausgangspunkt sei ein neu-ugurischer Text zitiert, den G. Jarring unter dem Titel *ilmido:znñ beja:nñ* mitgeteilt hat. Ich zitiere den ersten Satz daraus: *ilmido:z degen her qism tavar dudun adles ša:je lenbuq xa:se qata:rlıq xeri:tlerge* „(People) called embroiderers sew all kinds of flowers on all kinds of cloth (such as) silkstuff, atlas, *ša:je*, and nainsook, white calico, and (other) materials.“ (Jarring 1992: 37). Für das ‚nainsook‘ übersetzte Wort *lenbuq* (Jarring 1992: 84a) gibt es auch die Aussprache *lembuq* (Jarring 1992: 84a). Im Wörterbuch von H. Schwarz wird *lämbuq* als ‚A kind of cotton fabric, called nainsock, of Indian origin‘ definiert (Schwarz 1992: 862; Vgl. UTIL Q-L 1994: 892). Malov verzeichnet im Lobnor-Dialekt die Formen *lumbük* und *lembek* (Malov 1956: 140). Der Wechsel von medialem *-n-* und *-m-* überrascht nicht (Hesche; Hildebrandt and Thermann 1979: 212), doch einer Verbindung mit iranischem *panbuk* / *pambuk* ‚Baumwolle‘<sup>1</sup> steht der Anlautskonsonant im Wege, denn ein intitales *l-* kann kaum mit einem *p-/b-* wechseln.

1 Auf vielen Wanderwegen hat das Wort eine weite Verbreitung in asiatischen und europäi-



Zum ersten Mal taucht *lampuk* in einem der aus der Nördlichen Dunhuang-Grotte 181 (heute: 464) stammenden Fragmente auf, die von Paul Pelliot nach Paris gebracht wurden. Ein kleines altuigurisches Werk über die Vier Āgamas, die sozusagen die Schriften des alten Buddhismus in einen fest umrissenen Rahmen einpaßten, erklärt das Zustandekommen der Āgamas, ihre Bezeichnungen und welche Bedeutung die Texte im buddhistischen Schrifttum haben. Genauer gesagt, handelt es sich dabei um eine Erläuterung zum *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經, die versucht, den Terminus *zengyi* 增一 ‚das Anwachsen‘ zu veranschaulichen. Auf eine eher generelle Erklärung der von 1 bis 11 ansteigenden Sūtrathemen folgen vier andere Vergleiche beginnend mit *azuča ymä* ‚oder auch so‘, die sich auf Malerei- und Webereitechniken beziehen, vermutlich in der Absicht zu zeigen, wie die verschiedenen Themen zu dem einen allumfassenden Gedankengebäude führen, mit dem der Buddha sein religiöses Ziel der Überwindung des Samsāra aufgebaut hat. Um dies zu verdeutlichen, wäre es notwendig, den gesamten Textabschnitt anzuführen,<sup>2</sup> doch hier seien hier nur die Stellen genannt, in denen das zur Debatte stehende Wort vorkommt.

1. 或 [azu]ča ärsär ymä bakdi-ka tägmiš uz bädizčilär äñbašlayu äñäyü lampokın yer tartlap čizip 次 anta yelimlig mākä üzä eyin čizip 復 [ävir]timiz 三 [üč] m [= mür] 四十種 [kirk tür]-läri katišdurmiš 法 [nom]-lug boduglarıg || „Oder es ist auch so, daß zur *bhakti*<sup>3</sup> gelangte tüchtige Maler ganz am Anfang auf spezielle Baumwolle die Grundfläche gezogen und gezeichnet haben, und folgend haben wir dann mit Leim-Tusche nachgezeichnet, und angewendet haben wir die aus 3040 Sorten<sup>4</sup> gemischten Dharma-Farbstoffe.“
2. öñdū törün muñadınčıg körk mäjiz bütürür ärsär .. 如是 [munı mun-čulayu] ymä 經 [sudur]-lug bakdi-ka tägmiš yertinčülügtä yeg uzanmak-lug uz bädizčilär 仏 [burhan]-ıg ömäklig sudurluk lampok üzä vainikilig tınl(ı)glarını köñüllüg 地 [yer]-lärin tardlap anta 次 [anta] birär 二 [iki] rär onar 法 [nom]lug bodug-larıg ara katišdurup ol boduglarıg öñdū törün temin ökči akıgız 五 蘊 [beš ärklig]-lig muñadınčıg körk mäjizin bo 經 [sudur] içindä bütürür üçünč anın birtin üklimiš boşgut nom tep atamış

schen Sprachen gefunden. Das soll hier nicht weiter verfolgt werden. Doch sollte wenigstens ung. *pamut* aus osmanischer Zeit erwähnt werden, vgl. Benkő 1993–1998, 1106b.

2. Dazu muß ich auf meinen ausführlichen Aufsatz in BT 47 Nr. 27 (Premières notes sur quelques fragments vieux-ouïgours de Paul Pelliot) verweisen.
3. Skt. *bhakti* bedeutet u. a. ‚Linie, Strich (als Ornament)‘ wie auch ‚religiöse Hingabe‘, und hier könnte beides in einem gemeint sein, denn ein guter Maler verfügt über beides so wie wir es von Michelangelo kennen. Aus der Maitrisimit ist das Wort nur von seiner konkreten Bedeutung her bekannt: Maitr Taf. 138 v 4 *kümüšlüg baktılar* ‚silberne Trennwände‘.
4. Falls die obige Deutung des kleinen Zeichens zutrifft, ergibt sich eine merkwürdige Zahl.

ärür „Wenn man nach der Richtschnur und Tradition wunderbare Gestalten und Figuren vollendet, dann ist es auch so: Die zur *bhakti* der Sūtras gelangten und mit überweltlichen Fähigkeiten ausgestatteten tüchtigen Maler haben auf Baumwolle, die geeignet ist für das Sūtra ‚Meditieren über den Buddha‘ die Sinn-Felder der *vaineyika*-Lebewesen gezogen; danach je ein, je zwei (bis) je zehn Dharma-Farbstoffe vermischt; jene Farbstoffe (verwendend) sind nach der Richtschnur und Tradition ganz sogleich die wunderbaren Gestalten der nicht-fließenden fünf Aggregate in diesem Sūtra vollendet. Drittens wird es der um eins anwachsende Lehr-Dharma genannt.“

3. Der dritte Beleg findet sich auf dem einseitig beschriebenen Fragment Ot.Ry. 2347, einem Rest eines Blattes, das möglicherweise aus einer Buchrolle stammt. Die letzte Zeile enthält das Wort *lanbuk*<sup>5</sup> (10) *yöläsürügi* (11) *antag ol . kaltı bir uz bädizçi är . lanpuk üzä azu* ‚Die Erklärung (Parabel) ist so, als ob ein tüchtiger Maler (auf) Baumwolle oder [auf ... gemalt hätte].‘



ABB. 14.1 Detail aus dem Fragment Ot.Ry. 2347 der Bibliothek der Ryūkoku Universität, Kyoto/Japan

Meine Herleitung des Wortes aus chin. 藍寶 *lanbao* ‚Indigojuwel‘ (BT 47, 196 n. 735) ist aufzugeben. Es dürfte sich eher um *lambuk* ‚Baumwolle‘ handeln. Über die Etymologie sagt G. Jarring nichts, und in den einschlägigen Wörterbüchern ist dazu nichts zu finden. Nach der Struktur des Wortes könnte am ehesten eine Entlehnung aus dem Chinesischen in Frage kommen, doch fehlt noch eine zündende Idee. Für die zweite Silbe läge es nahe, von chin. *bu* 布 auszugehen, doch hat dieses Wort keinen Auslautskonsonanten. Dank der Herleitung des Zahlungsmittels *kuanpu* aus chin. *guanbu* 官布 ist auch für das Altuigurische sicher, daß kein finaler Konsonant vorliegen kann.

Ein weiteres seltenes Wort, das nicht einen Baumwollstoff bezeichnet, sondern Baumwollsamens, ist *čigit*<sup>6</sup> (Clauson ED 414a; Doerfer TMEN 3: 1108). Im Kirgisischen z. B. gibt es einen Vers, der die Bedeutung sehr deutlich hervortreten läßt: *žumšak aytkan žilū söz kulagıñı mulayım, čigiti jok paktaday* ‚Das sanft

<sup>5</sup> Allerdings ist vom l-Haken nur ein sehr kleiner Rest erhalten.

<sup>6</sup> neu-ug. *čigit* ‚cottonseed (semena gossypium herbaceum)‘ (Schwarz 1992: 366a).

gesprochene zärtliche Wort ist für dein Ohr so angenehm wie Baumwolle ohne Samenkörner.' (Judachin 1965: 86ob < ir.).

Zitiert sei noch die terminologische Spezifikation im Osmanischen: „Kabuklu çekirdek, pamuk vb. şeylerin tohumu. 2. Yüzdeki çil lekesi. (KAM); Yüzde çil lekesi, et beni, adese, kelef. Çekirdek kabuklu tohum, hususan pamuk tohumu ve süprüntüsü. Yüzde olan çiğit ades, çil lekesi.“<sup>7</sup>

In verschiedenen Zeitstufen oder als lokale Varianten begegnet man dem -g-/-v- Wechsel nicht regelmäßig, aber doch in nicht wenigen Worten, wie z. B. *togurçuk* // *tovurçuk* ‚Knospe‘ (Zieme 2014: 286). Von der Struktur her wäre ein ähnliches Paar \**çigit* // *çivit* denkbar, lässt sich aber wegen der verschiedenen Semantik nicht aufstellen, denn Samenkorn der Baumwolle und Indigo sind nicht vereinbar.

Dennoch gibt es in der Praxis eine Verbindung, wenn man an das Einfärben von Baumwollstoffen mit Indigo denkt.<sup>8</sup> Indigo gehört zu den natürlichen Färbemitteln für Stoffe aller Art, aber auch besonders von Baumwolle. Für die altuigurische Zeit gibt es zwar noch keinen konkreten Beleg, in Anatolien und in Ungarn gehörten mit Indigo gefärbte Baumwollstoffe in jedes Haus. Dieser Verbindung mit Indigo geschuldet folgen jetzt Belege dafür, in welchen Bezügen *çivit*, das häufigste Wort für ‚indigo‘, in den altuigurischen Texten verwendet wird.

Am Beginn mögen die Belegstellen für Indigo im DLT stehen, die nicht unter einem Lemma *çivit* bzw. *čüvit* angeführt werden, sondern unter *kızıl* ‚rot‘: *kızıl čüvit*, *al č.*, *kök č.*, *yaşıl č.* und *sarıq č.*<sup>9</sup> Dazu erwähnt Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī die Aussprache mit *ẖ* (‘thin wā’) sowie folgende Deutung: „*čüvit* is a generic term for all of these colors, and they are distinguished by mentioning along with it the specific color name“ (DLT II: 232). Wenn *čüvit* als ein generischer Terminus verwendet wurde, dann ist dies eine Spezialbedeutung im Karachanidischen, denn in erster Linie ist Indigo mit einer blauen (oder blaugrünen) Farbe verbunden, wie auch einige altuigurische Belege, (fast) immer *çivit*, zeigen.

Die Xuanzang-Stelle T.L.2053.258a15–16 珠玉丹青赭堊金翠備其飾<sup>10</sup> gehört zur Beschreibung eines Kloster-Neubaus. Ihre altuigurische Übersetzung *yinčü*

7 Dağlı 2014: 181–182: *çivit*, *çivit otu* (Isatis tinctoria).

8 Indigo ist ein Pigment, das zum Einfärben von Textilien verwendet wird, hergestellt aus der Indigopflanze oder in Europa auch aus dem Färberwaid.

9 Clauson ED: 395a s.v. *čüvit*: ‚some kind of dye-stuff prob. mineral, perhaps a coloured earth‘, Heilk I 469 [567] und HT VII 403 (‚Farbputz‘).

10 Mayer (1991: 15): ‚und zum Schmuck nahm man Perlen und Jade, sowie zinnoberrötlich und blau, rot und weiß, gold und türkis als Farben‘; Li (1995: 209): ‚and for decoration, pearls and jade, cinnabar and blue earth, ochre and chalk, and gold and jadeite‘.

TABELLE 14.1 Tabelle der chinesisch/altuigurischen Entsprechungen

1	2	3	4	5	6
yinčü kaš tenlämiš	[ču]ža ražavart üzä b[ä]dizämiš	taštun	čivit tokimiš	ičtin	altun yapšurmiš
Perlen und Jade in Feldern angeordnet	mit Purpur und Violett aufgemalt	- außen -	Indigo angebracht	- innen -	Blattgold aufge- klebt
<i>zhu yu</i> 珠玉	<i>dan qing</i> 丹青		<i>zhe e</i> 赭瑩		<i>jin dian</i> 金翠
Perlen und Jade	zinnober und blau		rot und weiß		gold und türkis

*kaš tenlämiš [ču]ža ražavart üzä b[ä]dizämiš taštun čivit tokimiš ičtin altun yapšurmiš* (HT VII: 401–405) macht auf den ersten Blick den Eindruck, als ob eine gute Kongruenz zur chin. Vorlage besteht, doch liegt eine Umarbeitung vor. Hier sei versucht zu zeigen, wie der Übersetzer gearbeitet hat.

Der Übersetzer hat abweichend von der chinesischen Vorlage jedem Farbkompositum von zwei Gliedern eine Verbform für die Aktion hinzugefügt. Er wollte damit den Bau verdeutlichen und bediente sich dabei paralleler Strukturen. ‚Außen‘ (Spalte 3) und ‚innen‘ (Spalte 5) wurden hinzugefügt, was man aus der Vorlage nicht erklären kann.

Für Spalte 1 stellte sich der Übersetzer vor, daß man Perlen und Jade wie bei einem Mosaik am besten in Feldern anbringen konnte. Das Verb in Spalte 2 ist ‚malen‘, was gut zu den Farben Zinnober und Lazur paßt. Mit *čivit* in Spalte 4, das in HT VII als Farbputz (?) (HT VII: 47)<sup>11</sup> übersetzt wurde, hat er das Verb *toki-* verbunden, was einer Erklärung bedarf. Vielleicht hat der Übersetzer das chin. Verb *e* 瑩 ‚To whitewash. To plaster‘ (Mathews 1963: 4808) als ein allgemeines Wort ‚anbringen, auftragen‘ angesehen. Und das könnte auch für *čivit* ‚Indigo‘ gelten. Aber es gibt noch eine weitere Schwierigkeit. Die Farbe *zhe* 赭 bezeichnet rote Erdfarbe (sienna). Das paßt nicht gut zu *čivit* ‚Indigo‘. Ich vermute, daß 赭 als *dian* 靛 ‚Indigo‘<sup>12</sup> gelesen wurde, was allerdings nur bei einer sehr undeutlichen Vorlage möglich gewesen sein könnte.

Während für die ersten beiden Farbgruppen der Übersetzer auch zwei Farben angibt, verfährt er bei den anderen zwei Gruppen anders, insofern als er den zweiten Bestandteil als ein Verb umdeutet und somit nur eine Farbe nennt.

11 Vermutlich gibt es für diese Bedeutung aber keine weiteren Belege.

12 Nach DDB: ‚The blue-green dye made from the precipitant 澱 obtained by mixing the juice from the leaves of the indigo plant with lime. Indigo pigment.‘

Das betrifft ebenso Spalte 6 *dian* 翠, 'Türkis'. Unklar ist, wie man diesen Terminus zu *yapšur*- 'auftragen, anbringen, befestigen' umdeuten konnte. Eventuell las der Übersetzer in einer undeutlichen Vorlage das Zeichen als *zhu* 築, 'bauen, konstruieren'.

In der buddhistischen Erzählung von Sena und Upasena der *Daśakarmapa-thāvadānamālā* heißt es: *ol seniniṣ kišisi bo mun[tag] tävlig kürliug savlarig saktunp yegülik ašin ešti zumig čüvit /// yašuru agzinta tančulap* „Als jene Ehefrau des Sena diese betrügerischen<sub>2</sub> Dinge ersonnen hatte, reduzierte sie die Speise, die (sie) essen sollte. Sie verkaute heimlich in ihrem Mund einen Prüfstein (für Edelmetalle) (?) und Indigo ...“ (BT 37.02547–02549).

Es sind zwei Objekte, die hier ins Spiel gebracht werden. Zunächst also zum 'Prüfstein', wie J. Wilkens *zumig*, das erste Objekt, übersetzt. Er lehnt die Herleitung aus einem persischen Wort für Quecksilber, die F.W.K. Müller als eine Möglichkeit erwogen hatte (U III 85.17), aus phonetischen Gründen ab. Er möchte dagegen an sogdisch *zmyx* anknüpfen,<sup>13</sup> das neben *zmyx* 'Erde' mit einer anderen Ableitung nach N. Sims-Williams 'crucible' (BT 12: 170) bedeutet. Inzwischen bevorzugt N. Sims-Williams eine neue Deutung für dieses 'zweite' *zmyx* insofern, als es ebenfalls wie das übliche *zmyx* auch für 'Erde' steht (Sims-Williams 2017: 37). Unter diesen Umständen entfällt die Deutung des altuigurischen Wortes unter Heranziehung des sogdischen Wortes. Müller hatte in seiner Anmerkung noch andere persische Wörter in Betracht gezogen, die allerdings auch phonetische Schwierigkeiten bereiten. Die beiden Dinge, die die Frau einnimmt, müssen ja so beschaffen sein, daß sie zerkaut werden können. Bei einem 'Prüfstein', wie auch immer er geartet sein sollte, ist es schwer vorstellbar, während Indigo, das zweite Objekt, gut passen kann. Für das erste Objekt möchte ich jetzt, anknüpfen an türkeitürkisch *zamk* 'Gummiharz', das in einer populären Aussprache aus arabisch صمغ stammt. Gy. Németh hat die Lautveränderung *s* > *z*- in der Hochsprache des Osmanischen nur für Fremdwörter gefunden, und dennoch wurzeln diese Fälle, zu denen eben auch *zamk*

13 Wilkens BT 37: 345: „Zu *zumig* schreibt MÜLLER (ebd.), dass man „an pers. *živah*, *zībaq* = Quecksilber oder *zārnīx*, *zārnūq* "APCENIKÓN denken" könne. Beide Erklärungen überzeugen aus lautlichen Gründen nicht. In Heilk I Z. 148 ist *kūṭay simukī* belegt. Im Sogdischen existiert ein Wort *zmyx*, das als 'crucible' gedeutet worden ist, jedoch eventuell ein Fehler des Abschreibers ist (BT 12: 177). Die Stelle lautet in SIMS-WILLIAMS' Übersetzung: „The crucible tests silver and the furnace gold; and the Lord God tests the heart.“ (BT 12: 170). Da das in Frage stehende Wort im Kommentar (p. 177) vorsichtig zu *zm'y* ‚tempt, test‘ gestellt wird, könnte es sich um eine Art Prüfstein handeln.“ Es sei ergänzt, daß das pers. Wort das Etymon von osm. ttü. *civa*, *cva* 'Quecksilber' ist, vgl. Menges (1983: 130). Im Altuigurischen hieß 'Quecksilber' *könä suvi* (Etymon von ung. *kéneső*) (TLH: 525–526).

gehört, in der Volkssprache. Obwohl die Entwicklung *s-* > *z-* insofern auch befremdlich ist, als in den Türkssprachen anlautendes *z-* nicht verbreitet ist, gibt es in der volkstümlichen Aussprache sogar die Tendenz einer starken Ausweitung der Entwicklung *s-* > *z-* (Németh 1953: 191). Es ist zu erwähnen, daß *zamk* in den anatolischen Dialekten in einer *zumig* ähnlichen Aussprache wie *zemuḡ* vorkommt (Gaziantep, Antakya) (Németh 1953: 191; DS 4360a), während Meninski eine Aussprache mit *s-* registrierte: *symgh* [simg] (Meninski 1680: 2988). Falls diese Deutung zutrifft, könnte der Satz wie folgt übersetzt werden: „Des Sena Frau dachte sich so listige und trügerische Sachen aus, sie reduzierte die zum Essen gedachte Speise. Gummiharz und Indigo-[Stückchen] verkaute sie heimlich in ihrem Mund ...“ Dieses *zumig* kann man nicht trennen von zwei anderen Belegen, die allerdings eine Aussprache mit *s-* haben: *simig*. In einem Heilkundetext, für den es leider keine Vorlage gibt und weshalb die Interpretation umstritten ist, lesen wir: *kim üni bütüp ädgüti boş ünmäsär, bir sunča budanı tüz otura yarıp oturasın azk(ı)ya oyup oy kulıp anı kıtay simiğin ança munça sukup<sup>14</sup> anı içindä üc tört ävin yarma murç ymä urup budanı kavşurup yip birlä yörgäp taşña kägdä yörgäp isig külkä kömüp ädgüti çaklğ çñ bolmušta kägdäsın kitärip öydün tişñiñ ikin otura tişläp tutup ağızın açmatın yuusun siñjürgül iki üc kata munitäg küsar kızı uz açılır sinamış äm ol* (Heilk 1: 146–154) „Wenn jemandes Stimme versagt<sup>15</sup> und sie nicht gut und frei herauskommt, soll man eine Lakritze<sup>16</sup> von einem Zoll ganz in der Mitte spalten, die Mitte ein wenig aushöhlen, (quasi) ein Loch machen, dahinein etwas China-Harz<sup>17</sup> stopfen, drei, vier Körner gespaltenen Pfeffer (Pfefferkörner) hinzufügen, die Lakritze verschließen, mit einer Schnur umwickeln, außen ein Papier herumwickeln, in heiße Asche einlegen, wenn es gut knistert, das Papier entfernen, mit den vorderen Zähnen eine Weile beißen und, ohne den Mund zu öffnen, den Saft<sup>18</sup> einschlürfen. Wenn man es zwei, drei Mal so tut, öffnet sich (die Stimme) wieder trefflich. Das ist ein probates Heilmittel.“ In diesem Rezept ist die Annahme eines Prüfsteins kaum möglich.

Ein weiterer Beleg kommt in einem unbekannten *\*Bodi* 心 [*Bodhicitta*] *ukutaçı nom* betitelten Text<sup>19</sup> vor: *\*jiao putixin fa* 教菩提心法: *altun bişurdaçı simig*

14 Clauson (ED 805) weist auf die Überschneidungen zwischen *sok-* und *suk-* hin.

15 Clauson ED 298b: ‚the man’s voice failed‘.

16 Clauson ED 299a: ‚liquorice‘.

17 Auch in Europa war China-Harz ein Ingrediens für verschiedene Zwecke, vgl. Pharmazeutisches Central-Blatt 1838: 414–415.

18 you 油 ‚Öl‘, vgl. tel. *yüü* ‚Saft‘.

19 Bisher ist der Nachweis eines anzunehmenden chinesischen Werkes nicht gelungen. 教菩提心 kommt in SAT vor, allerdings nicht in den in Frage kommenden Texten.

*ot tığ* ‚wie das Schmelzofenfeuer,<sup>20</sup> welches Gold veredelt‘ (Tekin 1980/1: 382). In diesem Beispiel sieht J. Wilkens einen weiteren Beleg für die von ihm angenommene Semantik.<sup>21</sup> Ö. Yiğitoğlu übersetzt (Tekin 1980/1: 382) ‚altın yapmada kullanılan civa gibi olan öğretmenler‘ und fügt hinzu, daß die in ZDMG 134 genannte Übersetzung ‚altın oksitlendiren civa asidi‘ nicht passend sei.<sup>22</sup> Dieses *ot* kann hier nur ‚Pflanze‘ bedeuten, so wäre Quecksilber ausgeschlossen, vielmehr ist *sumug ot* = *zımug ot* ‚Gummiharz‘. Somit dürfte der Vergleich bedeuten: ‚wie Gummiharz, das Gold(farbe) erzeugt‘.

Das Wort *sumug/zımug* hat keine Kontinuität in den türkischen Sprachen, denn schon im Tschagataischen wird es erneut übernommen, wie ein tschagataischer Traktat zeigt (Károly 2015: 312a), und auch in der osmanischen Heilkunde gehört *şamğ-i ‘arabī* ‚Arabischer Gummi‘ zu den Ingredienzien von Heilmitteln.<sup>23</sup> Das Narh defteri nennt *zamk-ı arabī* als ein im Basar gehandeltes Akazienharz, das für Heilzwecke eingesetzt wurde.<sup>24</sup>

Das zweite Objekt in der DKPAM-Erzählung ist *čivit*. Bei einer Wortstruktur wie *čivit* könnte man durchaus an ein Fremdwort denken,<sup>25</sup> doch ist bisher dazu kein konkreter Vorschlag unterbreitet worden. Auch etymologische Wörterbücher<sup>26</sup> bringen eigentlich nur Belege aus zahlreichen türkischen Sprachen zusammen. So gehört wohl *čivit* zum ererbten türkischen Wortschatz. G. Clauson verbindet mit *čivit* das tschagataische Wort *čevək*.<sup>27</sup> In phonetischer Hinsicht gäbe es eine umgekehrte Parallele mit ung. *pamut* < osm.-tü. *pamuk*, doch schwerwiegender scheint mir die Unvereinbarkeit der Bedeutungen, denn *čevək* bedeutet generell ‚Farbe‘, nicht aber speziell ‚Indigo‘.

20 Es ist mir nicht klar, woher die Bedeutung ‚Schmelzofen‘ für *sumug* kommt.

21 BT 37: 345 Anm. zu 02549.

22 Die beanstandete Übersetzung von J.P. Laut (nicht, wie Yiğitoğlu schreibt, von M. Erdal) lautet: ‚(Lehrer), die wie Gold erzeugendes Quecksilber (?) sind‘ (Laut 1984: 355). Doch ‚erzeugendes‘ ist nicht ‚oxitlendiren‘ und ‚Quecksilber‘ ist nicht ‚civa asidi‘.

23 Önlér 2018, sub *şamğ*.

24 Kütükoğlu 1983: 366, Argunşah 1999: 251 (*saḥk olmuş zamğ-ı ‘arabī yüz kırk iki dirhem*, ‚zerkleinertes zamğ-ı ‘arabī für 142 Dirhem‘).

25 Clauson ED 395a: ‚Prob[ably] a l[ oan ]-w[ ord ], but of unknown origin.‘

26 Beispielsweise Eren 1999: 95b: tel. *čibit*, tuv. *šivit* etc. (Rassadin: Tofan *šimit*) mit den Bedeutungen ‚Indigo‘, aber auch allgemeiner ‚Färbemittel‘; sar.-uig. *čivit* ‚nazvanie kakogo-to krasnogo mjaškogo kamnja‘ (Malov 1957: 148a).

27 Kúnos 1902: 48: las *čök*, doch die vokalisiert Formen weisen eindeutig auf *čevək*, vgl. Kaçalin 2011.

## Quellen

BT 12	Sims-Williams
BT 23	Zieme 2005
BT 37	Wilkens
BT 47	Zieme 2020
DKPAM	Wilkens BT 37
DLT	Divân luğât-it-türk (vgl. Clauson ED)
DS	Derleme Sözlüğü
DTS	Drevnetjurkskij slovar'
Heilk I	Rachmati
HT VII	Röhrborn
HTON	Tekin
TLH	Róna-Tas and Berta
U III	Müller
UTIL	Yaqub
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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**PART 2**

***Mongolic Studies***





## Handle with Care! The Limits of Use of Manuscripts Demonstrated on the *Hua-Yi yiyu* Texts of the National Central Library

Ákos Bertalan Apatóczy

The National Central Library (國家圖書館) in Taipei conserves two *Hua-Yi yiyu* (華夷譯語) manuscripts almost unknown to the academic public. They are bound in separate booklet format justifying the library's view considering them independent documents, and they, indeed, look like ones deserving being treated as such in their own right. After taking a closer glance at their contents, however, one will find that their originality is another matter: the documents appear like ones copied as educational or intellectual practice.

In 2016 the National Central Library (NCL) in Taipei published a catalogue of the Mongol-related materials conserved in their collection there titled «蒙古相關古籍文獻圖錄» *Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Mongolian Books and Documents* (Leu Tzu-ling 2016), providing the readers with short samples of the texts along with their detailed bibliographical descriptions. Browsing the material included in that publication, two pieces of literature drew my attention, and being in the fortunate situation that I was spending my days of a research fellowship in Taiwan, I had the chance to have a closer glimpse at these texts. Firstly I got access to the *Ming*<sup>1</sup> and a bit later to the *Qing*<sup>2</sup> version. In this paper I will show some specific characteristics of the two documents, their main differences from each other as well as from their direct and indirect sources.

### 1 Physical Description

Both versions are paperback thread-sewn booklets. The *Ming* version is bound with a 30.8×18.7 cm indigo paper cover. It has 77 pages with handwritten text (empty front and back pages excluded).

1 Hua-Yi yiyu 華夷譯語; Ming manuscript version by unknown copyist, Book No. 05300-0059, Call Number 204.26 05300-0059. National Central Library, Taipei.

2 Hua-Yi yiyu 華夷譯語; Qing manuscript version, copied by Li Wentian 李文田, Book No. 00899, Call Number 110.1 00899. National Central Library, Taipei.

The *Qing* version has a yellowish 24.5 × 19.2 cm paper cover, and contains 38 handwritten pages (empty front and back pages excluded).

## 2 Relation to the Original *Hua-Yi yiyu*

The original *Hua-Yi yiyu* 華夷譯語 (Hy; 'Sino-Barbarian translation') has been a constant object of scholarly interest ever since modern philology has discovered its importance in diachronic linguistics, therefore only a brief summary of the essential information will be provided here, so that the focus of this paper could be directed to the differences of the two late copies from the original versions. The first glossary to bear the title *Hua-Yi yiyu* was compiled by *Huo Yuanjie* 火源潔 (*Qoniči*) in 1389 (see de Rachewiltz and Rybatzki 2010: 198); The work was published by the *Bureau of Interpreters* of the *Ming* court (*Hui Tong Guan* 會同館 established during the Yuan-dynasty in 1276 and subordinated to the Ministry of Rites *Libu* 禮部) and it comprised of a Sino-Mongolian glossary containing a vocabulary of 844 headwords, as well as of a collection of twelve official documents. It is a rather well scrutinized work; many scholarly works have been published about its history, versions and contents (Lewicki 1949, 1959; Haenisch 1952; Ligeti 1972; Kuribayashi 2003). Following the example of *Hua-Yi yiyu*, a whole series of similar bilingual works appeared in the *Ming* and *Qing* eras. The original *Hua-Yi yiyu* itself was also copied in a lot of different ways, not only by individual literati but also by officials and other bureaus. Here it might be of importance to declare, that in the works of the *Hui Tong Guan* the Chinese script was used solely, both for the Chinese headwords and for the rendition of the foreign translations. Later versions that included the scripts of the foreign language Chinese words were translated into, were not the original ones of the *Hui Tong Guan*, but mostly issued by the *Si Yi Guan* 四夷館 'Bureau of the barbarians of the four [cardinal directions]'<sup>3</sup> and then re-used and copied in a multitude of instances.

Returning now to the two texts of the NCL, it is worth pointing out that for thousands of years during the history of Chinese literacy, it has been the custom of scribes to copy earlier texts for practice. Exercises of this kind have accompanied scribes from their early school years to state civil service exams and beyond. The extent, to which the exercise itself, rather than the grasping of the

3 Renamed to *Si Yi Guan* 四譯館 'Bureau for the translation of the [languages of the] four [cardinal directions]' during the *Qing* to eliminate the pejorative voice. The two bureaus were eventually merged into the *Huitong Si Yi Guan* 會同四譯館 in 1748 'Interpretation and Translation Bureau of the four [cardinal directions]'.

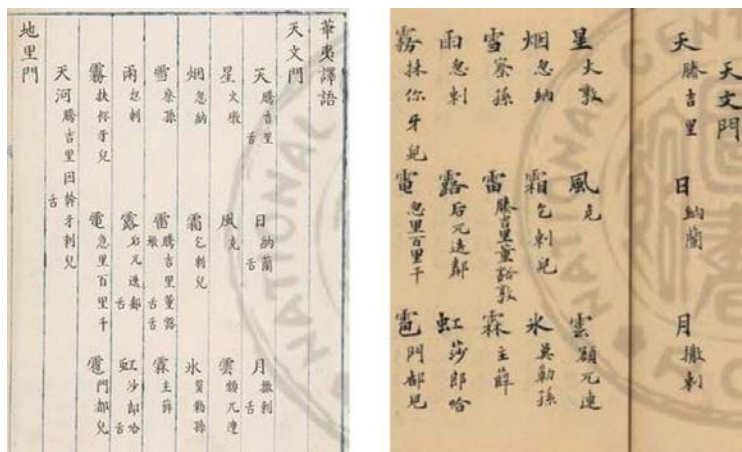


FIGURE 15.1 The first few entries of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* parts in the *Ming* and *Qing* manuscripts of the NCL

content of the copied texts, was the purpose of similar tasks, couldn't be proven better than with the two texts discussed here.

The two documents conserved by the National Central Library, next to the remarkable amount of textual corruption they feature, are, in spite of the assumed learnedness of the literati who produced them, presenting almost total inattention to the very rules of transcription that are so carefully introduced in the preamble of the *Hua-Yi yiyu*, and which rules are integral parts of these manuscripts, too. (This, as we will see below, is particularly surprising getting to know the author of the *Qing* manuscript.) The reason for that, as well as for the close resemblance of the two copies lies in the fact that the direct source of both versions was the *Ming*-era compilation *Guochao diangu* (國朝典故) 'Classical quotations of the dynasty', a 110 scroll volume presenting excerpts of important *Ming* literary works, compiled by *Deng Shilong* 鄧士龍 during the *Ming* Wanli 萬曆 emperor (1572–1620).<sup>4</sup> Belonging to these works, parts of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* are also included in this compilation. No wonder thus that just like the *Guochao diangu*, both manuscript versions of the National Central Library contain only the preamble and the glossary part of the *Hua-Yi yiyu*, and neither of them contains the text part consisting of official documents, which, already the compiler of the *Guochao diangu* did not bother to copy.

One of the manuscripts, as the library informs us, is from the *Ming* era, while the other from the *Qing*. The latter bears the title *Jingbu—xiao xue lei* (經部—小

4 The *Guochao diangu* is duly noted in both documents as their direct source.

學類) 'Classics—smaller studies', and it also reports about the direct source of the title and the text, the famous imperial literary collection, the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 of the *Qing*.<sup>5</sup> What makes the *Qing* manuscript special is that on the basis of the seals on the text its author is identified as *Li Wentian* 李文田 (1834–1895), a prominent polymath scholar and calligrapher of the *Qing* dynasty, a *Hanlin* academician, who himself dealt with the Mongol era. As a renowned academic *Li* was in charge not only to prepare annotations and comments to *The Secret History of the Mongols* (that was practically unknown abroad at the time), but also to add corrections to the *Guochao diangu*.<sup>6</sup> This might have been the time of the compilation of this separate booklet, too, unfortunately the exact time frame when he contributed his corrections to the *Guochao diangu* is unknown to me. With the identification of the author, though, a rough *terminus post quem* of the *Qing* manuscript can be determined as the second half of the 19th century, probably after 1860. The reason why *Li Wentian* made this copy is not made clear in the text. Since he was a scholar, he could have had access to previous versions, so it can be assumed that he made it merely for the sake of practice and in order to deepen his knowledge in the field of Mongolian history and philology, or simply to prepare a concise and handy glossary.

The *Ming* manuscript, on the other hand, does not bear any kind of reference either to the scribe or to the date of copying, the only *terminus post quem* we can apply is the time of publication of the *Guochao diangu*. But then again, all we know is that it was published during reign of the *Ming Wanli* emperor, i.e. 1572–1620.<sup>7</sup> The compiler of the main version of *Guochao diangu* was the above mentioned *Deng Shilong*, who was awarded the highest imperial scholarly rank *jinshi* 進士 in 1595, and one may just speculate that the publication of the work might have taken place after that time. It is also not known, how much after that the *Ming* manuscript may have been produced. Its dating to the *Ming* is the one that appears in the catalogue of the NCL, based, most likely, on physical features.

As mentioned above the only reason that makes these the two texts individual sources is the mere handling of them, since both of them are bound

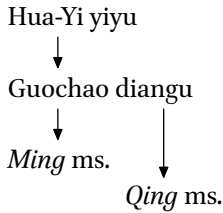
5 The *Siku Quanshu* the completion of which took roughly two decades, compiled at the behest of Emperor *Qianlong* 乾隆, finalized in 1792, is the largest Chinese book collection ever published.

6 More precisely to the parts after the chapter *Pengxuan leiji* 蓬軒類記. This is the part where the *Hua-Yi yiyu* chapter belongs, too. Xu and Wang 1993: 1, 前言 [Preface].

7 *Deng Shili*'s version of the *Guochao diangu* is the best known. An earlier by *Zhu Dangmian* 朱當澍 was published in 1543, see Xu and Wang 1993, 點校說明 [Description of textual revision] p. 1, but its copies being very rare it was generally unknown.



independently in separate booklets treated as small volumes, with their contents copied disjointedly from their source, the *Guochao diangu*, which, on the other hand, followed an opposite way of treatment, arranging independent works of earlier times (in this case the *Hua-Yi yiyu* from the beginning of the *Ming* epoch) in a single compilation. After a superficial check the chronological pattern of the subsequent copies can be sketched as the following:



### 3 The NCL Manuscripts

Of the 77 pages in the *Ming* manuscript, only 31 pages are containing the glossary, the rest is the introduction. The *Qing* manuscript consists of 38 pages. The *Ming* manuscript starts *in medias res*, with a short reference to its source, the 110th chapter of *Guochao diangu* (國朝典故一百一十). The *Guochao diangu* used the renowned *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 encyclopaedia, the supreme intellectual achievement of Chinese literacy until the *Qing* as one of its sources, and the *Hua-Yi yiyu* part itself was also copied from there. On the first page and the first line on the second page of the *Ming* manuscript the rules for diacritics in the *Hua-Yi yiyu* are copied. At this part it is already obvious that the carefully designed and implemented diacritic system<sup>8</sup> of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* is completely neglected and uncomprehended.

One finds important information on the cover page of the *Qing* manuscript. The title is *Jingbu—xiao xue lei* 經部—小學類 ‘Classics—minor studies’.<sup>9</sup> This classification follows that of the *Siku quanshu*’s. In addition to the title, one can read: 名人輯國朝典故本鈔出 ‘Copied from the Ming edition of the *Guochao diangu*’. The following two pages make it clear, that the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, a book of complete bibliographical descriptions of the titles included in the *Siku quanshu*, published in 1793 to accompany the main compilation was also used by the scribe of the *Qing* manuscript, because

<sup>8</sup> A detailed description of the use of diacritic characters in *Hua-Yi yiyu* is found in Lewicki 1949: 49–50.

<sup>9</sup> *Xiaoxue lei* also translated as Lexicography in western literature.

these two pages contain the excerpt of the *Hua-Yi yiyu*, copied verbatim from the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*. Furthermore, since we know that the *Guochao diangu* used the renowned *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 the supreme intellectual collection of Chinese literacy until the *Qing*, as a source, we may add this intermediate step into the *stemma* of the copying sequence. Interestingly, only the *Hua-Yi yiyu* texts are reproduced in both of the NCL manuscripts, although the previous chapter of the *Siku quanshu* is the famous *Menggu yiyu* 蒙古譯語 'Mongolian translation' (also copied there from the *Yongle dadian*), but despite the matching topic, it was not included in the manuscripts.

In the *Ming* manuscript not only all diacritic, and thus, supposedly, smaller characters are written in normal size, but additionally, some of them are even merged together with the next character resulting in an awkward and unknown character. An example to demonstrate the phenomenon will suffice:



Hy    GCGD<sup>10</sup>    *Ming* ms.    *Qing* ms.

The *Hua-Yi yiyu* explanation to describe the use of diacritic characters (如<sub>中</sub>合<sub>中</sub>忽之類 'like in the case of <sub>中</sub>合<sub>中</sub>忽 etc.') is fairly conveyed to *Guochao diangu*. However, in the *Ming* manuscript things take an extraordinary turn. The suspicious 餽 character here (unknown in Chinese script) resulted from the merger of two diacritic <sub>中</sub> characters, originally written under each other in the vertical line. *Li Wentian* could not have solved this riddle, either, he tried to write matching characters, and so he came up with the unusual combination of 合 and 中.

After the thus corrupted introduction the next part of the *Ming* manuscript randomly continues on with the previous (i.e. 109th) chapter of the *Guochao diangu*, containing the history of the *Zhengde Emperor* (正德 1491–1521), nevertheless, even that part is not copied from its beginning but is cut into half and only the second half is included. The reasons for such an uncommon editing method remain unexplained. The actual part of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* follows the

10 I had access only to the Xu and Wang edition (1993), and since it is an emended version of the *Guochao diangu*, data in the earlier editions may differ from the ones presented here.

same, unversed practice ignoring the role of all diacritic characters and replacing them with normal size characters. Although the *Guochao diangu* did not entirely disregard the use of diacritic characters the way the two manuscripts did, but however accurately these characters were placed next to the characters they modified, the size of them were already changed to that of the normal characters, making it easy for the copyists of the two (and many other) later copies to make a complete mess. Moreover, not only were the easily mistakable diacritic characters miscopied by them: characters already mistaken in *Guochao diangu* were further distorted into forms from which the original characters are hardly guessable. An example of total decay is observable in the case of Hy 20, where the original entry reads 地<sub>中</sub>合札兒 (Chinese *di* ‘earth, soil, ground’; Mongolian *ha-zha-er-qajar* ‘id.’):



Hy      GCDG      *Ming* ms.      *Qing* ms.

As we see the character *zha* 札 was mistakenly copied as *li* 禮 already into the *Guochao diangu* and also the size of the diacritic 中 grown to normal size 中. In the *Ming* manuscript *li* 禮 was exchanged with a character of similar pronunciation *li* 里, while the position of 中 moved from its ‘owner’ *he* 合 to the left side of *li* 里. In the *Qing* manuscript even the diacritic character vanished.

A last example will show that the later copy is not necessarily the worse. The 734th headword of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* was one of the many that did not feature diacritics:<sup>11</sup> Hy 734 *fei ta-lu-hun* 肥塔魯渾 Chinese ‘fat, grease’, the emended form of which should be 塔<sub>舌</sub>魯<sub>中</sub>渾 revealing a Mongolian *taruqun* form.<sup>12</sup>



Hy      GCDG      *Ming* ms.      *Qing* ms.

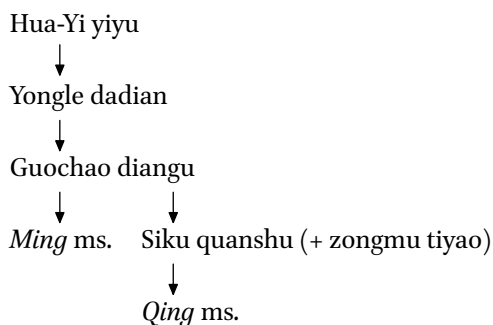
<sup>11</sup> For the reasons and possible ways of emendation see Kuribayashi 2003: v–vi.

<sup>12</sup> Kuribayashi 2003: xi.

The *Guochao diangu* text mixed up the character *hun* 渾 with *ze* 澤, whereas the *Ming* manuscript mistook the character *lu* 魯 for *he* 合 and *hun* 渾 (or *ze* 澤) for *er* 兒. Although the *Qing* manuscript repeats the errors, *Li Wentian* has given an emendation to it, adding that the part 刊本作塔魯渾 (meaning 'block print version *ta-lu-hun*'). This and other notes and emendations in the *Qing* manuscript, usually written in red ink next to the black text, prove that the he knew the original *Hua-Yi yiyu*, and while not all the corrupted forms were corrected in this manuscript, one may find accurate rectifications and often historical and philological explanations added, thereby improving the otherwise very reduced accuracy of the *Qing* manuscript. However, *Li's* contribution to the manuscript even with these frequent pieces of scholarly commentary seems to be deficient, especially considering that in this field he was one of the most famous experts of his age.

These examples reveal a lot about the scholarly value of these documents. The author of a copy written in the 19th century, however, cannot be expected to have modern philological and linguistic knowledge, let alone the copyist of the *Ming* epoch. However, if anyone were to take the data in their documents seriously, it could easily lead to erroneous inferences. Knowing recent publications in philology and historical linguistics both in Asia and in the Western hemisphere, we can state that, unfortunately, many contemporary authors are unaware of the limitations of the sources they use, and this often results in unsubstantiated and highly speculative reconstructions.

Finally, following the above examination of the texts, the *stemma* outlined earlier can be supplemented as follows:



#### 4 Conclusion

What one can learn from examining these texts is that in most cases copies of a similar nature cannot be considered a source of equivalent quality to the original. Modern philological practice every now and then tends to treat the information found in written sources at face value, focusing textual criticism primarily on contents and only to a lesser extent on the purposes for which the actual documents were created, forgetting that comprehension and interpretation were often not the goal of copiers and therefore accuracy cannot be accounted for in these texts, either. Textual corruption, however, also appears in copies made of scholarly qualities, like here in the case of *Li Wentian's Qing* manuscript, so the more versions one has to compare, the more accurately one can reconstruct the dubious cases in the documents.

One must, therefore, bear in mind, that when working with this type of sources extra cautiousness must be practiced, and only double-checked material that underwent proper textual criticism should be used for the purposes of historical linguistics. Further research and deeper analysis of all existing texts may lead to clarification of questions concerning the readings of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* enhancing our knowledge of the languages presented therein.

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*Ming* manuscript

Title: 華夷譯語

Version: 明藍格鈔本

Book No. 05300-0059

Call No. 204.26 05300-0059

Conserved by: National Central Library, Taipei

Digitized copy: <http://rbook.ncl.edu.tw/NCLSearch/Search/SearchDetail?item=4d57a0e5508d4aebb89c39da822f7799fDQ NzEyo&page=&whereString=&sourceWhereString=&SourceID=0&HasImage=>.

*Qing* manuscript

Title: 華夷譯語

Version: 清李文田手鈔本

Book No. 00899

Call No. 110.1 00899

Conserved by: National Central Library, Taipei

Digitized copy: <http://rbook.ncl.edu.tw/NCLSearch/Search/SearchDetail?item=9a8bec7940a4cf2ad29d3c660b5006cfDcxNDk50&page=&whereString=&sourceWhereString=&SourceID=0&HasImage=>.

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# Kalmyk Pipe and Mongolian Snuff Tobacco—as Means of Communication

*Based on Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna's Linguistic Records, 1871–1873*

*Ágnes Birtalan*

*Om sayin amuyulang boltuyai!*



## 1 Introduction

The present article is meant as felicitations for Professor András Róna-Tas, one of the first researchers who introduced some decisive elements of Mongols' and Kazaks' material culture to the scholarly community (Róna-Tas 1961a) and the larger public (Róna-Tas 1961b) as well.

During the last decades, one of my major projects was analysing and publishing the Kalmyk and Mongol manuscripts of Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna (1844–1913). In 2009 I issued the Comparative Grammar of the East and West-Mongolian vernacular language with a detailed introduction and evaluation of his results (Birtalan 2009). In 2011 I succeeded in publishing Bálint's most unique material, the manuscript of the spoken Kalmyk language, interpreting his records in a comprehensive philological and cultural context (Birtalan 2011). Due to my other educational and administrative duties and projects, Bálint's 88-page Khalkha (East-Mongolian) material is still under elaboration, nonetheless, I have issued some parts of it using various approaches for contextual investigation. In addition, I devoted a series of articles<sup>1</sup> and a book<sup>2</sup> to Bálint's scholarly achievements in the field of Mongolian studies. Despite his debated views<sup>3</sup> and controversial works on comparative linguistics, the mate-

<sup>1</sup> One of them is most relevant to the topic of the present article: Birtalan 2015a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Birtalan 2015b and its references.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Birtalan 2009, *passim*.

rial on the Mongolian vernacular languages (Kalmyk and Khalkha) and folk culture belongs to the most outstanding achievements of international Mongolian studies of his epoch.<sup>4</sup> One of the main results of the appearance of the manuscripts more than one hundred years later is the impetus that these earliest folklore records written in a fairly good transcription of vernacular Kalmyk lent to the national scholarship in Kalmykia.<sup>5</sup>

Certainly, studying his Kalmyk and the Khalkha materials, their language and contents is and will be the basis of further, new contextual investigations. Here, I chose a topic that offers a glimpse into the fascinating nineteenth century customs, namely the verbal and non-verbal aspects of the traditional ways of greeting: smoking a pipe and using snuff tobacco. In the present article Bálint's data are introduced first and then its broader linguistic and socio-cultural context is explicated to interpret smoking a pipe and using snuff as 'ways of communication' and as the 'objectification of an abstract phenomenon' (here greeting) (Khal. *mendčilgē*, Kalm. *mend*).<sup>6</sup>

## 2 Examples of Conversations in Bálint's Records

I have dealt with the contents, the linguistic peculiarities and the circumstances of recording of Bálint's Kalmyk (1871) and Khalkha (1873) materials and his achievements as well (Birtalan 2017). Here I am not going to refer to all these particulars, only to the 'chapter' that is concerned with the 'Conversation' in both manuscripts. Although Bálint did not explain why those specific topics are included in his brief sample texts aiming to demonstrate the Kalmyk or Khalkha vernacular dialogues, neither did he call his method of collecting sen-

4 Unfortunately, his manuscripts remained unknown for the national and international scholarly circles. Bálint presented only his *Grammar* to the assembly of the Academy, however it was rejected to be published in its that time form (in detail cf. Birtalan 2009). When B. Jülg (1882) evaluated the scholarship in Hungarian Mongolian studies, he was well-informed about some scholarly trends; he mentioned e.g. Bálint's Hungarian-Mongolian comparative wordlist published in Hungarian (Bálint 1877) but had no idea about Bálint's manuscripts and itinerary-writings.

5 Numerous studies on Kalmyk tales and folk songs have referred many times to Bálint's material since its publishing in 2011.

6 Here, I use the customary abbreviations in Mongolian studies: Kalm. = Kalmyk, Khal. = Khalkha, Mong. = written Mongolian, Oir. = Oirat (in general, without dialectal differences), W.Oir. = Written Oirat. If Bálint's data are referred to, I use Kalm.B. for his Kalmyk, and Khal.B. for his Khalkha material.



tences for a 'learning aid for foreigners' to acquire the language,<sup>7</sup> his letters and travel notes offer some clues for the 'puzzle' revealing his intention.<sup>8</sup>

The Kalmyk conversation examples are published with notes and a short analysis in the book devoted to the entire manuscript.<sup>9</sup> The chapter Kalm.B.<sup>10</sup> *Xal'imik künden*, Kalm. *Xal'mg kündän*<sup>11</sup> encompasses fourteen short passages on various topics. Bálint's main informants were the school teachers and students of a secondary school and institute for physicians.<sup>12</sup> Without doubt this fact marked the sometimes too simple structure of the sentences.<sup>13</sup> Some of the texts are well-organized as a real conversation, a dialogue of two parts, while others are merely 'mixtures' of different utterances, questions and exclamations. Though the main themes in the fourteen sample texts are the followings (Birtalan 2011: 31):

- the family (members, relation, honouring the parents, greetings),
- illness—healthcare,
- school-matters (studying, taking examination),
- objects used by the schoolboys (ruler, pen, ink, pieces of clothing),
- vacations and amusements.

Some traditions and customs are mentioned as side topics: such as smoking a pipe, veneration of the Buddha, some aspects of moralistic teaching, visiting a cobbler to have one's shoe mended, sewing (repairing cloth).<sup>14</sup>

7 It is mentioned in his *Grammar* that he tried to display his descriptive and comparative grammar in a very clear structure in order to ease the learners' matter (Birtalan 2009: XVII).

8 Intentionally, Bálint mentioned that he listened to the schoolboys' talking: 'I appeared every afternoon at four o'clock in the school, observed their playing and listened to their free talk.' 'Mindennap délután négy órakor megjelentem az intézetben, ahol végignéztem minden játékot és hallgattam fesztelen beszédüket.' (Zágoni 2005: 37) and in detail: Birtalan 2009, 2011.

9 Birtalan 2011: 21–26.

10 Kalm.B. and Khal.B. before Kalmyk and Khalkha text fragments offers a simplified transcription of his data, Kalm. refers to the dictionary forms based on Muniev's (Mun.) and Ramstedt's (R.) dictionaries, written Oirat or written Kalmyk forms are taken from Pozdnee's work. (Pozd.) Khal. is the Khalkha dictionary form of the expressions.

11 Bálint's *Kalmyk manuscript* pp. 1–8. Kalm. *kündän* 'Gespräch, Unterhaltung' (R. 250), *kündän* 'beseda, sobesedovaniye' (Mun. 330), cf. *kündwr* 'razgovor, beseda' (Mun. 330), W.Oir. *kündnen* 'razgovor' (Pozd. 293).

12 On Bálint's informants cf. in detail Birtalan 2011: 9–16.

13 The younger generation's language usage is observable in some of the folklore texts, too (Birtalan 2011: 9–16).

14 I summarised the conversational subject matters as follows: 'The above list of topics clearly refers to the interest, everyday activity and engagement of Bálint's main informant, the schoolboys and students in the Kalmyk secondary school of Astrakhan' (Birtalan 2011: 12–15).

The Khalkha manuscript was recorded two years later in Urga (today Ulanbator), the capital city of Outer Mongolia (that time part of the Manchu Qing Empire 1636/1644–1912). Bálint's main informant was a Lama, a married, forty-five-year-old mendicant monk called Yondonjamc.<sup>15</sup> His previous experience with Kalmyks and the social status of his Khalkha language tutor resulted in more developed texts for Bálint's conversational samples. He recorded—presumably—most of his samples from Yondonjamc: five pieces of dialogues including brief descriptive information about some costumes, personal conduct and everyday activity. The chapter entitled 'Talking' (Khal.B. *Kelelclege*, Khal. *Xelelcleg*)<sup>16</sup> encompasses the following main topics:

- custom of using snuff tobacco and smoking a pipe
- buying a *dél* 'traditional gown', and silk
- meeting and greeting
- weather
- travelling

Bálint's ambition that he wanted to teach vernacular Kalmyk and Mongolian for an international audience is attested in his *Grammar*, as he included selected conversations and readings into the Chrestomathy part of his manuscript.<sup>17</sup>

### 3 Smoking a Pipe and Snuffing Tobacco as an Introduction into Verbal Communication

Greeting each other—whether friends or strangers—is always a ritual. According to the rules of greeting, one follows—though probably unconsciously—conditioned regulations rooted in once known beliefs. The visitors of a nomadic Mongolian family living even in an urban milieu are expected to be aware of this etiquette, some elements of which originate in a closely followed taboo system. Both the verbal and non-verbal parts of the greeting ritual are equally important. Here, I discuss a relatively new tradition that appeared after tobacco was introduced to the East- and Inner-Asian people. As the thorough

15 On the method how he could work with his Lama tutor, cf. Birtalan 2012b.

16 Bálint's *Khalkha manuscript* pp. 6–11.

17 In detail cf. Birtalan 2009. The chapter *Phrases and Conversation* in the *Grammar* contains six subchapters and is only partially identical with the fourteen subchapters of the *Kalmyk* and five subchapters of the *Khalkha manuscripts*, as these latter offer a greater range of conversational subjects and also organised the matching sentences differently from the records in the manuscripts.

study about consuming tobacco during the late Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing dynasties reveals (Benedict 2011), the Mongols in Inner and Outer Mongolia started using it during the late Ming-times, and the tobacco reached them via various trade routes.<sup>18</sup> During the Qing dynasty, the paraphernalia of using snuff became prestigious objects (especially the snuff bottle), and the Qing court gave them as a present to his Mongolian allies who supported the dynasty against the Junghars<sup>19</sup> during the mid-eighteenth century (Benedict 2011: 118). Tobacco conquered the Mongol society quickly and became an integral part of greeting, communication and social interaction: both main forms of consuming it, snuffing and smoking a pipe. Moreover, as it will be shown below, smoking a pipe became the most common everyday amusement regardless of age and gender, while using snuff still belongs to the ritual of communication.

Much has been written about the Mongol etiquette and taboos to be followed during a proper greeting; e.g. Roberte Hamayon discussed the gestures of meeting and greeting in a broader context of the Mongols' non-verbal communication with hands (Hamayon 1971). The 'oral law', the *čeger* (Mong.), *cēr* (Khal.) 'taboos, prohibitions' is still a substantial basis of interactions.<sup>20</sup> The regulations of communication concern the proper use of the objects during a greeting ritual. In my view, greeting someone might be accompanied with the use of some objects, and that is what I understand as an 'objectified greeting', the pipe (cf. the Kalmyk case) and using snuff (cf. the Mongolian case) in my material.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4 The Kalmyk Pipe

Bálint's samples of smoking a pipe in the chapter on Kalmyk dialogues are laconic and are inserted into a group of sentences about usual school activities, which bears out the prevalence of this custom.

18 Cf. the useful maps of trading routes in Benedict's monograph (Benedict 2011: 16–17).

19 On the Manchu Empire's war in the first half of the eighteenth century against the Western-Mongolian state, designated by the tribe of the Jüngars (Mong. *Jegün yar*, Oir. *Zünger*), cf. e.g. Zlatkin 1983.

20 For an overview about the typology of *cēr* and its interpretation as a speech-act, cf. Birtalan 2012a.

21 A similarly 'objectified greeting' is the *xadag* (Khal.) the piece of silk that accompanies many rituals and is a commonly used object for greeting someone. On the symbolical meaning of the *xadag*, cf. Birtalan 2001: 1024.

[Page 1] *χojurdukči nom*

(Kalm.B. *Xoyurdukči nom*, Kalm. *xoirdgč nom*)<sup>22</sup>

Γanzadu Ƴal tābi. Tāmki ügä. Γanzadu tāmki nere. Nomdān orō. Dekter aca. Ūzük norƳoži aca. Beke ügä. Kimzä abči ire. Ūzük jasāži aca. Dekter kimzelži aca. Šabāzañ aca. Tere bičiži bāinä (bičižānā). Bi unšina-bi. Či kelēži aca, bi bičisü-bi. Bakši irēbe. Nom üzēkü cak bolbā. Nom töksöbe. Jābōži nādaja. Bi untuna-bi. Oči unta. Dū dūla. Bi bilēnā-bi. Tere bilēži bāinä. Ene ünün. Tere χudal kelēži bāinä. [Page 2] Bi zuruk zurūna-bi. Tere mörgül dasaži bāinä. Tūñgi zasāχu, namāñgi šañnaχu.

*Set fire into your pipe! [I] do not have tobacco. Put tobacco into your pipe! Learn! Bring a booklet! Dip your pen [into ink]!*<sup>23</sup> [I] do not have any ink. Give a ruler! Mend your pen! Rule your booklet! Give a stylus! He is writing. I read [something]. Tell me [something] and I will write it down. The teacher arrived. It is time to learn. The class is finished.<sup>24</sup> Let us go to play! I [go to] sleep. Go and sleep! Sing a song! I dance. He is dancing. This is true. He is lying. [2] I draw a drawing. He is practicing praying. [One] corrects him and rewards me.

In order to put this piece of information into a broader context, observations of travellers and envoys are quoted from previous *itineraria* and diaries. First, let us speak about one of the first known visitors<sup>25</sup> in Kalmyk land, the former captive from the Russian–Swedish war (cf. the Great Northern War, 1700–1721), Captain Johann Christian Schnitscher (?–?) who wrote down his impressions in 1710–1715<sup>26</sup> about people, their costumes and lifestyle meticulously and in the light of other data with reliability. His travelogue—written originally in Swedish—is accessible in John Krueger’s English translation and notes (Krueger 1996). Schnitscher mentioned the Khan’s favour to offer some *kumis* and tobacco to a visitor at an audience and the Kalmyks’ habit of sharing food and tobacco with each other. His data testify how pipe smoking was widespread among the Kalmyks at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Moreover, its ritualistic consumption, being smoked at the Khan’s presence or in a company,

22 *Kalmyk manuscript* pp. 1–2.

23 Kalm.B. *noryŋji aca* Kalm. *ac*, *ac* ‘hole hierher, gib her’ (R. 16), *ac* ‘daj, podaj, otđaj’ (Mun. 52).

24 Kalm.B. *Nom töksöbe*. Lit. ‘the learning is finished’.

25 Nicolaes Witsen’s (1641–1717) materials on the Kalmyks and Mongols are earlier (end of the seventeenth century), but—as it is well-known—he has never visited Asia neither the Kalmyk land.

26 This period belongs to Ayuki khan’s reign (1669–1724), the heyday of the independent Kalmyk State.

is also evidenced. Schnitscher's report accurately describes both verbal and non-verbal greetings (cf. Appendix 1).

The polymath Peter S. Pallas (1741–1811), whose two-volume travelogue (*Sammlungen*) devoted to the Kalmyk history, religion and lifestyle mentioned the smoking habit of the entire Kalmyk society (though only about the adults) and illustrated it in several copper-engravings, mentioned how altruistic was the Kalmyk community, they shared everything they received and it was particularly true for food and tobacco:

Sie theilen<sup>27</sup> auch sonst gern alles, was sich geniessen läst und behalten nichts für sich allein. Wenn Taback gebraucht wird, so geht die Pfeiffe von dem einen zum andern. Schenkt man dem einen Taback, Früchte oder andre Esswaaren, so theilt er allen, die ihn begleiten, wenn sie auch viel geringer als er sind, redlich davon mit, und das geschieht auch mit den Getränken.

PALLAS 1776: 105<sup>28</sup>

Remarkably, he writes less detailed information on smoking a pipe than Schnitscher, however, his illustrations offer lots of evidence on smoking *in situ*: Kalmyk men playing, dancing, making music, i.e. amusing themselves, a Kalmyk woman sewing something (see on Figure 16.1), a Kalmyk host entertaining his guests and a Kalmyk child lighting a pipe in the fire-hearth in the yurt. After such preliminaries, it is not surprising that in Bálint's time, it was the most accepted amusement even among the younger generation, the school children.

Two decades after Bálint visited the Astrakhan Kalmyks, a Danish physician, Hans S. Kaarsberg (1854–1929) travelled through Kalmyk steppes in 1890. Although he does not seem to be baffled, from time to time he refers to the Kalmyks' smoking habit, particularly to women's permanent pipe smoking during whatever they do; be it an amusement such as watching horse races or doing everyday work. The pipe is a necessary accessory of women's clothing: 'The Kalmyk women with their long dark-woven pigtails, with their mannish, harsh facial features, their white, yellow and blue and fire-red *kaftans*, their dark sleek hair ornaments, and their long wooden pipes or worked silver at their lips ...' (Krueger and Bormanshinov 1996: 16). Another interesting piece of information is about how Kaarsberg concealed a family quarrel offering some tobacco to the

<sup>27</sup> I follow Pallas' orthography.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also Kaarsberg's notes from 1890 (Krueger and Bormanshinov 1996).

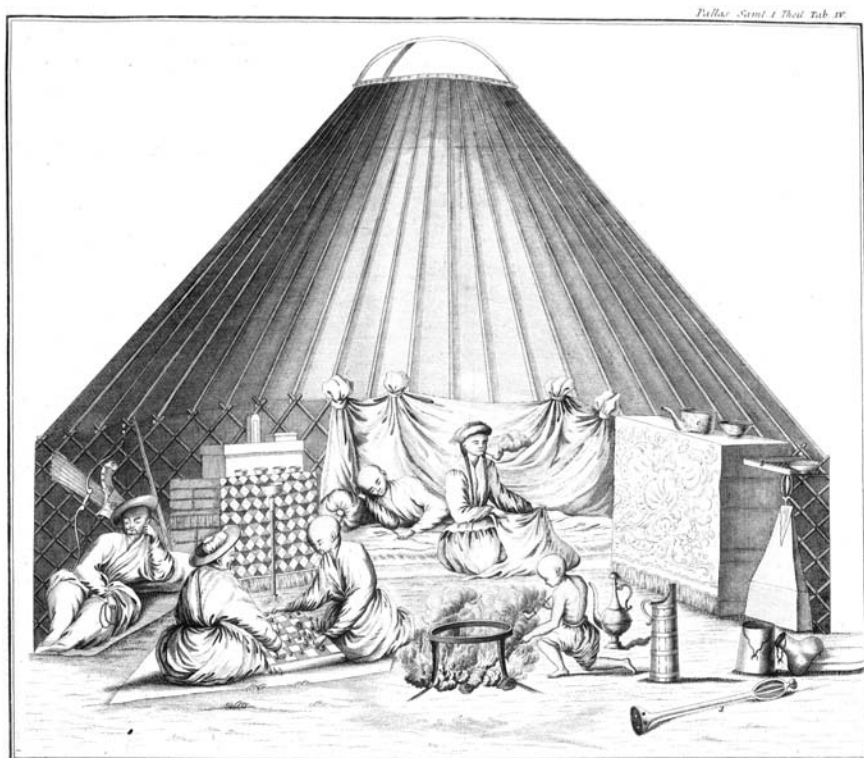


FIGURE 16.1 A Kalmyk family visited by high-ranking guests  
PALLAS (1776) TAB. 4

aggressive wife of his host: 'I now also offered her tobacco, and with a broad grin she fished a coal out of the ashes on the hearth and lit her pipe' (Krueger and Bormanshinov 1996: 20). Furthermore, while working the smoking a pipe is unavoidable (e.g. when some Kalmyk women erected a yurt for the new-weds): 'It is the women who erect the yurt. Three or four women can have the residence ready in the course of a couple of hours. Smoking their long wooden pipes with little tips, and spitting between their teeth like men do, chatting and mumbling they artfully tie the long flexible wooden poles together with the air of expertise' (Krueger and Bormanshinov 1996: 21). The women's habit became the topic of a famous Kalmyk poem (the writer is M.V. Honinov, 1919–1981), the title in Russian: *Poka babuška raskurivala trubku* 'While grandmother smoke a pipe'.<sup>29</sup>

29 Tat'jana Šaraeva dedicated a comprehensive article to the Kalmyks' smoking habits and

Pipe smoking remained an integral part of the Kalmyks' contemporary ritual life. The Kalmyks' twentieth century troubled fate particularly motivates them to keep their old tradition and create new ones. Ethnographic expeditions record customs, habits, and the leading researchers publish their materials in Kalmyk to encourage the population to uphold their old heritage. Since the Soviet regime was established (1920s) through the deportation (1943) and return to their homeland again (1957), the traditional costumes were repressed in various ways, but in each period—besides oral transmission—some major works devoted to the life and culture were published. Below, I refer to the pipe smoking habits with the help of some 'milestone-publications', manuals of Kalmyk folk heritage. Dushana Ülmj (he used his name in transcription Dušana Ylmz) published his field experience in 1931; his approach is unusual, especially his typology, the way he systematised his data. The chapter *Gič* 'guest' describes the proper behaviour towards the guests who are similar to be 'sent by Buddha'. He gives all the details how a guest (familiar or stranger) must be welcomed; he does not mention verbal greetings. Concerning the pipe he writes: *Irsn kūg daxulad gert orčxana. Irsn künd gerin barun bidn' širdg delgād sulyna. Gert bäsñ bayčudas negñ' bosad ɣanzin' awad tämk nerč ögnä. Däkād tüñd cä čanad, ärk bāxlä ärk ögād gičlülñä* (Dušana 1931: 121).<sup>30</sup> 'The person who has arrived is escorted into the yurt. He is set on the right side of the yurt on a felt rug spread for him. One of the youngs in the yurt takes his pipe and offers him a smoke. Further some tea is cooked for him. If there is some milk brandy, he is welcomed with it as well'. Konstantin Erendženov (1990, in Kalm. *Erenžänä*) was a leading specialist during socialism (in the post-exile period). His works, and especially the monograph dedicated to Kalmyk material and spiritual culture (*Zolotoj rod-nik*, in Kalm. *Cecn bulg*) mentions pipe only as the 'objectified greeting', giving a detailed description of its preparation, parts and a laudation for the Kalmyk silversmiths (Erendženov 1990: 46). The above demonstrated customs are missing entirely from his book; he mentioned only in past tense that: *Kurili trubki požilye mužčiny i ženščiny* (Erendženov 1990: 46). 'Old men and women used to smoke pipes.' In all probability it was tabooed during socialism to write about such an 'unhealthy habit' as smoking a pipe. E.A. Habunova's *Fulmt* 'Hearth' is a real breakthrough and her monograph can be used as a manual of Kalmyk tradition written in Kalmyk language. She outlines all the spheres in which the

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chose this line—slightly modified—for the title. She surveyed several aspects of smoking a pipe not discussed in the present study, e.g. chewing tobacco and not smoking it, the custom of burying the pipe with its owner, the tobacco production in Sarepta by the German settlers, etc. (Šaraeva 2019).

30 I issue Dushana Ülmj's texts in a simplified transcription.

pipe was used ritually, particularly during the wedding ceremonies. Concerning the greetings, she offers a great variety of verbal and non-verbal welcoming formulae and ways, and describes the pipe-ritual which is the first among the 'objectified greetings' coming even before the milk tea: *Gert orj irsn kün cag zūr bāx bolxla, teründ ganz nerj ögnä, udan bolad bāxlä, cä nernä ...* (Habunova 2005: 10). 'If someone who enters a yurt and stays for a while, a pipe is offered to him, if he remains longer, he is offered a [milk] tea ...'. The proper offering a pipe to the older people requires some skills, so the younger generation is proven via this: *Kürgn tednd ut du dūlad, söng bāräd, tämk nerj ögäd, ewränn' erdm-bilgän üzülx zöwtä* (Habunova 2005: 51). 'The son-in-law should demonstrate his skills in the following way: sing them [to his parents-in-law] a long song, pours some milk brandy and offers tobacco [i.e. pipe]'. In Habunova's book, some recent photos illustrate the gestures of handing over the pipe to the grandparents by the bride during the wedding ceremony (Habunova 2005: 183–185).

## 5 The Mongolian Snuff and Pipe

Various Mongolian myths of origin (aetiological myths, Mong. *domay*, Khal. *domog*) explain the origin of tobacco/snuff Mong. *tamaki*, Khal. *tamxi*; for 'snuff' also *naswai* (Khal.), *naswā* (Oir.)<sup>31</sup> and its container (Khal. *xörög*), the 'snuff bottle'. As it has been explicated above, both the habit of consuming snuff and owning a snuff bottle as a prestigious activity and prestigious object (practised and used by male and female members of the Mongolian elite alike) are connected to Manchu China (cf. above). The frequent use of snuff and its importance in greeting rituals turned its use into a 'Mongolised' custom and an integral part of non-verbal communication. Nevertheless, the Buddhist traditions emphasise the harm in using it, be they oral testimonies or written texts ascribed to famous monks (or even to the Dalai Lama). Snuff is interpreted as the result of an evil manipulation, e.g. the tobacco plant grew from various poisonous ingredients or it originates from a female demon's (Mong. *simnus*) blood (var. urine).<sup>32</sup> However, these warnings and prohibitions do not reduce importance and popularity of snuff.

31 In Oirat dialects *naswā* is used in a hendiadys expression with *tämk*, i.e. *tämk naswā* for 'snuff', cf. Kalm. *naswā* 'Schnupftabak' (R. 272); Ramstedt explained this lexeme as a loanword from the neighbouring Turkic people, cf. *nasway* or *naswār* originally means 'chewable tobacco'.

32 On the Buddhist and folk religious texts, cf. Sazykin 2003: 186. *Qabar-un tamakin-u gem*



Despite the higher status of enjoying snuff, in Bálint's Khalkha conversation the smoking of a pipe is described in more detail. In all probability Bálint associated with local people—as among the Kalmyks—to observe their talking<sup>33</sup> and learn the nuances of their speech. Bálint's informant, the black (married) Lama Yondonjamc (in detail, Birtalan 2012b) sensed his disciple's curiosity and carefully explained the use of the pipe. He mentioned consuming snuff only briefly and talked about smoking a pipe in detail.<sup>34</sup> Although the lamas are not allowed to consume intoxicants,<sup>35</sup> Yondonjamc alluded to using snuff (Khal. *tamxila*-) and 'apologised' that he started to smoke a pipe, too, when he arrived here (i.e. to Urga). The below conversational sample text is a masterpiece about social interaction between two men: a kind of non-verbal communication and amusement.

[Page 6] Kelēlcelge I.

Conversation I.

Ta tämek'ī tatādok-ō (čaxar m. ödok-ō)?  
Bi lama k'ün tolta ɣanzānē tämek'ī tatād-  
uḡē, tämek'ilēnā. Manē lamanar ören  
durāran tatāna, ɣara ulusēn zarimne tatā-  
dok. Zarim ne tatād-uḡē; bi ören ende  
irēk'ed' ek'elēži tatāba. Tigebeł očirēg'  
irētel' tämek'ī tatij'; bide ɣaṇsad' tämek'ī

—Do you smoke (in Chakhar<sup>36</sup> [lit.] do  
you drink) tobacco?<sup>37</sup>  
—As I am a Lama, I do not smoke a pipe,  
I snuff tobacco.<sup>38</sup> [But] our Lamas smoke  
[a pipe] at will. Some of the lay people  
smoke a pipe. Some of [them] do not  
smoke a pipe; as for me, first I started to

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*erigüü-yi üjegülegči orosiba* (manuscripts 4967, 4968) 'On the harm of snuff tobacco' or *Simnu em-e-yin buruɣu irügel ba um[a]i-yin čisun-ača uryuysan tamaki-yin quriyangyui* (manuscript 4969) 'The bad influence of the female demon's wrong utterance and the story of tobacco [plant] grown from her uterus blood'. On the Dalai Lama's warning about the harm of the tobacco, cf. Sazykin 1998.

- 33 While having some break in their work, people were talking and smoking pipes.
- 34 In his article about his journey among the Mongols, Bálint has not mentioned the custom; he only described the pipe and tobacco bag as part of clothing (Bálint 1874: 180–181).
- 35 Even the 'five precepts' (Skr. *pañcaśīla*), the basic rules lay followers of Buddhism should keep, contain abstention from intoxicating drinks, food and tobacco (cf. Buswell 2004: 673). The monastic rules are more rigorous. However, even Witsen reported about the Lamas' amusement concerning the tobacco (cf. Appendix 2).
- 36 A people and a language in Inner Mongolia. Bálint met some Chakhar (Mong. *Čaqar*) merchants during his stay in Urga.
- 37 In Inner Mongolian dialects, the lexeme *ū*- 'to drink' is associated with consuming tobacco, while other Mongols say *tat*- 'to pull, draw, suck, etc.'
- 38 Although in contemporary language usage there is no difference between *tamxila*- and *tamxi tat*- 'consuming snuff, smoking a pipe and smoking cigarettes' the Lama made a distinction between the expressions.

čik'īži, čutenžēr nocāži tatāna. Ta jū k'ēži  
bāinā? Bak'i mōxaē amtate bolād yañsanē  
taglarāson bak'i yaryax' gēd yanzaēg'  
tokšid cok'īži (ažim nēge xojor cok'īži  
[= cok'īži]), bak'ieg' ūliēži bāinā. Minē  
yanžānē ūal unturāži xocorōba. Ta tataži  
dūrči bāiya.

smoke when I came here.

—So, let us smoke a pipe until we must  
do something else; we stuff [some]  
tobacco into the pipe, light up with a  
match and smoke it.

—What are you doing? The tar tastes  
badly, so in order to knock the tar out of  
the chamber I hit it (he [the Lama] hit  
[the pipe] once or twice) and blow out  
the tar.

—The fire in my pipe went out.

—You take a draw at [your pipe and it]  
will be full [of sparks again].

How did the historically embedded, though invented tradition survive into contemporary life? Concerning the Kalmyk customs, Habunova (among others) gives a precise guideline on using the Kalmyks' habit of smoking a pipe as part of the national pride and a custom that should not be abandoned (cf. above and Habunova 2005). Both consuming snuff and smoking a pipe belong to the Mongolian tradition. One of the latest descriptions of the costumes and the paraphernalia of smoking and using snuff can be found on the DVD dedicated to the nomadic material culture of the Mongols living in the Republic of Mongolia. The DVD (Birtalan 2008)<sup>39</sup> is based on the fieldwork results of the Hungarian-Mongolian Expedition and contains encyclopaedic articles on the nomadic way of life and the utensils used during various chores around the livestock or in land cultivation and hunting. In Balázs Lengyel's articles<sup>40</sup> on Pipe and Snuff tobacco and bottle (Birtalan 2008), one can find the most detailed description of the paraphernalia belonging to this custom.

## 6 In Perspective

The present article summarises a well-documented, though not deeply investigated, custom of Mongolian ethnic groups. Using snuff and smoking a pipe are not equally represented among all Mongols, but they are still used in the everyday life and during celebrations. My approach is to explain the role of tobacco,

39 The DVD contains 108 entries with more than 1000 photos and videos and is published in Hungarian, English, German and partly in Mongolian.

40 Lengyel 2008.a., Lengyel 2008.b.

whether smoked or snuffed, as non-verbal and 'objectified' greeting and respect for the other party (Birtalan 2016), and also as a proper kind of amusement when someone is in pleasant company. One of my research topics is the textual representation of invented traditions among the Mongols; as we can trace the role and fate of the customs concerned with the tobacco, it is possible to establish a paradigm of the 'Mongolisation' of a foreign phenomenon; however, this is the topic of another study.

### Appendix 1: Schnitscher about the Khan's Audience

'If he goes to the Khan's place into his Paulun (= Pavilion) or tent, he sits right down after having first bowed stiffly, and displays both open hands before himself. Then he says *menduchin* which is "Do you live in health?" or "Are you in good health?" If the Khan should by chance get him a bowl of *kumiss*, or little *Cardus* [cartridge, cartouche] with some special kind of Tobacco, which is called *Char* [i.e., *qara* 'dark, strong'],<sup>41</sup> then he offers his thanks with an unbent body: he holds his right thumb in front of the back one. As long as he is bare-headed, he does not accept anything, and if owing to the heat he is required to lay aside his cap, and is unable, should someone give him drink or what there may be, to quickly get hold of it again; then he holds his head with open hands, or (21) throws his sleeve over it, until he has drunk that which was given him; but Tobacco he smokes unabashedly.' (Krueger 1996: 20)

41 In all probability this lexeme is not Kalm. *xar* (Mong. *qar-a*), but Kalm., Khal. *šar*, Mong. *sir-a* 'yellow'. In Witsen's and later materials the 'Chinese yellow' is a kind of tobacco mentioned frequently. Witsen (1705), also Šaraeva 'kitajskij šar' (Šaraeva 2019: 495).

## Appendix 2: Witsen on the Lamas' Smoking Habit (cf. Witsen 1705: 96)

### *Dutch original text*

“De Volken, welke opwaerts aen de Rivier d'Amur woonen, als mede de Daurianen, hangen den Katugta in 't Geestelijke aen, die een Bisschop is van den rugtbaren levendigen Afgod, dien zy beuzelzinnig zeggen nooit te sterven: maer als oud werd, zich zelven weder te verjongeren. Deze Heilig dient hun, by oorlog en vrede voor vraegbaeck.

Van den Katugta en zijnen Godsdienst, spreekt zeeker bericht door een Grieks Christen my uit Sina torgezonden, aldus. “Alle de Afgoden-dienaers, zoo wel den Chan als andere hebben eenen Patriarche, die Kutufta Lama genoemd word, de Bisschoppen Dsor Sey Lama, een gemeene Paep Lama, een Diaconus Gulschul Lama, een Sanger Maschei Lama: hare grouwelijken Afgoden dienst verrichten zy in hare Afgoden Kerken of Beede-huizen, dit doet den Patriarch met drie of vier honderd Papen; alle deze Geestelijken zijn nooit getrouwt, en die noch jong zijnde van haer een Vrouw-mensch beslaept, zoo moet hy daer voor boete doen, en in zes weken maer eens des daegs eeten, en dat maer aerdvruchten, geen Vleesch, Melk noch Boter; grooter straf leggen zy op die zonde niet. Wanneer zy nu haren dienst in de Kerken aenvangen, doenze dat na 't geluy, des Avonds en des Morgens. Haren dienst doen zy alle dagen, en wanneer zy zingen, drinkt den Kutufta en andere Papen ondertusschen Tabak. Den Kutufta zit op een hoog verheven plaets den beelden gelijk, in zijn prachtige kleeding na haer wys;”

### *Russian translation*

“Народы, живущие вверх по Амуру, как и даурцы,—духовные последователи катухты [cf. Mong. *qutuγtu*]. Он является епископом известного живого идола, о котором придумывают, будто бы он никогда не умрет, а после того, как постареет, снова молодеет. Этот святой служит им советником в военное и в мирное время. О катухте и его вере говорится в сообщении, присланном мне одним греческим христианином из Сины: «Все идолопоклонники и хан имеют патриарха, которого называют кутуфта лама», «епископа дсор сей лама», «простой поп лама», «диакона гулшул лама», «певец Машей лама». Свое ужасное идолопоклонение они совершают в языческих храмах. Их патриарх и 300–400 попов исполняют обряды. Все эти духовные лица никогда не женятся, и тот, который по молодости сошелся с женщиной, должен за это каяться в течение шести недель: принимать пищу раз в день, и то лишь плоды—ни мяса, ни молока, ни масла. Большого наказания за этот грех нет. Служба в храме проводится ежедневно, утром и вечером после звона колоколов. Они служат каждый день, и когда они поют, кутуфта и другие попы пьют табак [i.e. ‘drink tobacco’, cf. above]. Кутуфта сидит на возвышенном месте, подобно статуе, в роскошном наряде.”



FIGURE 16.2 A Kalmyk man smoking a pipe from 1870, in the years when Bálint visited Astrakhan

PHOTO OF AN UNKNOWN AUTHOR. 1870. SOURCE: [HTTP://XN--B1AAIBPVOAET4H1A.XN--P1AI/FORUMS/INDEX.PHP?/GALLERY/SIZES/444-КАЛМЫК-1870/LARGE](http://xn--b1aaibpvoaet4h1a.xn--p1ai/forums/index.php?/gallery/sizes/444-калмык-1870/large)  
(LAST RETRIEVED 12.05.2021)

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## Issues of Comparative Uralic and Altaic Studies (9): Medial Intervocalic *\*k* and *\*g* in Mongolic

*Juha Janhunen*

### Introduction

On the basis of both internal and external evidence it is known that the original medial intervocalic weak velar stop *\*g* of Pre-Proto-Mongolic was weakened to the Proto-Mongolic velar or laryngeal fricative *\*x*, which was later lost in all the modern Mongolic languages. A subsequent development weakened the corresponding strong velar stop *\*k* to *\*g* at the boundary of the second and third syllables. These developments led to a phonotactic imbalance in the distribution of the velar stops *\*g* and *\*k*. The balance was restored by introducing a secondary set of *\*k* and *\*g* to the affected positions. This conclusion is confirmed by an analysis of the relevant etymological material, which shows that the secondary *\*k* and *\*g* occur only in relatively recent layers of the lexicon and are absent in the corpus of older loanwords. The tendencies to maintain the phonotactic balance between *\*k* and *\*g* have continued up to the Post-Proto-Mongolic period.

I am honoured to dedicate this paper to my esteemed senior colleague András Róna-Tas, the Grand Old Man of Altaic Studies. In the capacity of an exchange student from Helsinki to Szeged, I was lucky to have the chance of attending his Old Turkic class back in 1974, and later I have often enjoyed his help and advice on a wide range of problems. With this paper, I also wish to continue a series dealing with selected issues of comparative Uralic and Altaic Studies. My general premises are, like those of András Róna-Tas, based on the understanding that the evidence brought so far in favour of the Altaic Hypothesis, that is, the conception that the ‘Altaic’ languages—Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic, with or without Koreanic and/or Japonic—form a divergent language family, is insufficient and reflects, rather, the impact of a network of historical and prehistorical contacts, which encompass not only the ‘Altaic’, but also the Uralic languages. It happens that András Róna-Tas has been exceptionally active and productive in the field of ‘Ural-Altaic’ language contacts, including, in particular, the Turkic elements in Hungarian. The present paper is, however, more focussed on one of his earliest interests, Mongolic historical phonology.

## 1 The Velar Obstruents in Proto-Mongolic

The Proto-Mongolic consonant system had three velar obstruents: a strong unvoiced and possibly aspirated stop *\*k* [k ~ k<sup>h</sup>], a corresponding weak unaspirated and possibly voiced stop *\*g* [g ~ k], and an apparently inherently unvoiced fricative *\*x* [x], whose realizations may also have comprised the voiced and unvoiced laryngeal spirants [ɦ] and [h]. Depending on the vowel environment, the phonetic realizations could also vary from front-velar to post-velar without, however, producing a phonemic contrast except, possibly, temporarily after the merger of the vowels *\*i* and *\*i*. All the three velar obstruents could be used both word-initially before a vowel (/#\_V-) and medially between vowels (/V\_V-). However, in medial postconsonantal position (/C\_-) only the stops *\*k* and *\*g* could occur, with additional rules governing their actual combinations with other consonants, while in the word-final (/V\_#) and medial syllable-final (/V\_C-) positions only the weak stop *\*g* was permitted (cf. e.g., Poppe 1955: 129–154, Nugteren 2011: 73–84). The phonotactic behaviour of *\*g* suggests that it was the least marked and, hence, the most ‘basic’ velar obstruent, just as the weak labial and dental stops *\*b* [b ~ p] and *\*d* [d ~ t] were in their respective sets.

I have previously dealt with the history of the segment *\*x* (see papers 1 and 2 in the present series) and recapitulated the well-known fact that it derives from two sources: an earlier initial or medial unvoiced and possibly aspirated labial stop *\*p* [p ~ p<sup>h</sup>] and an earlier medial and probably voiced velar stop *\*g* [g], which may also have had fricative realizations of the type [ɣ ~ ɣ̥]. The sources of *\*x* can be illustrated by examining the traces of the lexical contacts that Mongolic had with early forms of Turkic. Considering here only the medial intervocalic position, the two sources of *\*x* appear as distinct segments in the Turkic cognates of items once transmitted from Pre-Proto-Turkic or Pre-Proto-Bulgharic to Pre-Proto-Mongolic, the type examples being Turkic *tap-* ‘to find’ < Pre-Proto-Turkic = Pre-Proto-Bulgharic *\*tapa-* → Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*tapa-* > Proto-Mongolic *\*taxa-* (Written Mongol *taqha-*) > Middle Mongol *†ta’a-* > Modern Mongolic (\*)*taa-* ‘to guess’ vs. Turkic *sag-* [say-] ‘to milk’ < Pre-Proto-Turkic = Pre-Proto-Bulgharic *\*saga-* → Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*saga-* > Proto-Mongolic *\*saxa-* (Written Mongol *saqha-*) > Middle Mongol *†sa’a-* > Modern Mongolic (\*)*saa-* id. The only problem is that *\*p* and *\*g* can occur also in items not attested in Turkic, and in most of these cases the source of *\*x* cannot be specified, unless further evidence is provided by synchronic dialectal variation, other languages, and/or the Written Mongol orthography, as is the case in Modern Mongolic (\*)*keeli* ‘belly’ < Middle Mongol *†ke’eli* < Proto-Mongolic *\*kexeli* < Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*kepeli* (Written Mongol *gabali*) → Manchu *kefeli*, Hungarian (via Turkic?) *kebel* (WOT 1: 516–518; Nugteren 2011: 408).

The development  $*g > *x$  and further  $>$  Middle Mongol  $*$  (hiatus)  $>$  modern  $\emptyset$  (zero) took place in all intervocalic positions, that is, also after a non-initial syllable, as in Turkic *\*yilig* ‘warm’  $<$  Pre-Proto-Turkic = Pre-Proto-Bulgharic *\*duloga*  $\rightarrow$  Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*duloga*  $>$  *\*dulaga-n*  $>$  Proto-Mongolic *\*dulaxan*  $>$  Modern Mongolic *dulaan* id. (Poppe 1960: 23, 75). As a positionally conditioned exception,  $*x$  was palatalized to  $*y$  [j] both before and after the vowel  $*i < *i$  and  $*i$ , as in Turkic *sag* [say] ‘healthy, well’  $<$  Pre-Proto-Turkic = Pre-Proto-Bulgharic *\*sagi*  $\rightarrow$  Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*sagi*  $>$  *\*saxi-n*  $>$  Proto-Mongolic *\*sayin* (Written Mongol *sajiv*)  $>$  Modern Mongolic ( $*$ )*sain* ‘good, well’, Turkic *\*tariġ* ‘grain, crop, field’  $<$  Pre-Proto-Turkic = Pre-Proto-Bulgharic *\*tari(-)ga*  $\rightarrow$  Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*tariga*  $>$  *\*tarixa-*  $>$  Proto-Mongolic *\*tariya/n* (Written Mongol *tarijav*)  $>$  Middle Mongol *†tari’an*  $>$  Modern Mongolic *\*taria/n*  $>$  *taryaa/n*  $\sim$  *taeraa/n* etc. (Poppe 1960: 61–62; Nugteren 2011: 480–481, 513; note that in this case the base verb *\*tari-*  $>$  *\*tari-* ‘to till the soil’, was also borrowed; for the glide  $*y$ , cf. also no. 5 in the present series).

As a consequence of the development  $*g > *x$ , Mongolic lost the segment  $*g$  in intervocalic positions. A distinctive  $*g$  was, however, preserved in initial position, where it contrasted with  $*k$  and  $*x$  ( $< *p$ ), as well as in a number of consonant clusters (with a sonorant consonant as the first member), where it contrasted with  $*k$ . An ‘archiphonemic’  $*g$  was also preserved in all syllable-final positions, where no contrast with regard to  $*k$  or  $*x$  was possible. In the medial intervocalic position, however, there was only a contrast between  $*x$  and  $*k$ . In this situation, it was natural that the language had to restore medial intervocalic  $*g$  as a distinctive segment. The first step in this direction was the development  $*k > *g$ , which typically affected the boundary of the second and third syllables. Again, the original quality of the medial consonant can be verified by comparing the Mongolic data with Turkic, as in Turkic *\*iduk* ‘holy’  $<$  ‘the sent one’  $<$  Pre-Proto-Turkic = Pre-Proto-Bulgharic *\*id.o(-)ka*  $\rightarrow$  Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*idoka*  $>$  *\*idoka-n*  $>$  Proto-Mongolic *\*idogan*  $>$  Modern Mongolic *\*idugan*  $\sim$  *\*udugan* etc. ‘female shaman’ (Janhunen 2010).

The original intervocalic  $*k$  is also preserved in many Mongolic loanwords, some of them ultimately of Turkic origin, that were transmitted to Tungusic before the change to  $*g$  took place, a case in point being Ewenki *idokon* ‘female shaman’ (see also Doerfer 1985: 89 no. 252). However, after the development  $*k > *g$  the phonotactic relationship between medial intervocalic  $*k$  and  $*g$  was asymmetrical, in that after the first syllable only  $*k$  and after the second syllable (and, apparently, any later syllables) only  $*g$  could appear. In both positions, there was also a contrast with regard to  $*x$ , which represented an original  $*g$  or  $*p$ . Due to the developments  $*g > *x$  and  $*k > *g$ , only the occurrences of  $*k$  at the boundary between the first two syllables had not been affected by restruc-

turing and, hence, represented the original Pre-Proto-Mongolic state. Even so, a look at the Proto-Mongolic lexical data shows that *\*g* could occur at the boundary of the first two syllables and, similarly, *\*k* is well attested at the boundary of the second and third syllables (as well as later in the word). In these positions, *\*g* and *\*k* must, consequently, be due to innovations that took place before the Proto-Mongolic stage, but after the developments *\*g > \*x* and *\*k > \*g*.

## 2 The Distribution of Medial Intervocalic *\*k* and *\*g*

To obtain a more concrete picture of the issue we may take a comparative look at the lexical items that contain the consonants *\*k* and *\*g* in medial intervocalic position at the first ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) and second ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ) syllable boundaries of the word. As a sample database we may limit the survey to the items that are present in both Central Mongolic and the marginal branches of the family, especially Shiron-golic (Gansu-Qinghai Mongolic, including Shira Yughur). Among the total of c. 1350 items attested in both Shiron-golic and Central Mongolic and/or Middle Mongol, as identified and analysed by Hans Nugteren (2011: 263–546), we may count 83 cases of Proto-Mongolic medial intervocalic *\*k*, of which 58 cases are at the first and 25 cases at the second syllable boundary, and 107 cases of Proto-Mongolic medial intervocalic *\*g*, of which 46 cases are at the first and 61 at the second syllable boundary. The items are listed below in their Proto-Mongolic forms in alphabetical order (with items beginning with a vowel listed first, and with a minimal number of variants quoted for each etymon):

*\*k<sup>1/2</sup>* *\*aka* ‘elder brother’, *\*eke* ‘mother’, *\*ekeyü-* ‘to bow’, *\*iker/e* ‘twins’, *\*ökin* ‘daughter’, *\*ukana* ‘billy-goat’, *\*ükü-* ‘to die’, *\*baka* ‘frog’, *\*beke* ‘ink’, *\*boki* ‘resin’, *\*böke* ‘strong’, *\*böke/n* ‘hump of a camel’, *\*bökene* ‘gadfly’, *\*buka* ‘bull’, *\*bukaxur* ‘buttocks’, *\*büküli* ‘all’, *\*cakir* ‘bluish’: *\*cakirma* ‘iris’, *\*caki-* ‘to strike (fire)’, *\*ciki-* > *\*ciki-* ‘to squeeze’, *\*ciki/n* > *\*ciki/n* ‘ear’, *\*coki-* ‘to peck’, *\*daku* ‘furcoat’, *\*gaka/i* ‘pig’, *\*goka* ‘hook’, *\*jaka* ‘collar’, *\*joki-* ‘to fit’, *\*kaka-* ‘to choke’, *\*kekire-* ‘to belch’, *\*köke* ‘blue’, *\*köke-* ‘to suck the breast’: *\*köke/n* ‘breast’: *\*kökexür* ‘leather vessel’, *\*kökül* ‘braid’, *\*mika/n* > *\*mika/n* ‘meat’, *\*moku-* ‘to become blunt’: *\*mokur* ‘blunt’, *\*neke-* ‘to weave’, *\*nekei* ‘sheepskin’, *\*nekelei* ‘illegitimate child’, *\*niku-* ‘to rub’, *\*noka/i* ‘dog’, *\*nöke-* ‘to patch’, *\*nöker* ‘friend’, *\*nüke/n* ‘hole’, *\*sakal* ‘beard’, *\*saki-* ‘to guard’, *\*sika-* ‘to press’, *\*sokar* ‘blind’, *\*süke* ‘axe’, *\*taka* ‘horseshoe’, *\*taki-* ‘to worship’, *\*takiya* ‘chicken’, *\*teke* ‘billy-goat’, *\*toka/i* ‘elbow’, *\*toku-* ‘to cover’: *\*tokum* ‘saddle-pad’, *\*xeki/n* ‘head’, *\*xike* > *\*yeke* ‘big’, *\*xoka-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’, *\*xokar* ‘short’, *\*xüker* ‘bovine’.

\*k<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> \*araki 'liquor', \*exükü/n 'grease', öcüken 'little', \*örüke 'smoke-hole', \*bicikan 'small', \*daxaki 'shaggy hair', \*jürüke/n 'heart', \*korakai 'insect', \*na(x)uka 'rheum', \*menekei 'frog', \*nomukan 'calm', \*sayikan 'beautiful', \*silükei 'saliva', \*söyike 'earring', \*tarakai 'bald', \*taraki 'brain', \*tüxükei 'raw', \*xaxakai 'spider', \*xaluka/n 'hammer', \*xerbekei 'butterfly', \*xerekei 'thumb', \*xerike 'prayer beads', \*xuraka/n 'snare', \*xümekei 'stinking', \*yaxaki- 'to do what'.

\*g<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> \*egeci 'elder sister', \*ugixa- > \*ugaxa- 'to wash', \*ugulja 'ibex', \*üge 'word', \*ügüi 'absent', \*baga 'small', \*bogani 'short', \*bugu 'deer', \*cagaxan 'white', \*cögece 'cup', \*daga- 'to follow', \*dogal- 'to limp', \*gegexen 'bright', \*gogal 'leek', \*jagala- 'to itch', \*jagasun 'fish', \*kaga- : \*kagaca- 'to separate': \*kagal- TR : \*kagara- ITR 'to split', \*kegesün 'spoke', \*kugu- : \*kugul- TR : \*kugura- ITR 'to break', \*magalai 'hat', \*moga/i 'snake', \*mogadur 'blunt', \*mögersü/n 'cartilage', \*nagacu : \*nagai 'maternal uncle', \*nige/n > \*nege/n 'one', \*nigursun 'spinal marrow', \*nugasu/n 'wool', \*nugun 'boy', \*nogaxan 'green', \*nugusu/n 'duck', \*nugu- : \*nugura- 'to be bent', \*sagad 'buckwheat', \*sigaxa 'anklebone', \*sigaxa- 'to peep', \*sogu : \*soguxa 'hind', \*sögexe- 'to scold', \*söged- 'to kneel', \*sugu 'armpit', \*sugu- : \*sugul- ~ \*jugul- 'to pull out', \*tegüs- 'to end', \*togaxan 'pot', \*togaraxun 'crane', \*tögerig 'round', \*tugul 'calf', \*xögi- 'to hit', \*xügün 'deep'.

\*g<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> \*abaga 'paternal uncle', \*andagar : andaga/i 'oath', \*ayaga/n 'cup', \*ebügen 'old man', \*ecige 'father', \*edege- 'to recover', \*eljige/n 'donkey', \*emdüge/n 'egg', \*emegen 'old woman', \*esige/n 'kid (goat)', \*idogan 'female shaman', \*injaga 'fawn', \*isegei ~ \*sisegei 'felt', \*itege- 'to believe', \*ojagai 'penis', \*öcigen 'recently': \*öcige+edür > \*öcügedür 'yesterday', \*ölege/i 'cradle', \*örmege '(kind of) fabric', \*ösügei 'heel', \*ötegü 'old man', \*unaga/n 'foal', \*üliger 'tale', \*ünüg.ü/n 'kid goat', \*berigen 'sister-in-law', \*bosaga 'threshold', \*botaga/n 'camel foal', \*böldege/n 'testicles', \*bötege/n 'bird's crop', \*bulaga/n 'sable', \*cibuga/n 'jujube', \*cimege/n 'marrow', \*daxaga/n 'foal', \*gejige 'neck', \*gölige/n 'cub', \*jaxugasu/n 'lily bulb', \*juljaga/n 'young of an animal', \*kabtagai 'flat', \*kalbuga 'spoon', \*kitoga/i 'knife', \*kudagai 'women related by the marriage of their children', \*kulagu- 'to steal': \*kulagai 'thief', \*kulugana 'mouse, rat', \*kuriga/n 'lamb', \*kurugu/n 'finger', \*nirugu/n 'back', \*küregen 'son-in-law', \*managaar 'tomorrow', \*nasigai 'lazy', \*nicügün 'naked', \*nümjige 'oily fat', \*sajagai < \*saxajagai 'magpie', \*sinaga/n 'ladle', \*siböge/n 'awl', \*solagai 'left (side)', \*tarbaga/n 'marmot', \*tolagai 'head', \*xaxaga 'bran', \*xalaga/n 'palm of the hand', \*xelige/n 'liver', \*xünege/n 'fox', \*xütügü/n 'vagina'.

The above lists and the calculations based on them are not totally unambiguous because many items involve irregular variation between the segments  $*k$   $*g$   $*x$  (on which more below), or between structures with or without a vowel segment before the velar consonant, with some Mongolic idioms suggesting a bisyllabic ( $*VCCV$ ) and others a trisyllabic ( $*VCVCV$ ) sequence. What is, however, clear is that the segments  $*k^{1/2}$  and  $*g^{2/3}$ , which represent regular reflexes of original  $*k$  at the first and second syllable boundaries, respectively, are statistically more frequent than the segments  $*k^{2/3}$  and  $*g^{1/2}$ , which have no immediately obvious source in Pre-Proto-Mongolic. This situation is in agreement with the assumption that  $*k^{2/3}$  and  $*g^{1/2}$  are innovations which, although they do date back to Pre-Proto-Mongolic times, were not yet present in the more ancient reconstructable lexicon of the language.

We may, then, assess the question as to how the secondary segments  $*k^{2/3}$  and  $*g^{1/2}$  came into being in Mongolic. One relevant circumstance is simply morphological analogy. Although originally the sound laws  $*g > *x$  and  $*k^{2/3} > *g^{2/3}$  were valid for all intervocalic positions, any morphophonemic alternations they produced were gradually eliminated. For instance, in Middle Mongol, a final  $*g$  of a stem could still alternate with  $*x > '$  (hiatus) if a suffixal (or connective) vowel followed, as in *\*cerig* 'army': PL *\*cerix.ü-d* > †*ceri'üid* (Rybatzki 2003: 64), but this alternation was lost in order to protect the iconicity of the stem, leaving only occasional traces as in  $*(x)asag-$  ~  $*(x)asaxu-$  'to ask' (Written Mongol *vasaq-* : *vasaqhu-*). The reversal of the development  $*g > *x$  must also have been active at the boundary between the first two syllables, which led to the restoring of  $*g^{1/2}$  as a distinctive segment, as in *\*cag* 'time': GEN *\*cag-un* ~ modern  $(*)cag-iin$ , *\*ög-* 'to give': PPLE IMPRF *\*ög.ü-xe* > modern  $(*)ög-öö$ . Similarly, suffixes with an initial  $*k$  would have yielded a variant with  $*g$  at the boundary of the second and third syllables, but any such variation was levelled in favour of  $*k$  in all positions, as in COP *\*a-* 'to be': PPLE FUT *\*a-ku* vs. *\*cida-* 'to be able': PPLE FUT *\*cida-ku*, though it cannot be ruled out that variation was still present in Middle Mongol (cf. Weiers 1969: 160–165; note that most of the writing systems used for Middle Mongol are ambiguous concerning the distinction between  $*k$  and  $*g$ ).

### 3 The Origins of Secondary Medial Intervocalic $*k$

Looking at the rather small corpus of words with a secondary  $*k^{2/3}$ , we can see that most of them are, indeed, due to morphological analogy and/or secondary suffixation, in that they contain transparently recent suffixal elements like DIM  $*-kAn$  (in adjectival nominals): *\*öcü-ken* 'little', *\*bici-kan* 'small', *\*nomu-*

*kan* ‘calm’, \**sayi-kan* ‘beautiful’), and DIM \**KA(y)i* (especially in names of animals and body parts): \**kora-kai* ‘insect’, \**mene-kei* ‘frog’, \**xerbe-kei* ‘butterfly’, \**xere-kei* ‘thumb’, \**tara-kai* ‘bald’). Some of the items in \**KA(y)i* have parallel derivatives with other suffixes, e.g. \**xaxa-kai* ~ \**xaxa-lji/n* ‘spider’, \**silü-kei* ~ \**silü-sü/n* ‘saliva’, and some may actually be verb-based, perhaps from PPLE FUT \*-*kU* + COP NMLZ \**a-(y)i*: \**tüxü-kei* ~ \**tüxü-kü* ‘raw’, \**xüme-kei* ‘stinking’, cf. also \**jaxu-* ‘to bite’: \**jaxu-ra-* ‘to close the mouth’: \**jaxura-kai* ~ \**jaxura-nggai* ‘wolf’ (Nugteren 2011: 383–385). At least superficially, \**exükü/n* ~ \**öxekü/n* ‘grease’ (Written Mongol *vuigaguv*) also looks like a verbal form in PPLE FUT PL \*-*kUn*. Of a transparently secondary origin is the verb \**yaxa-ki-* ‘to do what’ < PRON INTERR \**yaxa-* + \**ki-* ‘to do’.

The item \**na(x)uka* ‘rheum’ (Nugteren 2011: 453) exhibits an irregular instability in form and may also be reconstructed as Post-Proto-Mongolic \**niuka* or \**luuka* (Written Mongol *luuq e*), suggesting that it is of a recent origin and, in view of the initial \**l*, possibly a borrowing. Semantic and distributional criteria suggest that the items \**xerike* (~ \**xerke*) ‘prayer beads’, and \**söyike* ‘earring’, which were transmitted to Manchu as *erihe* and *suihun*, respectively, (CMED 99: 333; Doerfer 1985: 137 no. 590; Rozycki 1994: 189), but which are not attested in Pre-Islamic sources and which have a very limited presence in Shirongolic, are also secondary, though the initial \**x* in \**xerike* (Nugteren 2011: 354), if correctly reconstructed, would still presuppose a relatively early dating. Certainly Post-Proto-Mongolic is \**araki* (~ \**ariki* > \**arki*) ‘liquor’ and its formal parallel \**tamaki* (~ \**tamiki* > \**tamki*) ‘tobacco’, which are well-known items of recent cultural vocabulary. Interestingly, \**taraki* (~ \**tariki* > \**tarki*) ‘brain’ (in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol ‘head’), which shares the same structural type, is also unattested in early sources and the marginal languages (with the exception of an irregular reflex in Huzhu Mongghul), which means that it might be a recent lexical innovation. This leaves only five examples of a possibly unexplained secondary \**k*<sup>2/3</sup>: \**örüke* ‘smoke-hole’, \**daxaki* ‘shaggy hair’, \**jürüke/n* ‘heart’, \**xaluka/n* ‘hammer’, \**xuraka/n* ‘noose’. These are reviewed in some more detail below.

The item \**örüke* ‘smoke-hole’ has a parallel in Tungusic, where its reflexes in the individual Tungusic languages support unambiguously the Proto-Tungusic bisyllabic reconstruction \**örke* id. (> also ‘door’) > Ewenki *urke*, Oroch *ukke*, Nanai *uike*, Ulcha *uce*, Orok *ute*, Manchu *uce* (SSTM 2: 286; Benzing 1956: 47–48; Doerfer 1985: 21 no. 26). This is one of the rather few proto-language-level lexical parallels between Mongolic and Tungusic, and it cannot be ruled out that it was actually transmitted from Tungusic to Mongolic, rather than vice versa. In any case, considering that Proto-Tungusic was spoken at least several centuries earlier than Proto-Mongolic (without Para-Mongolic), it is likely that



Tungusic preserves a more original state, meaning that the word has undergone a secondary change from bisyllabic *\*örke* to trisyllabic *\*örüke* (Written Mongol *vrugae*), or also *\*öreke* (Ordos), in Mongolic. In fact, Proto-Mongolic may still have had the alternative form *\*örke*, from which most of the Modern Mongolic reflexes could also be derived (Nugteren 2011: 477). A similar item is *\*xuraka/n* ‘snare’ (Written Mongol *vuraqav*), which also seems to have had variant forms like *\*(x)uruka ~ \*(x)urika ~ \*xurka* (Nugteren 2011: 364), and which has the bisyllabic Tungusic reflex *\*purka* id. > Ewenki *(x)urka* (→ Manchu *hurka*), Oroch *xukka*, Nanai *poika*, Ulcha *puca*, Orok *puta* (SSTM 2: 353–353; Doerfer 1985: 1985: 18 no. 6), suggesting that Mongolic originally also had the bisyllabic form *\*purka*.

If we accept the bisyllabic reconstructions *\*örke* and *\*purka* for both Pre-Proto-Mongolic and Proto-Tungusic, the medial intervocalic *\*k<sup>2/3</sup>* in the trisyllabic forms *\*örVke* and *\*xurVka/n* turns out to be secondary and does not invalidate the regularity of the sound change *\*k<sup>2/3</sup> > \*g<sup>2/3</sup>*. A potential problem is, however, created by the fact that Mongolic *\*purka* is ultimately connected with Turkic *(\*)uruk* ‘rope’, implying that this word was transmitted from Turkic to Mongolic to Tungusic, and, as it happens, from Turkic also to Hungarian *(\*)urok > hurok* ‘loop’ (EDT 215; WOT 431–436). Certainly, there is no formal obstacle to the derivation of Turkic *(\*)uruk* from Pre-Proto-Turkic *\*xurka* < *\*purka* (assuming the regular loss of the final vowel and the phonotactically conditioned addition of a secondary epenthetic vowel in the consonant cluster), but it has been proposed that the word might actually contain the deverbal nominalizing suffix *\*-Ok* (on which cf. Erdal 1991: 224–261) and be based on the verb *\*ur-* ‘to strike, to hit’. If this is so, and if this verb originally had an initial *\*p* > *\*x*, *(\*)uruk* would have to derive from *\*pur.o-ka*, which would yield Mongolic *\*puraka* > *\*xuraga* instead of the actually attested forms. The only way out of this contradiction is to reject the assumed connection of Turkic *(\*)uruk* with the verb *\*ur-*, a connection which, in spite of the attempts made to justify it, is also semantically questionable.

A somewhat different picture is exhibited by *\*xaluka/n* ‘hammer’ (Written Mongol *valuqav*), which seems to have been unambiguously trisyllabic in Proto-Mongolic (Nugteren 2011: 348), but whose reflexes in Tungusic include both Ewenic bisyllabic *\*palka* > Ewenki-Solon-Neghidai-Ewen *(\*)xalka* > *alka* (dialectally also *aluka*) and Amur Tungusic trisyllabic *\*paluga* > Udeghe-Oroch *(\*)xaluga*, Nanai-Ulcha-Orok *(\*)paloga* (SSTM 2: 313; Doerfer 1985: 22 no. 32), as well as Manchu originally also trisyllabic (with *Mittelsilbenschwund*) *folgo* ~ *folho* (Rozycki 1994: 78), suggesting at least three or four separate instances of borrowing and involving perhaps not only Mongolic and Tungusic, but also other (possibly Para-Mongolic) languages. Although this does not explain the

presence of  $*k^{2/3}$  in the trisyllabic Mongolic item, it is likely that the Proto-Mongolic form  $*xaluka/n$  is secondary and represents either an extension of the bisyllabic form  $*xalka < *palka$  or a restructured variant with  $*k^{2/3}$  instead of the otherwise expectable  $*g^{2/3}$ .

The variation between bisyllabic and trisyllabic forms in  $*örke$  and  $*purka$  may be connected with the sequence  $*r(V)k$ , but the phenomenon is not regular, since there are also items with no such alternation, e.g. Mongolic  $(*)berke$  ‘difficult’ ← Turkic  $*berke > berik \sim berk > bek$  ‘strong’ (EST 2: 116–120). Even so, alternation of the same type is present in  $*jürüke/n$  ‘heart’, for orthographical reasons conventionally read as † $jirüke/n$  (Written Mongol  $jirugav$ ), which has the trisyllabic variant  $(*)jüreke/n$  (Ordos), but which is best derived from the bisyllabic form  $*jürke/n > Shirongolic *jürge/n$  (Nugteren 2011: 394–395). However, this is again a Turkic loanword (as also concluded by Georg 1999/2000: 169–171), and the Turkic data would favour a trisyllabic protoform of the type  $*yüreke > (*)yürek$  (with the loss of the final vowel, but with the preservation of the low vowel in the second syllable) (EST 4: 270–271). The issue is connected with the dating of the borrowing: the preservation of the Turkic final vowel in Mongolic would suggest a rather early date, while the initial  $*j$  ( $j$ ) [ $dz$ ] for Turkic  $*y = [j]$  is typical of a later layer of borrowings. The controversy could be solved by postulating both  $*y$  (glide) and  $*j$  (affricate) for Pre-Proto-Turkic (Ramstedt 1952–1966: 1: 58–69), but the evidence for a distinctive  $*j$  (Poppe 1960: 27–28) is controversial. Obviously, the problem will require a separate study in the future.

Another Turkic loanword is  $*daxaki$  ‘(lump of) shaggy hair’  $< *dapaki =$  Turkic  $yapak$ , from  $yap$  ‘wool’ (EST 3: 125–126). The word has (as noted by Nugteren 2011: 309) a formal parallel in  $*kumaki$  ‘(fine) sand’ (not present in Shirongolic) = Turkic  $kumak$  id., from  $kum$  id. The final element  $(*)-ak$  in Turkic represents the petrified suffix DIM  $*+Ak$  (Erdal 1991: 40–44), but it is not immediately clear where the final vowel  $*i$  in the Mongolic reflexes comes from. It could derive from Turkic, implying protoforms like  $*dap.a-kī$  and  $*kum.a-kī$ , but it could also be an element,  $*-i$  or perhaps  $*-ki$ , added only on the Mongolic side (as proposed in WOT 1: 430–431). It may be noted that Mongolic has (later?) also borrowed the simple form  $(*)kumag$  (Written Mongol  $qumaq$ ). However this may be, the absence of the development  $*k^{2/3} > *g^{2/3}$  in  $*daxaki$  and  $*kumaki$  is exceptional and must have an explanation, which can be phonological, morphological, or chronological. A phonological point of comparison is offered by Turkic  $yapak$  ‘foal’, a homonym of  $yapak$  ‘wool’ (the two words are mistakenly linked with each other in EDT 874–875), which goes back to  $*dapaka$  and yields Mongolic  $*dapaka > *daxaga > (*)daaga/n$  id. with the development  $*k^{2/3} > *g^{2/3}$ . One possibility is that this development was perhaps blocked before the vowel  $*i$  ( $*i$ ).

As may be seen, the overwhelming majority of all occurrences of Proto-Mongolic  $*k^{2/3}$  can be explained as secondary, though some challenges are still connected with the few items that have counterparts in Turkic and/or Tungusic. It may be added that the items  $*tarakai$  'bald' and  $*xerekei$  'thumb' are also based on Turkic originals, but in them only the roots  $*tara-$  'bald'  $\leftarrow$  Pre-Proto-Bulgharic  $*tara$  = Proto-Turkic  $*ta:z$  id. and  $*xere-$  'man'  $\leftarrow$  Pre-Proto-Bulgharic or Pre-Proto-Turkic  $*xere$  > Turkic  $er$  id. (from which also  $*er-ngek$  'thumb') were borrowed, while the suffix  $*-kA(y)i$  was added on the Mongolic side. Incidentally, for these two items, the phonologically regular reconstructions  $*taragai$  and  $*xeregei$ , could possibly also be supported (Poppe 1960: 11, 13; Nugteren 2011: 353, 512).

#### 4 The Origins of Secondary Medial Intervocalic $*g$

Turning to the secondary  $*g^{1/2}$  we can see that this segment is also common in innovations of various kinds. In several etymons,  $*g^{1/2}$  represents simply a sporadically weakened reflex of  $*k^{1/2}$ . A case in point is the numeral  $*nike/n$  'one', which still seems to have contained  $*k$  in Middle Mongol (insofar as  $*k$  and  $*g$  can be distinguished in the relevant writing systems), and which also has  $*k$  in Moghol, but which in the other Mongolic languages is represented as  $*nege/n$  ~ (Shirongolic)  $*nige$  (Nugteren 2011: 460). There are several other items in which the modern languages have a dual representation, e.g.  $*mogadur$  vs.  $*moku-$  :  $*moku-r$  'blunt',  $*tögerig$  ~ (Daghur and Buryat)  $*tökeriyen$  'round'. Occasionally,  $*k$  is present in the Tungusic reflexes of the Mongolian data, although the prevalent representation in Mongolic is  $*g$ , as in  $*dogal-$  'to limp':  $*dogalang$  'lame' ~ (Buryat)  $*dokal-$  :  $*dokalang$   $\rightarrow$  Tungusic  $*dokal-$  : Ewenki  $*dokolok$ , Manchu  $doholon$  'lame' (SSTM 1: 212–213; TMEN 1: 330–331 no. 205; Doerfer 1985: 20 no. 19). In general, medial  $*k$  tends to be somewhat unstable and is not always reliably distinguishable from  $*g$ , especially in the marginal languages (Nugteren 2011: 222–227). Some items which basically seem to be contain  $*k$  can also have the occasional variant with  $*g$ , e.g.  $*nekelei$  ~ (Daghur)  $*negele$  'illegitimate child', while some are simply difficult to reconstruct, e.g.  $*bukaxur$  ~  $*bugaxur$  (?) 'buttocks',  $*xögi-$  ~  $*xöki-$  (?) 'to hit' (for the data, cf. Nugteren 2011, *passim*).

It also well known that medial intervocalic  $*x$  occasionally alternates with  $*g$  at all syllable boundaries. In some cases, when  $*x$  derives from  $*p$ , the secondary status of  $*g$  can be verified beyond any doubt, as in  $*dexel$  ~ (Buryat)  $(*)degel$  'dress' <  $*dexel$  ~ (Oirat)  $*debel$  (Written Mongol **tabal**) <  $*depel$ . In other cases the situation is ambiguous, as in (Oirat and Buryat)  $*kuruqu/n$  ~

(elsewhere) *\*kuruxu/n* ‘finger’, but at the boundary between the first and second syllables we may assume that *\*x* is the original representation, as in *\*uxur* > *\*ugur*- ‘to throw’, *\*sixa*- > *\*siga(x)a* ~ *\*sigai* ‘anklebone’, *\*suxu* > *\*sugu* ‘armpit’, and in some cases *\*g* may actually represent a secondary reading pronunciation, as in *\*nixun* ~ *\*nuxun* (Written Mongol *niqhu*v ~ *nuqhu*v) → (Khalkha and Buryat) *\*nugun* ‘boy’, cf. also *\*u(y)ila*- < *\*uxila*- ~ ? *\*ugila*- ~ (Khalkha) *\*ukila*- (Written Mongol *vugila*-) ‘to cry’ (Nugteren 2011: 458, 531). At least in two items (both with an initial nasal) the variation *\*x* ~ *\*g* reflects an original Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*ng* [ŋ], which would regularly yield Proto-Mongolic *\*ngg* [ŋg] (see no. 8 in the present series): *\*möngersü/n* > *\*mönggersü/n* ~ *\*mögersü/n* ~ *\*möxersü/n* ‘cartilage’, *\*nungasu/n* > *\*n/unggasu/n* ~ *\*nugasu/n* ~ *\*nuxasu/n* ‘wool’.

In several cases, *\*g<sup>1/2</sup>* seems to represent a metathetically moved secondary *\*g<sup>2/3</sup>*, representing the regularly weakened reflex of original *\*k<sup>2/3</sup>*. In the case of *\*magalai* ~ *\*malagai* ‘hat’ (Nugteren 2011: 438), the original form may actually have been *\*makala* → Manchu *mahala* (Rozycki 1994: 152–153) : (Oirat) *\*makalai*. As a result of the development *\*k<sup>2/3</sup>* > *\*g<sup>2/3</sup>*, the metathetical variant *\*malaka/i* would have yielded the synchronically most widespread form *\*malaga/i* (Written Mongol *malaqhai*) and, after a second metathesis, *\*magala/i*. It happens that Santa has synchronically two forms: *maghala* ~ *malagha*. The item *\*nigursu/n* ~ *\*nugursu/n* ‘spinal marrow’ also seems to be in a metathetical relationship with *\*niruxu/n* ~ *\*nuruxu/n* ~ (Buryat and Oirat) *\*nirugu/n* ‘back’, suggesting that the original form was *\*niruku/n* > *\*nirugu/n*, which yielded metathetically *\*nigur-su/n*. Another type of metathesis may be present in *\*kegesü/n* ‘spoke’ (Nugteren 2011: 408–409), probably better reconstructed as (Buryat and Daghur) *\*kü(x)igesü/n* ~ *\*ke(x)igesü/n* > (Khalkha) *\*kegi(x)esü/n* (with both forms attested in Oirat). A more recent example of metathesis is probably involved in Ordos *cögöci* ~ *jöcögö* ‘cup’ < (elsewhere) *\*cögece*.

Since *\*g<sup>1/2</sup>* is a secondary segment we would not expect it to be present in ancient Turkic loanwords. Even so, it is actually attested in a few items which, however, on the Turkic side show *\*k*, suggesting a secondary development *\*k* > *\*g* in Mongolic: *\*söged*- ‘to kneel’ < Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*sököd*- ← Pre-Proto-Bulgharic = Pre-Proto-Turkic *\*sök.ö-d* > *\*söküd*- id. : *\*sök*- id. (Erdal 1991: 643), *\*bogani* ‘short (not tall)’ < Pre-Proto-Mongolic *\*bokañi* ← Pre-Proto-Bulgharic = Pre-Proto-Turkic *\*bokañi* > Proto-Turkic *\*bokañ* > (\*)*bokay* ‘low’ (EDT 322), perhaps connected with the verb *\*bok*- : *\*bok-ur*- ‘to restrict, to reduce’ (Erdal 1991: 711). In at least one case, the Mongolic reflexes of Turkic *\*k* comprise both *\*k* and *\*g* in the modern languages: *\*sögexe*- ~ (Khalkha) *\*sökexe*- ‘to scold’ < *\*söke-xe*- = CAUS *\*söke-xe* : *\*söke*- ← Pre-Proto-Bulgharic *\*söke*- = Pre-Proto-Turkic *\*sö:ke*- > Turkic (\*)*sök:k*- id. The item *\*nunga-su/n* ‘wool’ is also of a Turkic ori-

gin, based on Pre-Proto-Turkic *\*nunga* or *\*ñunga* > (\*)*yung* (MTEN 4: 227–228 no. 1931).

A more intricate problem is offered by *\*egeci* ‘elder sister’ (Nugteren 2011: 325–326), which also must go back to a form with *\*k*, i.e., *\*ekeci*, and which is attested in Turkic as (\*)*ekec* ~ *egec*, but also (\*)*ekeci* ~ *egeci* etc. ‘elder sister (also of one’s wife), aunt’ (EST 1: 222–224). The word is clearly derived from the basic root *\*eke*, which is also present in both Mongolic and Turkic with the general meaning ‘close female relative older than oneself and younger than one’s father’ (EDT 100), or also ‘mother’ (Nugteren 2011: 327). The latter is a formal and semantic parallel to *\*aka* ‘elder brother (also of one’s husband), uncle, father’, likewise attested in both Turkic and Mongolic (EST 1: 121–123). In spite of their connection with kinship terminology, which often reflects universal patterns of constant recreation, the Turkic and Mongolic data must be due to contact. It has, indeed, been proposed that Mongolic *\*egeci* could be a Turkic borrowing, although some of the Turkic data could also be due to reborrowing from Mongolic (TMEN 1: 191, no. 67), while *\*aka* would rather be a borrowing from Mongolic to Turkic (TMEN 1: 133–140 no. 22). More likely, both *\*aka* and *\*eke* and, hence, also *\*eke-ci* are originally Mongolic. The issue is connected with the question concerning the representation of final vowels, which in the early layer of lexical parallels are lost in Turkic, as in Turkic (\*)*kö:k* ‘blue’ = Mongolic *\*köke* id., but which can be present in later loans, as in Turkic (\*)*yaka* ‘collar’ = Mongolic *\*jaka* id. The lack of the final vowel in Turkic (\*)*ekec* ~ *egec* is probably secondary and due to generalization from forms with a connective vowel, e.g. PX 1SG *\*ekeci-m* > *\*ekeci.i-m* > *\*ekek-i-m*.

Another item often compared with Turkic is *\*tugul* ‘calf’. As a possible Turkic source, both the verb *\*tog-* ~ *\*tug-* ‘to be born’ (Ramstedt 1952–1966: 2: 145, 157) and the noun *\*tokli* ‘(half-a-year-old) lamb’ (Nugteren 2011: 524) have been quoted. Both comparisons involve, however, insurmountable phonetic and/or semantic problems (TMEN 2: 524–525 no. 909). The Turkic item *\*tokli* is also present in Hungarian as *toklyó* ‘(one-year-old) lamb’, as borrowed from West Old Turkic (WOT 2: 915–917), and it is clearly a pastoral term denoting young (but not newborn) sheep, a very specific reference which Mongolic *\*tugul* ‘calf’ does not have. Irrespective of this, the Daghur form *tokuly* < *\*tukuli*, which contains an unexplained but possibly original final *\*i*, as also in *\*gal* ~ Daghur *\*gali* ‘fire’ (Nugteren 2011: 337), suggests that the medial obstruent may originally have been *\*k*, implying a secondary weakening *\*k* > *\*g* in the rest of Mongolic.

There still remain relatively many items with *\*g<sup>1/2</sup>* for which no specific ‘explanation’, such as borrowing, metathesis or dialectal variation, can be offered. Many of these items may in reality also be due to secondary sporadic weakening (*\*k* > *\*g*) or strengthening (*\*x* > *\*g*). The majority is, however, likely to

represent a layer of vocabulary that entered the language rather late in the centuries immediately preceding the crystallization of the Proto-Mongolic *koiné*. This conclusion is also suggested by the conspicuous scarcity of Turkic loanwords in the corpus of items containing  $*g^{1/2}$ , as compared with, for instance, the items containing  $*k^{1/2}$ . Among the 46 items with  $*g^{1/2}$  there are only four known Turkic loanwords (8.7 per cent of the total), as discussed above (*\*bogani*, *\*nugasu/n*, *\*söged-*, *\*sögexe-*), all of which, moreover, originally contain  $*k$  or  $*ng$  ( $> *x$ ). At the same time, among the 58 items with  $*k^{1/2}$  there are at least 21 Turkic loanwords (36.2 per cent of the total), as listed below (with the Common Turkic counterparts in brackets):

*\*iker/e* ‘twins’ (*\*ikiz*), *\*baka* ‘frog’ (*\*baka*), *\*beke* ‘ink’ (*\*beke* < †*mekke*), *\*böke* ‘strong’ (*\*böke*), *\*buka* ‘bull’ (*\*buka*), *\*cakir* ‘bluish’ (*\*cakir*), *\*caki-* ‘to strike (fire)’ (*\*cak-*), *ciki-* ‘to squeeze’ (*\*tik-*), *\*coki-* ‘to peck’ (*\*cok-*), *\*daku* ‘furcoat’ (*\*yaku*), *\*jaka* ‘collar’ (*\*yaka*), *\*kekire-* ‘to belch’ (*\*ke:kir-*), *\*köke* ‘blue’ (*\*kö:k*), *\*köke/n* ‘breast’ (*\*köküž*), *\*mika/n* ‘meat’ (*\*bikin*), *\*sakal* ‘beard’ (*\*sakal*), *\*saki-* ‘to guard’ (*\*sak-*), *\*sika-* ‘to press’ (*\*sik-*), *\*takiya* ‘chicken’ (*\*takigu*), *\*teke* ‘billy-goat’ (*\*teke*), *\*xüker* ‘bovine’ (*\*xöküž*).

It may be noted that, apart from several ancient items, borrowed from Pre-Proto-Bulgharic, this list also contains a number of relatively recent borrowings, transmitted from Old Turkic and/or Ancient Uighur, as is shown by the almost identical form of several Mongolic items and their Turkic originals, which in these cases typically contain a final vowel (*\*baka*, *\*böke*, *\*buka*, *\*jaka*, *\*teke*, and possibly *\*takigu*). There is also one item which was transmitted to Old Turkic from Middle Chinese (†*mekke* ← Middle Chinese *\*mək* 墨). The comparison of Mongolic *\*daku* with Turkic *\*yaku*, often connected with the Turkic verbal root *\*yag-* ‘to rain’ (TMEN 4: 282 no. 2030 N 90; EST 4: 60–61), involves unexplained details in the phonetic correspondences (WOT 283–287), but it must nevertheless reflect an old contact because of the initial consonants (Turkic  $*y- < *d-$ ).

Looking further at the remaining items with a Proto-Mongolic  $*g^{1/2}$  we can see that they fall into several semantic groups. For one thing, there are relatively few verbs containing this segment, and most of them are derivatives. An especially conspicuous group is formed by verbs based on adverbs with the structure  $*CVgV-$  (Pope 1951: 47). There are indications that the medial consonant in these adverbs may originally have been  $*k$ : *\*kaga-* ( $\sim$  *\*kaka-*): MOM *\*kaga-ca-* ‘to separate’: RES *\*kaga-l-* TR: MED *\*kaga-ra-* ITR ‘to split’, cf. also *\*kaga-s* ‘half’ (not attested in the marginal languages), *\*kugu-* ( $\sim$  *\*kuku-*)

: RES *\*kugu-l*- TR : MED *\*kugu-ra*- ITR 'to break', *\*nugu*- : RES *\*nugu-l*- TR 'to bend' (not attested in the marginal languages) : MED *\*nugu-ra*- ITR 'to be bent', *\*sugu*- : RES *\*sugu-l*- ~ *\*jugu-l*- TR 'to pull out'. Two verbs look like causatives, though their bases seem to have been lost: *\*siga-xa*- (~ *\*sika-xa*-) 'to peep', *\*ugī-xa*- > *\*uga-xa*- 'to wash', and one might be a denominal derivative: *\*jaga-la*- 'to itch'. The verb *\*tegüs*- ITR 'to end' is a *nomen-verbum* whose nominal representation is *\*tegüs* 'complete', which, in view of its Turkic reflex, may originally have contained *\*k* (*\*teküs* → Middle Turkic †*töküz*, TMEN 2: 528 no. 916). This leaves only *\*daga*- 'to follow' as a truly basic verbal root with *\*g*<sup>1/2</sup>.

Among the nominals with *\*g*<sup>1/2</sup> there are several derived and underived names of wild animals: *\*ugu(-)lja* 'ibex' (also: 'spiral pattern', probably connected with the form of the horns of the animal), *\*jaga-sun* 'fish' (Written Mongol *jiqhasuv*), *\*nugu-su/n* 'duck', *\*togaraxun* 'crane' (with many variant forms, suggesting an onomatopoetic origin), as well as the quasi-rhyming pair *\*bugu* 'male deer' (Written Mongol *buqhu*) vs. *\*sogu* (Written Mongol *suqhu*) : *\*soguxa* 'hind' (Kara 1968: 146). The item *\*tugul* 'calf' is also not necessarily a pastoral term, for it can refer to the young of certain wild animals, as well. Of more interest is *\*moga/i* 'snake' (TMEN 1: 508–509 no. 375), which, apart from the medial consonant, is of the same type as *\*noka/i* 'dog' and *\*gaka/i* 'pig' (with no final *\*i* in Daghur). Mongolic *\*moga/i* has been compared with Manchu *meihe* (Rozycki 1994: 156; SSTM 1: 538), but the comparison is invalidated by the Tungusic cognates of the latter, which require the Proto-Tungusic reconstruction *\*müiki* (Ryzhkov-Shukumine 2020: 81 no. 54).

A structurally coherent type is formed by the colour terms *\*cagaxan* 'white' and *\*nogaxan* 'green', to which *\*gegexen* 'bright' also adheres. These have the well-known and somewhat unexpected Manchu reflexes *shanggiyan* [ʃaŋgjan], *niowanggiyan* [ɲwaŋgjan], and *genggiyen* [gəŋgjan], respectively (Doerfer 1985: 56–57 no. 133, 116 no. 409, 143 no. 649, as also discussed by Okada 1962). Most probably, the Manchu words were borrowed from Pre-Proto-Mongolic forms of the type *\*cagagan*, *\*ñogagan*, *\*gegegen*, with a regular loss of the middle vowel (*Mittelsilbenschwund*), as also in Mongolic *\*xulagan* 'red' < *\*pulagan* → Manchu *fulgiyan* [fulgjan] (Doerfer 1985: 23 no. 36), and with the development *\*gg* > *\*ngg*, but the correspondences *\*c*- = *\*sh*- and *\*-gan* = *-giyan* [-gjan] might indicate a Para-Mongolic source. The Manchu medial cluster *ngg* [ŋg] could also signal the presence of *\*ng* [ŋ] in Pre-Proto-Mongolic, in which case the source forms could have been *\*cangagan*, *\*ñongagan*, *\*gengegen*. On the other hand, the derivational relationships *\*cagaxan* : *\*ca(y)i*- < *\*caxi*- 'to be(come) white' and *\*gegexen* : *\*ge(y)i*- < *\*gexi*- 'to be(come) bright' would suggest a medial *\*x* (< *\*g*), while the Manchu parallel derivatives *shahun* 'whitish', *niohon* ~ *nio*-

*hun* ‘green’, *gehun* ‘bright’ would seem to reduce the original roots to *\*ca-*, *\*ño-*, *\*ge-*. The root *\*ge-* has a further connection with Mongolic *\*ge-re-l* ‘light’ and Manchu *gere-* ‘to become bright’ and possibly with the Tungusic verb *\*ngee-* ‘to be bright’ (SSTM 1: 671–672). All of this involves many unsolved questions, but everything points to the likelihood that the *\*g*<sup>1/2</sup> in Mongolic *\*cagaxan*, *\*nogaxan*, *\*gegexen* is secondary.

The still remaining items form a heterogeneous group. The privative noun *\*ügüi* ‘absent’ (Written Mongol **vuigai**), in Modern Mongolic also cliticized as *ɛgüi* > *ɛgwai*, may itself contain suffixal elements, perhaps < *\*üge(-)xüi*, and its frequent use in grammatical functions may have influenced its shape. The kinship term *\*nagacu* : *\*nagai* ‘maternal uncle’, borrowed to Tungusic as Ewenki *nagacu* and Manchu *nakcu* (Doerfer 1985: 103 no. 344; Rozycki 1994: 161), has a cognate in Khitan 力立出𐰺 *na.ha.án.er* = PL †*naha-ner* ‘maternal uncles’ (Wu and Janhunen 2010: 51), suggesting that the root *\*naga-* = †*naha-* may represent shared heritage from Proto-Macro-Mongolic, but the Khitan data are ambiguous concerning the exact identity of the medial consonant. The noun *\*üge* ‘word’ (Written Mongol **vuigae**) is potentially important because of its Hungarian lookalike *ige* id. (WOT 1: 439–440), but its absence in Daghur, Moghol, and Bonan-Santa (Nugteren 2011: 539) suggests a recent origin, and its relationship to the verb *\*ögüle-* ~ *\*ügüle-* ‘to say’, preserved in the modern languages only in the reading pronunciation (*\*)ögüüle-* ~ (*\*)ügüüle-* (Written Mongol **vuigula-**), is unclear. The items *\*gogal* (with variants) ‘leek’, *\*sagad* (with variants) ‘buckwheat’, and *\*togaxan* ‘pot’ are cultural terms and may be borrowings from some third language(s). The reconstruction *\*xügün* ‘deep’ (Nugteren 2011: 367) is problematic, for the actual forms would point to either *\*gün* or (Huzhu Mongghul) *\*ökön* (ibid.: 346). Finally, the adjectival nominal *\*baga* ‘small’ (TMEN 1: 213 no. 91) also has a very limited distribution, being confined only to the modern Central Mongolic branch and Shira Yughur.

## 5 Conclusions

The objective of this paper was to illustrate the secondary origin of Proto-Mongolic medial intervocalic *\*g*<sup>1/2</sup> and *\*k*<sup>2/3</sup> by looking into the etymological corpus of the lexical items containing these segments. The survey confirms that *\*g*<sup>1/2</sup> and *\*k*<sup>2/3</sup> typically occur in recent layers of the lexicon, or also in items in which the presence of these segments is due to sporadic developments connected with secondary factors such as morphological analogy or metathesis. The lexical items containing *\*k*<sup>2/3</sup> often involve secondary suffixation, while many occurrences of *\*g*<sup>1/2</sup> represent earlier *\*k* or *\*x* (< *\*g* and *\*p*).



These conclusions are particularly important for the weak velar stop *\*g*, concerning which there has been confusion in the past. It used to be thought that there was originally a uniform *\*g*, which in a ‘strong position’ remained *\*g* in Proto-Mongolic, but which in a ‘weak position’ was weakened to *\*x* (Poppe 1960: 58–62, 156). The ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ positions were also mistakenly linked to a hypothetical prosodic difference (ibid.: 40–41). We now know that this is not so, for in reality the development *\*g* > *\*x* affected all occurrences of medial intervocalic *\*g* that were present in the language at the time, while Proto-Mongolic *\*g* is a secondary segment introduced to the language only later.

## Abbreviations

### Glosses

1	first person	MED	medial
COP	copula	MOM	momentaneous
DIM	diminutive	NMLZ	nominalizer
FUT	futuritive	PL	plural
GEN	genitive	PRON	pronoun
PPLE	participle	PX	possessive suffix
IMPRF	imperfective	RES	resultative
INTERR	interrogative	SG	singular
ITR	intransitive	TR	transitive

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## Mongol *kiged*: A Verbal Adverb as Conjunction and Verbal Noun

György Kara

Mongol *kiged* is a well-known perfective verbal adverb of *ki-* ‘to do, to make, to put’, etc., as in ET 60a *tere nadur nigen-te sayin kiged* ..<sub>2</sub> *ediüge yakin mayui kimüi* ‘once after having done good to me, now how would he do bad to me?’, *xiüged* in Khalkha *ajlaa xiüged gertee xarilaa* ‘having done his/her job, (s/he) went home’, *keyäd* in Kalmyk *awsn agtsarn xot keyäd xoncxaw* ‘having made meal of the geldings received, (they) spent the night (there)’ (*Sedklin küür*, 11); *xeed* in Buriat *xeedxii-* (< *kiged ki-*) intensive form of *xe-* ‘to do’, for instance, *yüümenei xaluun deereen xeedxixede hain agša* ‘it is good to do (that) when it is actual (*lit.* hot) = strike while the iron is hot’ (Čeremisov 1973: 655a).

This verbal adverb received a secondary function as a conjunction (‘and’ < ‘after having done, put = added’) binding two nominal phrases and often occurs as such in Middle Mongol and Classical Mongol. It retained this secondary function in some modern literary Mongolic languages, as in Khalkha, where *xiüged* is defined as a conjunction used in the written language, synonymous to *ba* and *bögööd* (MXDTT 4: 2506b), or in Standard Inner Mongol *kiged* /xii:gə:d/ (*MKitadT* 628b). Cf. also Daur *boloor* (< *boluyad*, perfective verbal adverb, for instance, *Aaki boloor Daudagu biteg* ‘the Primer and the Reader’ in Ulaanbat and Bai Šencai 1957, preface), Buriat *bolon* (< *bolun*, modal verbal adverb) and *bolood* (Čeremisov 1973: 101b) and Khalkha *bolon* in the same function.

The same form also used in a third function, as a marker of the end of an enumeration, and as such, it may even take syntactic markers of nouns, that is, it can function as a verbal noun. Frequently seen in Middle Mongol sources and texts of the transitional seventeenth century, this usage of *kiged* has been noticed by Haenisch in his *Wörterbuch* (1939) of the Secret History, quoting MNT §196 *k’et* ‘(enklitisch) und andere’ (Haenisch 1939: 101). In this survey I used de Rachewiltz’ *Index* for the MNT and his edition of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* from the Mongol Tanjur; Sonom Gara’s *Subhāṣita* (see Kara and Kiripolská 2009: 154, with quotations from Chos-kyi ‘Od-zer’s Mongol *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and commentary of 1312); Shes-rab Seng-ge’s Buddha-Vita; Aruk’s inscription of 1340, the Qorum temple inscription of 1347; Ligeti’s *Indices verborum*, the word-index of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* by de Rachewiltz and Krueger,

and the text editions and word-indexes of the anonymous *Altan tobči* and Asaraŋči's chronicle, ed. by Choimaa, and Shagdarsüreng with Lee, respectively.

*kiged*:

MNT § 93 (conjunction): *Hö'elün eke Qasar ki'et de'üner inu herüjü aju üjejü bayasba* 'Mother Hö'elün, Kasar and his ([= Temüjin's] other) younger siblings were sad (about missing him, but when) saw him (coming back), they rejoiced'.

MNT § 130 (end of enumeration): *qurimlarun činggis qahanna Hö'elün üjinne Qasara Sača bekide ki'et teri'ülen niken tüsürge tüsürčü'üi*: 'When feasting, (they) filled one jar<sup>1</sup> for each, first for Chinggis Khan, for Lady Hö'elün, for Kasar, for Sacha Beki and so on'.

MNT § 150 (end of enumeration): *Činggis qahan ĵaqa-gambu ki'et qatqulduĵu* 'Chinggis Khan, Jaka Gambu, and (the others were) fighting, and ...'.

MNT § 152 (end of enumeration): *tende Ongqannu de'üner noyat ki'et ügüeldürin* 'There Ongkhan's younger brothers, the commanders and (the others) said to each other: ...'.

MNT § 170 (the only occurrence in the MNT where *ki'et* is used in its original, adverbial sense in the compound *kelen ki-* 'to send word, to inform'): *Činggis qahan ... dergede'ün bükün itegeltene kelen ki'et könggelen ya'u eben gē'et burūilan söni bö'et gödölbe* 'Chinggis Khan ... informed (those) trusted who were at his side, left his belongings (there), fled unburdened and moved (away) in the night'.

MNT § 196 (end of enumeration): *Ĵamuqalu'a aqsat Ĵadaran Qatagin Salĵi'ut dörben Tayiči'ut Onggirat ki'et tende-gü oroba* 'The Jadaran, the Katagin, the Salĵi'ut, the four Tayichi'ut and the Onggirat, (those) who were with Jamuka, surrendered right (-gü) there'.

MNT § 241 (conjunction): *ekede Otčiginu qubi ki'et tümen irge ökbe eke čimatču ese dongqotba* 'To (his) mother, (Chinggis Khan) gave Otchigin's share and ten thousand bondsmen. The mother was offended (but) did not say (anything)'.

LuAT 118b (end of enumeration): *tende Činggis qayan köbegüd-te ... Sartayul köbegüd aŋtas kiged ögbe* 'Then/There Chinggis Khan gave to (his) sons ... Sarta'ul youths, geldings and the like.' (A difficult sentence in a passage, that is an ampler version of MNT § 263.)

1 A big cup for serving mare milk wine, a vessel almost certainly without handles, cf. Mong. *söng*.

Aruk 18 (end of enumeration): *aq-a degü uruy tari nökör següder boyal aran kiged* ‘older and younger brothers, kinfolds, retainers, slaves and the like ...’.

Srn 275c (end of enumeration): *egüdügsen qabar qudaldy-yin köbegün .. asayuyysan čimeg qulayuyysan(-u ed ..) jočilaqui* [var. *qulayuyysan-i jočilaqui*] .. *bayši ügei erdem kiged ede tabun* .. ‘an artificial nose, a son who is bought, ornaments that are borrowed, stolen goods that are lent, and knowledge that is acquired without a teacher: these five ...’.

Togontemür’s edict of 1351 in square script, line 27 (Tumurtogoo 2010: 89; Hugejiltu 2004: 314; conjunction): *jhañ-ten qajar usun baq tegirmed onqo-čas qulud mod geydenku dëm kebid qala’un usun širge könörge ki’ed aliba alba qubčidi bü abtuqayi* ‘do not levy (their) farmstead, lands (and) waters, orchards, mills, boats, bamboo groves, forests, pawnshops, inns, lodges, baths, vinegar, yeast and (do not collect) any taxes’.

BcaTanjur VII49 (end of enumeration): *üile nisvanis küčün kiged .. ede yurban-dur omoy bariydaqui .. yač’a öber-iyen üiledsügei kemekü [..] ene üile-yin omoy bolai <..> [❖]* ‘Pride is held by these three: the deeds, the passions and the force. The pride of the deeds is when one says: “let me alone do this”’.

Qorum Buddhist Temple Qing ön gau (Xingyuange) 1347: 22 (end of enumeration): *šamsi · Sičön · Gengje · Vu-gen · kiged yañar-a* ‘in places like Shaanxi, Sichuan, Jiangzhe and Fujian’ (see Ligeti *Monuments préclassiques* 1; the reading *Gigün*, cf. Cleaves: ‘Gigeün (??),’ repeated in Tumurtogoo and Cecegdari, is certainly wrong; Gigeün cannot represent any Old Mandarin form of a Chinese place name, and there is no suitable solution for \*Gigün as well; Dobu 1983: 330 has *kykwn* instead of *kyk’t*).<sup>2</sup>

ATAnon 2b1, at the end of the list of the Indian kings, Gautama’s grandfather Siṃhahanu (*Arsalan oyoči-tu qayan*)’s four sons: *Ariyun idege-tü qayan .. Čayan idege-tü qayan .. Tangsuy ide=ge-tü qayan .. Rasiyan ide=ge-tü qayan kiged buyu* .. ‘(They) are: the King Who Has Pure Food, the King Who Has White Food, the King Who Has Delicate Food and the King Who Has Ambrosia Food’.

ET 60a1 (in the original adverbial function): *tere nadur nigen-te sayin kiged* ‘once having made (something) good for me ...’.

2 Cf. also Matsukawa 2012: 191–205. The Old Mandarin Chinese name Hing ön gau of the temple/monastery reads Qing ön gau in Mongol script (the middle word is slightly damaged on the stone, but it cannot be *öng*), and what appears as *burmad* is certainly *burqad*, the curve on the right side of the *q* is due to a damage of the stone; it is different from the medial *m* of *kemen*, *čilayu ömkerigülüged* ‘having rolled stone(s) down’, *amitan* and *eyimün* in the same fragment. The medial *mēm* usually has two small ‘teeth’ in the line; in *sedkil*, the medial *tau* marking *d* is regular, so there is no need of underlining.

ET 77a8 (end of enumeration and conjunction): *Kitad · Töbed · Mongγol · Uyiγur kiged · toyin egel terigüten* ‘Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol and (*kiged*) Uygur monks and lay people and so on (*terigüten*)’.

ET 82a27 (end of enumeration): *tere degel* [ms: *t'kyl*] *gürbel kiged qamtubar tülegdeküy-e · tesküy-e berke mayui ünür angkiluyısan-dur* ‘when that robe and the lizard were burning together, an unbearably bad smell emerged and then ...’.

ET 87a (end of enumeration): *Ordos-un Mangγus erdeni qolači qung tayiji Buyantai sečen joriγtu* 87b *Sayang Sečen qung tayiji · γurban noyad kiged jasan kemeldüjü ·* ‘(... as well as) Prince Mangus Erdeni Kholachi, Buyantu Sechen Jorigtu 87b and Prince Sagang Sechen, (these) three Ordos noble-men agreeing to arrange’.

Mod v, 7b (end of enumeration): *tere dörben ali bui kemebesü · üiledügsen-ü ači-yi ülü qariγulqui · ary-a jali-yi dulduγidqui · qudal ügüleküi · surtayun-ača dabaqui kiged buyu ·* ‘As to what are these (*lit.* that) four, (they are the following): ungratefulness (*lit.* not returning a favor), deceitfulness (*lit.* relying on deceit), telling lie(s), and breach of discipline’.

In Asarayči's Chronicle, this is the only form attested (11 occurrences); there are no cases with syntactic markers (see Shagdarsüreng and Lee 2002).

#### *kiged-eče* ablative:

Not found in the sources with accessible word-index, but see BcaTay 157a ... *irügeküi kiged γurban-ača* ‘from (these) three (kinds of) praying’, BcaTay 158b10 ... *irügeküi kiged qoyar-ača* ‘from (these) two (kinds of) praying’.<sup>3</sup>

#### *kiged-i* accusative:

AQJ 2a (end of enumeration): *duvaγa sikür bančid kiged-i elgügsen* ‘hung flags, umbrellas, streamers and the like’; 9b *eđ tavar kiged-i ülü olju üjeküi* ‘being unable to obtain goods and the like’; 43b *buram sikir kiged-i qoliju* ‘mixing together brown sugar, sugar and the like’.

LuAT 132b (end of enumeration): *jang neretü ulus ba Minay ulus kiged-i toyin-tur-ıyan oroyulbai ·* ‘(Chinggis Khan) subdued (*lit.* let enter under his kneecap) the country called Jang (Tibetan *Jang yul*), the country (of) Minag<sup>4</sup> and so on’.

3 Cf. Tibetan *ste*, as in *mgar-gsum* = *shel ka-ra* | *bu-ram* | *sbrang-rtsi-ste gsum* (Krang 1: 684a) ‘the three sweet (things) = sugar powder, brown sugar and honey, (these) three’. In Mongol, it would sound *sikir buram bal kiged γurban*.

4 Tibetan *Mi-nyag*, the Tangut or Xixia country.

- ET 11a10 (end of enumeration): *subury-a-yin door-ača yurban burqad-un olan šaril kiged-i jalaju yarγan бүкүй-e* .. ‘when they were respectfully taking out many relics of three Buddhas from below the stūpa ...’;
- ET 16b19 (end of enumeration): *nigen silyaday sayin morin* .. *tülesi-yin idegen kiged-i ög kemeged* ‘after having said: Give a (carefully) selected fine horse, food to burn/roast,<sup>5</sup> and the like’.
- ET 45a2 (end of enumeration): *burqan-u šaril* .. *dörben maqaranja-yin ergügsen badir ayay-a* .. *jandan juu kiged-i jalaju* .. ‘respectfully bringing Buddha-relics, a monk’s alms-gathering bowl that was offered by the four Mahārājas, the sandalwood (statue of) Buddha, and so on’.
- ET 65a6 (end of enumeration): *jegün yurban tümen Abay-a Qorčin kiged-i abun* ‘taking the three left-hand side *tümens*, the Abaga, the Khorchin and so on’.
- ET 68a25 (end of enumeration): (*Lingdan qutuytu qayan* ...) *dotoyadu sitügen kiged-i būrin-e tegüskeged* ‘(Ligdan the holy emperor) let fully supply the interior objects of worship and the like’.
- ET 70b6 (end of enumeration): *degedü dooradu qoyar ayimay Sir-a Uyiyur* .. *dooradu aday egem-ün Arig Sangyarjšigab* .. *Groo Glımbum* .. *Snartang Seringsgab yurban noyad* .. *ulus irgen-nuyud kiged-i ayulju abun* .. ‘the three lords, the lower, the last and the one of the shoulder, Arig Sangs-rgyas-skyabs, Gro-bo Gleng-’bum and Snar-thang Tshe-ring-skyabs, took the people and (their belonging)s’.<sup>6</sup>
- ET 71a28 (end of enumeration): *Blargan lam-a Asduy sayıqan bandi* .. *Asduy Včir Tümei sangγasba* .. *yurban kiged-i Mongγol-un yaǰar-a abču iren* .. ‘bringing the lama Bla-rgan, Asduy Sayıqan bandi<sup>7</sup> and Asduy Včir Tümei sangγasba<sup>8</sup> and others (= their retinue?) to the land of the Mongols’.
- ET 76a14 (end of enumeration): *erdeni manayū-bar egüdiysen tamaγ-a* .. *ulus* .. *yaǰad* .. *jiyuqu sir-a bičig kiged=i ögčü* ‘giving (him) a seal made of pre-

5 Cf. MNT §§161, 177 *tülešile*- ‘to make burnt offerings’, used metaphorically in the MNT, cf. de Rachewiltz 2004/1: 587.

6 Cf. Gro-bo lung Lho-brag rdzong khongs-kyi sa-cha, Mar-pa lo-tsā ‘khrungs-yul ‘The Gro-bo Valley is a part of Lho-brag-rdzong Region, the native place of Marpa the Translator’ (Krang 2: 408a).

7 Tibetan *ban-de*, *ban-dhe* ‘monk, reverend’, not yet ‘novice’ as in modern Mongol *bandi* or Kalmyk *manj*.

8 Tibetan *sngags-pa* ‘exorcist’, Khalkha *sangγaswaa* = *tarnič*, see also *sangγasba* = *tarniči*, Lessing 672b, but in common lore, such a monk is imagined as an ascetic with disheveled hair, someone with wild appearance, as in the saying *sangγaswaa sagsuu tolgoi*, where *sagsuu*, Mon-



cious chalcedony, subjects, lands, a letter of mandate (written on) yellow (silk) and the like’.

ET 79a08 (end of enumeration): *tedüi darui-dur Balbu-nar=i-yar .. lam-a-yin bey-e egüdüin .. busu basa sitügen adis kiged-i soyurqaju* ‘then immediately letting Nepalese (craftsmen) make the image of the Lama, (the Dalai Lama) also deigned to grant objects of worship and (bestowed) blessing (on him)’.

ET (end of enumeration): *tedeger бүкү өгlige-yin ejed-te kijayalal ügei bolbasurayulun üledküi abišig* 81b5 *kiged-i .. jarliy-un erke uduriyulsun selte-yi olan-a soyurqan* ♦ ‘deigning to confer upon all those patrons (and) many (others) the consecration that gives boundless maturity, together with the empowering guidance of the Word’.

ET 93a26 (end of enumeration): *bičig tamay-a beleg kiged-i ögčü ilegey=sen-dür* .. ‘gave and sent a letter with seal and presents, and then ...’.

ET 95b04 (end of enumeration): (*Eyeber jasayči qayan*) ... *töb-ün dörben tümen Manju .. jiryuyan tümen Mongyol kiged-i erke-ber-iyen bolyan* .. ‘(the Ijixün dasan / Shunzhi Emperor) ... ruling over the four Manchu *tümens* of the center and the six Mongol *tümens* and so on’.

ET 96a23 (end of enumeration): *basa ber Töbed-ün ulus-un ejen Oyirad-un Včir qayan-a .. jarliy-un sir-a bičig .. kündü yamun-u čola-yin tamay-a .. beleg kiged-i ögčü ilege=ged* .. ‘also, (the Emperor) gave a yellow [here: imperial] letter of decree, a seal with the title of a weighty office, and presents to the Oirat Ochir Khan, ruler of the Tibetan country, and then ...’.

ET 96a29 (end of enumeration): ... *sudur tarni .. silyamal tayilbur .. jokistu ayalyu kiged=i surqu-yin tula* .. ‘to study the Sūtras and Dhāraṇīs (Bka’-gyur), the Exquisite Commentaries (Bstan’gyur), the Proper Sounding (Kāvyadarśa), and the like’.

Toyin Guiši’s colophon to his *Siluyun budayun üy-e onoqui neretü sudur*. The Sūtra titled ‘Treating the Rightful and the Foolish’, Rinčen Ms, f. 192b (see Šagdarsüren 1989; end of enumeration): *qamuy burqan-nuyud-un nom-un erdem .. yayiqamsiy bodisung [= bodistv]-nar-un yabudal vičai [= višai] .. qamtu öglige šayšabad küličenggüi .. qayarqay-a kičiyenggüi diyan bilig kiged-i* [instead of *kiged-ün?*] ♦ *siluyun erdem-ün sang anu boluxči* [...] *silyulaydaqun* [ms: syqwl’qd’-qwn] *budayu üiles-i tebčigülüigči* .. ... *ene sudur-i* ‘(writing) this sūtra ... that is (*lit.* becomes) the treasury of a straight knowledge of the wisdom of the Dharma of all buddhas (as well as) the ways and

gol *saysay* is ‘unbearable, haughty’, cognate of *saysayi* ‘to be disheveled/bushy; to be self-important’, cf. also Uzbek *saksovol*, Kazak *sekseuil* and Russian *saksail* ‘Haloxylon ammodendron’.

sphere of the wonderful bodhisattvas, together with alms-giving, vows, endurance, and, in particular, assiduousness, dhyāna and insight, (this sūtra) that lets abandon the foolish deeds that should be ripped up’.

**kiged-iyer** instrumental:

ET 18a10 (end of enumeration): *qarangyu Töbed-ün yaǵar-a šaǵin-u naran-i uryuyulun* .. *nayan nasun-dur-ıyan u noqai jıl-e* .. *qoyar Dar-a qatun Tonmi noyan Sambur-a* .. *uran tüsimel kiged-iyer* .. *itegel arban nigen niyur singgeged* .. *ečüs-ün möngke ner-e-yi qotola jüg-üd-tür tügegebei* ♦ ‘Letting the sun of religion rise over the dark land of Tibet in the year of the *u* (午 *wu*) dog, in his eightieth year of age, together with the two Tārā Queens, Lord Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and the like, the Eleven Faced (Avalokiteśvara) having been absorbed, they disseminated the final everlasting fame in all directions’.

ET 20a26 (end of enumeration): *tere čay-tur qayan-u qorin tabun-u ga morin jüle* .. *boyda Badm-a Sambau-a bayši-dača* .. *yeke qayan qorin tabun nököd kiged-iyer* .. *gün narin niyuča tarni-yin saba bolqu-yin tula* .. *sayibar oduysad=un naiman jarlıy-tu-yin mandal-tur* .. *doloıyan jayun qorin burqad-un abışig abquy-a* .. ‘At that time, when the emperor was twenty five, in a *ga* (甲 *jia*) horse year, together with (*kiged-iyer*) twenty five retainers, in order to become receptacles for the deep, subtle and secret spells (*dhā-ṛaṇī*), were receiving the empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) of seven hundred and twenty buddhas from the Holy Padmasaṃbhava in the maṇḍala of the One with the Eight Commandments, ...’.

ET 59b6 (end of enumeration): (‘wlq’) *Samur tayıqu eke inu öber-ıyen ildün büselen* .. *mori-tu* .. *üker-tü yabayın čerig kiged-iyer* .. *ayalaǵu* .. ‘... his mother, Samur Taihou (‘mother of the emperor’) put a sword on her belt and campaigned herself with troops on horseback, on oxen, on foot and the like’.

ET 86a12 (end of enumeration): *jıu Šigamuni-yin arban qoyar nasun-u činegetü bey-e-yin sitügen-i* .. *erdeni altan mönggün kiged-iyer egüdüin* .. ‘making an image of Lord Śākyamuni, (a statue) of gems, gold and silver, (showing him) as a twelve years old’.

**kiged-te** dative:

ET 95b22 (end of enumeration): *Dalai lam-a nököd selte kiged-te* .. *lam-a erdeni-yin noyirsagu ger* .. *sayuquı ger* [...] *sang-un ger terigüten=i üjšeküleng-dey-e egüdüged* .. ‘having beautifully made a residence for the Precious Lama to spend the night, a residence to sit, a house of treasury and the like for the Dalai Lama and his retinue, ...’.

***kiged-tür*** dative/locative:

(Not found in my sources with accessible word-index.)

***kiged-ün*** genitive:

AQJ 6a (end of a shortened enumeration): *čoyčas ijayur oron kiged-ün nököčel-dügči anu* ‘the one that combines the aggregations, the place of origin and the like’.

AQJ 52a (end of enumeration): *čečeg küji sikür kiged-ün qur-a* ‘a rain of flowers, incense, umbrellas and the like’.

AQJ 53a (end of a shortened enumeration): *bundarig linqu-a kiged-ün kisar* ‘stems of puṇḍarika, lotus and the like’.

AQJ 64b (end of enumeration): *tngri luus kiged-ün terigülegči erketen anu bügüdeger* ‘all of their leading potentates of gods and dragons’.

ET 12r14 (end of enumeration): *tere güngjü ökin-i yuyur-a .. Enedkeg-ün nom-un qayan .. Dasig erdini-yin qayan .. Mongγol qural-un ejen qayan .. Geser čerig-ün qayan kiged-ün .. dörben ayimay elčin jergeber iregsen ajiyu* ‘To ask for that daughter, that princess’ (hand), the four groups of the messengers of India’s Dharma king, the Tazig Jewel King, the Lord King of the Assembled Mongols and the Warrior King Geser arrived at the same time’.

***kiged-lüge*** comitative:

AQJ 65a (end of a shortened enumeration): *basa ber ijayur-un sudur kiged-lüge tokiyal=duyulju* ‘also collating it with the original sūtra and other (scriptures)’.

In this short note I labeled the extension of *kiged*’s function ‘restricted nominalization’ of a verbal adverb, but as no sources later than those of the 17th century seem to offer data of *kiged* with syntactic markers, this phenomenon might have been interpreted as a vestige of an earlier, now lost, verbal noun function of this verbal adverb. However, as far as no perfective verbal adverbs of other verbs are found with syntactic markers, this ‘restricted nominalization’ remains restricted to *ki-* ‘to do’. It is likely induced by the function of *kiged* as terminator of an enumeration, analogous to that of the plural noun *terigüten* ‘ones beginning with’ > ‘ones headed with’ > ‘and the like; and so on’, which may have syntactic markers, for instance, *terigüten-e*, dative-locative; *terigüten-eče*, ablative; *terigüten-i*, accusative; *terigüten-iyer*, instrumental, and *terigüten-ü*, genitive, as in AQJ, Shes-rab Seng-ge’s Buddha-Vita (see Ligeti 1974c: 432–433), and Sagang Sechen’s *ET* (see de Rachewiltz and Krueger 1991: 209). Cf. also the modal verbal adverb *terigülen* in the same function.

There are more cases of functional changes of verbal forms. One is the relatively late (18th century?) concessive verbal adverb *-bačU*, which is formed

from *-bA(i)*, the finite form, preterit tense of the perfective aspect + the clitic *ču* 'even, also'.<sup>9</sup>

A similar formation is the modern conditional verbal adverb *-bAl*, which is the fusion of the marker of the same preterit perfect finite verb and the emphatic clitic *ele*.

Another and more drastic functional change is seen in the *praesens futuri* finite form of the verb of existence *bü-*. The full form, *büyü* (written *BWYU*, and later misread as *buyu*) was abridged to *büi* (again, written *BWY* and later misread as *bui*) became the source of a new verbal noun, Khalkha *bui*, also the question tag *we/be* (and its other variants with long or no vowels) of sentences with interrogative pronouns; its old form with question tag *büyü-üü* or *büyügü* (written *BWYW-WW* or *BWYWG W*) (mis)read as *buyuu* is now a conjunction, meaning 'or'. Later an unrounded variant *bei*<sup>10</sup> developed from *büi*, and this survives in Khalkha and other living Mongol languages as the predicative *bü*, indicating manifest presence or existence.

Middle Mongol has predicative use of what appears to be the plural form of the modal verbal adverb *-n* as in MNT § 64 *ulus üliü temečet* '(we) do not fight (with other people)'; MNT § 127 *yekin ügület ta* 'how can you say (that ...)' of *ügülen*; MNT § 176 *elset je* '(the Onggirat) will certainly surrender' of *else-*; *qatquldut je bida* 'we shall certainly fight'; MNT § 265 *basa jiči morilat je bida* 'then we shall agan set out' of *morila-*; or in Srn 130d, *kemeldüd* 'they say' of *kemeldü-* and Srn 333d, 358d *ügüleldüd* of *ügüleldü-* id., see more in Bosson (1969: 23), with further references.

9 The classical concessive verbal adverb of *ge-* 'to say', *gebečü* (that became an alternative form of the older compound *kemebesü ber*) > Khalkha *gewč*, is also used now as a sentence-head conjunction, meaning 'nevertheless' or 'however'. In modern Khalkha colloquial this concessive verbal adverb is often replaced with the perfective verbal noun followed by the clitic *č* < *ču* and the perfective noun *gesen* (< *kemegen*) as in *xadgalj baisan-č gesen* 'although (the subject) preserved', *tegsen-č gesen* 'even if (one) did so', ... *gesen-č* 'although ...', etc., see, for instance, in Tsendiin Damdinsüren's short story *Bux Gombo* 'Gombo the Bull': *Olon saixan nöxödiinxöö büteej baigaa ix xeregt yaligüi-č gesen nemer bolj* ... 'contribute, even though a little, to the great cause that your many good fellows are working on ...' and *Gombo ni xeden malaa mallaad ix ilüüčlex yumgüi č gesen, xünees guix yumgüi ail bolj* ... 'Although having been herded his few animals, Gombo did not have much to spare, (he) managed to have a household that did not need to ask anything from others ...' (Pürewdorj 1991: 6).

10 See, for instance, *Sečen qayan-u gegen-dü ile bei j-e* 'it is certainly clear for his majesty (*gegen*) the Sechen Khan', in the Kharachin Wandan's letter sent to the Manchu ruler Sure Han, alias Hongtaiji (Tiancong 1628–1636), slightly misread and misinterpreted in Di Cosmo and Bao 2003: 75. Cf. also Kow. 2: 112a; Khalkha *bijee*, *bij*, *bij-dee* > *biddee*.

Here belongs also the loss of the Middle Mongol 'feminine' forms indicating the natural gender of human subjects in attributive nouns with the suffix *-tAi* vs. *-tU*, as well as in the present and preterit tenses of the perfect aspect (for instance, MNT §155 *aǰ'ai* vs. *aǰu'ui*, *sa'ubi* vs. *sa'uba*, *büligi* vs. *büle'e*),<sup>11</sup> suggesting that these originally were verbal nouns. Just as here, in Kitan, too, there is no grammatical gender, but a morphological indication of the natural gender of humans and possibly of other living beings in nouns meaning a quality. Mongolic languages have this distinction in the system of color names applied for animals, including those of five colors of the Twelve in the calendar, and so has Manchu. Such are also many Middle Mongol clan names (*Barqudai/Barqujin*, *Borǰigidai Mergen*, *Mongqoljin Qo'a*) and Middle, Classical, and Modern Mongol terms indicating the age and gender of some animals (*γunan/γunaǰin* 'a male/female animal in the third year of age', *dönen/dönejin* '... in the fourth year of age');<sup>12</sup> some of these are Mongol loans in Kyrgyz and Kazak.<sup>13</sup>

### Abbreviations

AQJ	<i>Arban qoyar joki yangyui üiles</i> . Shes-rab Seng-ge's Mongol version of Chos-kyi 'Odzer's Tibetan Buddha-legend. <i>The Twelve Deeds</i> . See word-index in Ligeti 1974.
ATAnon(ymous)	<i>Qad-un ündüšün quri yangyui Altan tobči</i> = Čoimaa 2002.
BcaTanjur	de Rachewiltz 1996.
BcaTay	Chos-kyi 'Od-zer's Mongol version of the <i>Bodhicaryāvatāra</i> with commentary, 1312. See word-index in Ligeti 1970.
ET	<i>Erdeni-yin tobci</i> [ <i>Precious Summary</i> ], see de Rachewiltz, Igor and Krueger, John R. 1991.
Kow.	Kowalewski 1844–1849.
MKitadT	Mongyol Kitad toli 1999. [Mongol-Chinese dictionary].
MNT	<i>Mongqolun niuča tobča'an</i> [ <i>The Secret History of the Mongols</i> ], see de Rachewiltz 2004 with further references and Haenisch 1939.

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- 11 Cf. also a short and not exhaustive note in Badmaeva 2000: 28; she mentions a square-script Mongol version of the *Pañcarakṣā*, but only a fragment with non-Mongol spells is extant of a medieval print.
- 12 In Middle Mongol, *γunan sara*, and Kalmyk *sarīn γunn* may also mean the third day of the new moon, see Bosson 1969, note 134; also *γunta* '(a child) in his/her third year', see Munin Bembe 1977, 169.
- 13 This article was written during the pandemic without full access to the primary sources and the scholarly literature.

- Mod. *Modgalavani köbegiün eke-degen tusa kürgegsen sudur* 'Sūtra on how the son Maudgalyāyana helped his mother', see Lőrincz 1962.
- MXDTT *Монгол хэлний дэлгэрэнгүй тайлбар толь* [Comprehensive dictionary of the Mongol language], Bold 2008.

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# The ‘Oirat Fragment’ in the *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur* and Its Linguistic Value

Pavel Rykin

## 1 Introduction

The linguistic history of the Oirat dialects, now widespread over a vast territory from Western Mongolia to the Volga and Caspian steppes, is well reflected in various sources from the late seventeenth century onwards. The most significant category of these sources is formed by written monuments in the so-called Clear script, a modified form of the Uighur-Mongol script, created in 1648 by the Buddhist missionary and scholar Zaya Pandita Namkhai Jamtso (1599–1662). The underlying literary language of the Clear script, usually called Written Oirat, is currently considered to be nothing more than a written representation of the clerkly pronunciation of texts in Uighur-Mongol script that was common among the Oirats and Mongols in the mid-seventeenth century (Rákos 2015a: 354–358; 2015b: 107–111). Despite its supra-dialectal character, Written Oirat contains a large number of colloquial or dialectal features, phonetic as well as grammatical and lexical, and is of undoubted value for the study of Oirat historical dialectology.<sup>1</sup>

Another large category of sources includes Western European materials on Oirat dialects, rendered in Latin script. The earliest of them is the Kalmuck word list found in the extensive compilation *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (*North and East Tartary*) by the Dutch statesman, traveler and scholar Nikolaas Witsen (1641–1717), two editions of which were published in 1692 and 1705.<sup>2</sup> Another Kalmuck glossary containing ca. 1400 words and phrases was incorporated by Philip Johan Tabbert von Strahlenberg (1676–1747), a captured Swedish officer who lived in Siberia from 1711 to 1722, into his work *Das Nord-und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia* (*North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*), published

<sup>1</sup> For colloquial and dialectal elements in Written Oirat, see Rákos (2015b: 115–136).

<sup>2</sup> This vocabulary is dealt with in detail in a recently published article by Badagarov (2018). In Witsen’s work, there is another small list of Kalmuck words in both Latin and Tibetan (“Tangut”) scripts, discussed by Kara (2005: 181–182, n. 323), Badagarov (2017) and Badagarov, Natsagdorj and Janhunen (2018: 431–437).

in Stockholm in 1730.<sup>3</sup> There are also other works by European writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which provide valuable data on Oirat and Kalmuck spoken varieties of that time.<sup>4</sup>

## 2 Between Fact and Fantasy: Two Early Sources on Oirat Lexical Peculiarities

### 2.1 *Rashīd al-Dīn's Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*

Special attention should be given to two earlier primary sources on lexical features of the Oirat dialects. The first evidence on the language differences between the Oirats and other Mongol tribes is contained in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*), a monumental historical work completed between 1306 and 1311. The text runs as follows:<sup>5</sup>

- (1) و لغت ایشان هر چند مغولی است با لغت دیگر اقوام مغول اندک تفاوتی دارد مثل آنک  
کاردر را دیگران کیتوقه گویند و ایشان مدغه و مانند این الفاظ بسیار هست  
[JT 222]

'Although their language is Mongolian, it has a slight difference from the language of the other Mongol peoples. For example, the others call a knife *kituqa*, but they [call it] *madagha*.<sup>6</sup> There are many such words.'<sup>7</sup>

3 This glossary is assumed to be compiled by Strahlenberg between 1715 and 1721 during his trip to the Volga Kalmyks. However, there is reason to believe that he was not the true author of the glossary but only a publisher of the material collected by someone else (Krueger 1975: 24–27). According to Manaster Ramer and Bondar' (2018), most of Strahlenberg's vocabularies may have been actually collected by his close friend Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, the well-known German scholar and traveler, who made several scientific expeditions to Siberia between 1720 and 1727.

4 Early European sources on Oirat linguistic history, including the materials of Witsen and Strahlenberg, were published in facsimile by Doerfer (1965). For these sources, see also Rákos (2015b: 105–106).

5 Here and elsewhere, Middle Mongol, Old Turkic, Written Mongol, and Written Oirat forms are cited in standard academic transcription. Ligeti's system of palaeographic transcription is used for Preclassical Mongol (see Ligeti 1972: 9–11; cf. also de Rachewiltz and Rybatzki 2010: 164–165). Modern Mongolic forms are given in IPA-based phonemic transcription.

6 According to Pelliot (1944: 95–96), <madagha> in this passage is a distortion of هدا <hūdga>, which allegedly rendered a form intermediate between Written Mongol *qitūya* (> *kituqa*) and Modern Kalmuck *utxə* ~ *utgə* 'knife'. However, neither the reading هدا\* nor a *ḍammah* above the first consonant is not found in any of the manuscripts and therefore should not be taken into consideration.

7 My English translation slightly differs from that of Thackston (trans.) (1998/1: 55b).

This statement cannot be true: PM \*kituga(i) 'knife'<sup>8</sup> is well attested in Written Oirat,<sup>9</sup> Modern Kalmuck and the Oirat dialects of Mongolia and China,<sup>10</sup> and there is no doubt that it must have been part of the Oirat vocabulary as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. As for the word *madaya*, it is neither specifically Oirat, nor an exact synonym for \*kituga(i) at all. Doerfer (1964; cf. also TMEN I No. 362) rightly connects 𐰽𐰺𐰍 with WM *madaya*/*n* 'espèce de couteau-de-chasse' (Kow. III 1991b), 'malen'kii kortik; palaš' (Gol. III 209a), 'hunting knife; small sword' (L 519a) and—in a slightly modified meaning—WO *madaxā* 'die Beißzange' (Zwick 1852: 258),<sup>11</sup> believing that this word may have denoted not a knife in general, but a special type of knife, used only among the Oirats in Rashīd al-Dīn's time. A cognate of this form is, indeed, found in the Torgut dialect of Modern Kalmuck as *madag* 'tesak' (KRS 338b). However, its cognates are also present in some other modern Central Mongolic idioms; cf. Kh. *mathag* 'izognutyi nož, kortik' (BAMRS II 326b), BurT *madaga* 'bol'shoi oxotničii nož (dlinoi do polumetra)' (BRS I 527a), BurM *madaga* ~ *mataga* 'bol'shoi oxotničii nož, tesak' (BAT 315b).<sup>12</sup> The Khalkha form with *-th-* and the Buryat dialectal form with *-t-* suggest that *madaya*/*n* is a deverbal noun in *-GA/n* < \*-

8 For this etymon and its reflexes in various Mongolic languages, see Nugteren (2011: 414–415).

9 Cf. WO *kituya* ~ *xutuya* ~ *xutuyu* ~ *utuya(i)* 'knife' (MOM I 166a, b, II 291a, III 728a). See Pelliot (1944) for other examples of irregular alternation of word-initial \*k ~ Ø in Mongolic. The form \*kituya <kutuga> = <khu th'u ga> 'knife', related to the Written Oirat form, also appears in Witsen's "Tangut" material, actually reflecting one of the Oirat idioms of the late seventeenth century (Badagarov 2017: 220, No. 47; Badagarov, Natsagdorj and Janhuneev 2018: 435, No. 47). Witsen's Kalmuck glossary has another two variants of this word, \*xutaya <Chutaga> and \*kutaya <Koutaga> 'id.' (Badagarov 2018: 481, No. 81; 494, No. 244), demonstrating the development \*u > /a/ in the second syllable, which may be explained as a result of regressive assimilation or reduction of non-initial vowels. Of these variants only \*kutaya <Koetaga> 'id.' is found in Witsen's "Dagur" word-list, which is in fact an abbreviated and slightly modified version of his Kalmuck glossary (Hajnal 1994: 306, No. 254). Cf. also the forms \*kutaya <kutaga> and \*utaya <utaga> ~ <otaga> 'id.' in Stralenberg's Kalmuck vocabulary (Krueger 1975: 96).

10 Cf. Kalm. *utx* ~ *utg* 'Messer' (KWb 452b), *utx* 'nož, nožik' (KRS 540a; Cendée and Pyurbiev 2016: 274b); OirM *xutxā* ~ *xutag* 'couteau' (Kara 1958: 145), *xutxā* ~ *xutag* ~ *utxā* ~ *utax* ~ *utgā* 'nož, nožik' (OA 466, 878), *utxā* 'dlinnyi nož (nositsya v nožnakh)' (Cendée and Pyurbiev 2016: 121a), 'knife' (Cendée 2013: 13a); OirX *utxā* 'knife' (Čoyijungjab and Gereltü 1998: 237), *utgā* 'nož, nožik' (Todaeva 2001: 359).

11 The form *madaxā* does not occur in Krueger's Written Oirat dictionary, but it certainly corresponds to *madxam* 'tongs, pincers' (MOM III 591b).

12 This word is not found in other Mongolic varieties, including the Qinghai-Gansu languages that are highly important for Proto-Mongolic reconstruction.

hA/n<sup>13</sup> from *mata-* < \*maDa- ‘to curve, bend, bow’,<sup>14</sup> i.e. it literally means ‘what is curved or bent’. This etymology is further supported by many cases of irregular alternation of \*d and \*t (< \*D) in Mongolic languages, which I will discuss in more detail in a separate paper.

## 2.2 Sir-a tuyuġi

The second early evidence on Oirat lexical features comes from the Mongol chronicle *Sir-a tuyuġi* (*Yellow History*), the original or the first recension of which dates back to the period between 1651 and 1662.<sup>15</sup> This evidence is included in a curious passage about the Oirat campaign of Manduqai Sečen Qatun.<sup>16</sup> After the defeat of the Four Oirat confederation in the area of Tes Bürtü/Tas Burtu (*tesbür tü/tasbur tu*), which took place presumably in 1490,<sup>17</sup> she is said to have established the following law or prohibition (*čayaġa*) for the Oirats:

- (2) *ta egün-eče qoyisi . ger-iyen ordo geġi buu kele : öрге’е geġi kele : ġalaya-ban qoyar quruyun-ača ileġüü buu ki : ġabilaġu buu sayu . sö<’>göddčü sayu : miqa-yi qutay-a-bar buu ide amayar nulyaġi ide : ayiray-ıyan čege’e geġi kele : ... edüge boltala tere čayaġa-bar yabuqu buyu :*

[ŠT 1001–101:2]<sup>18</sup>

“From now on, do not call your tent a palace (*ordo*), call [it] a residence (*öрге’е*). Do not make your tassel more than two fingers [long]. Do not sit cross-legged, sit on [your] knees. Do not eat meat with a knife, eat [it] by

13 For this suffix, see Poppe (1974: § 149), Godziński (1985: § 57) and Farudi (2002: 50–51).

14 Cf. WM *mata-* ‘courber, ployer’ (Kow. III 1991b), ‘sgibat’, ‘zagibat’, ‘vygibat’, ‘gnut’ v ‘dugu’ (Gol. III 208c), ‘to curve or bend; to hollow out in a vault-shape’ (L 530a).

15 For a more detailed discussion of the dating of this chronicle, see Heissig (1959: 83–84) and Cendina (trans.) (2017: 58–62).

16 Manduqai Sečen Qatun was the younger wife of the Chakhar khan Manduyul (1473?–1479), after whose death she assumed the role of regent. About 1480, she married a young boy who was claimed to be the son of the late *ġinong* (viceroy) Bayan Möngke Bolqu and enthroned him as Dayan Qan but continued to rule as regent until he came of age. For more details about her life, see Gorokhova (ed.) (1986: 36–39, 69–74, 99 n. 38) and Atwood (2004: 138a–b, 342a–b, 410a).

17 For the chronology of Manduqai’s Oirat campaign, see Gorokhova (ed.) (1986: 38).

18 My transcription slightly differs from that of Cendina (trans.) (2017: 174). Modified versions of this fragment are encountered in some later Mongol chronicles, such as the *Mongyol borġigid oboy-un teüke* (*History of the Mongolian Borġigid Clan*) by Lomi (1735) and the *Bolor erike* (*The Crystal Rosary*) by Rasipungsuy (1775). See Heissig (1946: 90–91); Heissig and Bawden (eds.) (1957: 70–71). Cf. also Gorokhova (ed.) (1986: 72).

chewing<sup>19</sup> [it] in<sup>20</sup> your mouth. Call your kumiss (*ayiray*) *čege'e*." ... Until now, [the Oirats] act in accordance with this law.<sup>21</sup>

Although this law was clearly derogatory towards the Oirats,<sup>22</sup> it is notable for containing two lexical items, *örge'e* and *čege'e*, that seem to have been perceived as specifically Oirat at the time of the composition of the chronicle. But these lexical differences should be considered imaginary rather than real. The 'Mongol' word *ordo* 'palace',<sup>23</sup> an early Turkic borrowing into

19 The word *nulyaĵi* is a colloquial form of the imperfective converb in *-ĵi* (< *ĵU*) of *nulya* < *\*nilya*-, a verb which is not found in our dictionaries. This verbal root also appears in such words as WM *nilyura*- ~ *nulyura*- (< *\*nilya-ra*-) 'to be overcooked; to fall to pieces from excessive cooking' (L 583b, 595b), containing the suffix of medial verbs *-ra*- (for this suffix, see Poppe [1974: § 237]; Godziński [1985: § 98]; Kempf [2013: 124–131]), Kh. *nolga*- (< *\*nulya-ya*-) 'tyanut' zubami; otkusyvat', otryvat' zubami' (BAMRS II 424b), a petrified causative in *-GA* (on it see Poppe [1974: §§ 224–225]; Godziński [1985: § 110]; Kempf [2013: 55–65]), Ord. *nolkol*- (< *\*nulyu-l* < *\*nulya-l*-) 'réduire en bouillie (par cuisson)' (DO 500b), derived with the iterative suffix *-(V)l*- (for this suffix, see Poppe [1974: § 236]; Godziński [1985: § 119]; Kempf [2013: 103–113]). In view of this, the semantic invariant of the root *nulya* < *\*nilya*- should have been something like *\*to turn foodstuff into a homogeneous mass by cooking or chewing*, from which its particular meanings may be easily derived. For the notion of "semantic invariant", see Wierzbicka (1996: 239–244).

20 Lit., "with".

21 The English translation is my own.

22 It was partially softened later, as Manduqai Sečen Qatun graciously agreed to allow the Oirats to eat meat by cutting it off with a knife.

23 Cf. MM: SHM *ordo* 斡兒朵 'palace' (IX 47a1 et *passim*), also in the NP *ordo ger* 斡兒朵格兒 'palatial tent' (III 43a3 et *passim*); HY *ordo* 斡耳朵 in the NP *ordo ger* 斡耳朵格兒 'palais' (I 8b6); DGZ *ordo* 斡耳朵 = *orto*/'wrtw in the NP *ordo ger* 斡耳朵格兒 = *orto ger*/'wrtw k'r 'palace' (33a). In the Sino-Mongol glossary *Dada yu* 韃靼語 / *Beilu yiyu* 北虜譯語, dated from the late Ming period, which reflects a Mongol idiom belonging to a transitional stage between Middle Mongol and Modern Mongolian, this word occurs as *ordu* 我兒都 'palace' (DY No. 85). Ord. *orto* 'palais' (DO 739b) also goes back to the form with second-syllable *\*u*, as *\*o* developed to /*ü*/ before *\*u* in Ordos (Poppe 1951: 193, 195–197, 206; 1955: 28–29). Cf. also Kit. *\*ordu* 𐰽𐰺𐰸 <*ordu*> ~ 𐰽𐰺𐰸 <*ordu.u*> ~ 𐰽𐰺𐰸 <*o.ordu.u*\*> ~ 𐰽𐰺𐰸 <*ordu.u*\*> ~ 𐰽𐰺𐰸 <*ordu.u*> 'ordo, palace, court' (Kane 2009: 77–78; Róna-Tas 2017: 164; Shimunek 2017: 359–360; see also Čenggeltai, Wu and Jiruhe 2017/1: 432, No. 355). These data allow us to reconstruct PM *\*ordu*, which probably was borrowed from Old Turkic either directly or via Kitan. The origin of MM *ordo* is not entirely clear: it could have developed from *\*ordu* already on Mongolic soil as a result of progressive assimilation, but alternatively it could be taken either from an Old Turkic dialect with conspicuous vowel attraction (see Erdal 2004: 88–91), or from Late Kitan *\*ordo* 斡魯朵 'tent palace' (LS 116.1541; Shimunek 2017: 360; cf. Shimunek 2007: 88) < *\*ordu*. In origin, *ordo* designated the camp of the élite cavalry guard of the *qan* in the middle of which stood the *qan*'s tent or yurt' (de Rachewiltz (trans.) 2006/1: 454). For this word, see also Pelliot (1930: 208–210); Cleaves (1951: 78, n. 32); TMEN II No. 452; Münküjev (1976: 430, n. 19); de Rachewiltz (1982: 72–73, n. 188); Cerensodnom and Taube (1993: 188); Atwood (2004: 16a, 426a–427a).

Mongolic,<sup>24</sup> is also found in Written Oirat,<sup>25</sup> the early twentieth-century Kal-muck language and the Oirat dialects of China,<sup>26</sup> whereas the ‘Oirat’ word *örge*’e < \*ergühe/n ‘residence’,<sup>27</sup> apparently of Post-Proto-Mongolic origin,<sup>28</sup> is well attested both in Written Mongol<sup>29</sup> and some modern Mongolic languages, such as Khalkha, Buryat, and Dagur.<sup>30</sup> Another ‘Mongol’ word *ayiray* ‘kumiss’, also borrowed from Turkic<sup>31</sup> and most probably originally denoted in Mongolic a

- 24 Cf. OT *ordu* (*ordo*) “originally ‘a royal residence’, that is ‘palace’ or ‘royal camp’ as the circumstances demanded” (EDT 203a), ‘stavka, rezidencija xana, dvorec’ (DTS 370b), ‘Palast (auch in metaphorischem Gebrauch für Himmelskörper), Schloss, göttliches Haus, Residenz, Behausung’ (HAU 513a). There seems to be no evidence from Old Turkic in Brāhmī or Tibetan script that would help to determine the exact vocalism of the second syllable in this word (Dieter Maue and Marcel Erdal, p.c., March 2021), but at least one Old Turkic dialect should have had the form with second-syllable /u/ that was the source of Kitan and Proto-Mongolic \*ordu (see note 23).
- 25 Cf. WO *ordu* ~ *ordo* ‘palace, camp, horde’ (MOM I 124a, b). A form of this word seems to have been in use among the Azov Kalmyks at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, according to the work of the Czech Jesuit Johannes Milan, alias Franciscus Emilianus, which was published in 1700: ‘Attigimus primas *hordas Calmukorum* ethnicorum ... venimus ad *hordas Chani Magno Temir*’ (cited after Poucha [1968: 61]).
- 26 Cf. Kalm. *ord* ‘(selt.) Hof, Lager, Horde od. Orda, syn. *örge*’ (KWb 288a–b), also in the NP *ord arf* ‘(coll.) dvorec’ (KRS 402a); OirX *ordan* ‘palace’ (Čoyijungjab and Gereltü 1998: 37; Todaeva 2001: 263).
- 27 Etymologically, a deverbal noun in \*-hA/n > -GA/n from \*ergü- ‘to lift, raise’; cf. WM *ergü* ~ *örgü*- ‘élever, porter quelque chose haut’ (Kov. I 273b–274a, 594b), ‘podnimat’ vverkh; podavat’, stavit’, rasstavlyat’ (Gol. I 118c, 268c), ‘to raise, lift up’ (L 325b, 641b).
- 28 It is absent in Middle Mongol/Preclassical Mongol and in all peripheral Mongolic languages except Dagur, where it may be a loanword from Written Mongol or a Central Mongolic variety.
- 29 Cf. WM *örgüge* ‘la tente ou le pavillon (du khan et des grands dignitaires)’ (Kow. I 594b), ‘stavka, dvorec’ (Gol. I 268c), *ergüge/n* ~ *örgüge/n* ~ *örgege/n* ‘residence or tent of a prince; palace of a khan or a person of rank’ (L 641b).
- 30 Cf. Kh. *orgo* ‘palata, čertog; stavka; yurta vysokopostavlennoogo lica’, ‘dvorec; terem’ (BAMRS III 38a–b), Ord. *orko*: ‘tente ou maison (style élevé)’ (DO 537b); Khor. *urka* ‘palace’ (Sun (ed.) 1990: 547); Bur. *urgo/n* ‘stavka’, ‘dvorec, rezidenciya (monarkha ili glavny dukhovenstva)’ (BRS II 346b); Kham. *urke/n* ‘station’ (Janhunnen 1990: 93, 94); Kalm. *örge* ‘Hof, Palast (des Fürsten), Haus (in höflicher Rede)’ (KWb 299a), ‘palata; stavka, yurta (vysokopostavlennoogo lica), ‘dvorec’ (KRS 423a); DagB *urkx* (*kxr*<sup>i</sup>) ‘(coll.) palata, stavka, dom vysokopostavlennoogo lica’ (Todaeva 1986: 171), DagT *urkx* in the NP *urkx kxr* ‘Mongol tent, felt tent, canopy’ (Yu et al. 2008: 155).
- 31 Cf. OT *ayran* ‘churned milk’ (DLT 73). The commonly accepted etymology of this word, connecting it with the Turkic verb stem *ayır-* < \*ađır- ‘basically “to separate” (two things Acc., or something Acc., from something else Abl.)’ (EDT 66b–67a), ‘razdelyat’, otdelyat’ drug ot druga; razlučat’ (DTS 11b), was called into question by Doerfer (TMEN II No. 639) and Clauson (EDT 276a) on the grounds that if it was correct, *ayran* would have retained the original \*d > [d] ~ [δ] in Qaraghanid Turkic, which is not the case. However, the DLT

special kind of kumiss made from camel's milk,<sup>32</sup> appears in Written Oirat,<sup>33</sup> Kalmuck and Oirat dialects.<sup>34</sup> It was recorded among the Volga Kalmyks in the nineteenth century as mostly referring to fermented cow's milk.<sup>35</sup> Its 'Oirat'

has other derivatives of this stem, demonstrating the change of \*d to /j/: *ayrok* 'other' (69) (an Oguz form, along with *ađrok* 'id.' [62]), *ayrik* 'peat' (69) (an Oguz variant of Turkic *ađrik* 'id.' [62]), *ayriř-* 'to part from one another' (138) (along with *ađriř-* 'id.' [123]) and *ayru* 'if not' [75] (along with *ađri* 'winnowing fork; branched' [75]). The main difference between Turkic *ayran* and Mongolic *ayiray* is that the former contains the suffix *-Xn*, forming object nouns from transitive verbs and subject nouns from intransitive ones (Erdal 1991/1: 3.107), while the latter is derived with the suffix *-(X)g*, also of Turkic origin, which has essentially the same function (ibid.: 3.101). The Mongol form could have been borrowed from an unknown Old Turkic dialect, in which *\*ayrag* < *\*ayrig* was used instead of *ayran*, or, as was suggested by Räsänen (VEWT 12b) and Doerfer (1985: No. 693), it may have got its final *-G* by analogy with other names for dairy products, such as *uyuray* 'colostrum' and *taray* 'clabbered milk, sour milk'. For the etymology of this word, see also Vladimircov (1929: 283); Sanžeev (1930: 618); Clauson (1960: 309); Ščerbak (1966: 29; 1997: 96; 2005: 20–21); ĖSTYa (1974: 111); Rozycki (1994: 21); Rassadin (2007: 56; 2019: 60, 514).

- 32 As judged from the Chinese glosses to this word in early sources on Eastern Middle Mongol; cf. YSZY *aira*[q] 愛刺 'camel's milk' (駝乳) (111 10b4); HY *ayiraq* 愛亦刺黑 'lait de chamelle' (駝奶) (1 13a2); DGZ *ayiraq* 愛亦刺黑 = *ayirayl'* 'yyr'q 'id.' (駝奶) (52a). In the late sixteenth-century Sino-Mongol glossary *Yiyu* 譯語 (*Beilu yiyu* 北虜譯語) from the *Dengtan bijiu* 登壇必究, the word *aira*[y] 矮刺 is provided with the more general and probably not quite accurate gloss 'milk' (奶子) (YY 75r).

- 33 Cf. WO *ayiraq* 'kumiss, sour milk drink, airak' (MOM I 44a).

- 34 Cf. Kalm. *εrɣ* 'Kumys aus Kuhmilch' (KWb 26a), 'ayran (kvařenoe moloko)' (KRS 62b), 'ayran (napitok iz kvařenogo kobylyego ili korovyego moloka)' (Cëndée and Pyurbeev 2016: 256b); OirM *εrɣ* 'lait suri, fermenté; koumys' (Kara 1958: 128), *εrɣ* 'ayrak, kumys' (Cëndée and Pyurbeev 2016: 80a), 'kumis (a fermented drink made directly from cow's milk and from sheep, goat or female camel's)' (Cëndée 2013: 42a); OirX *εrɣ* 'fermented milk drink' (Čoyijungjab and Gereltü 1998: 15), 'ayran (napitok iz kvařenogo kobylyego ili korovyego moloka)' (Todaeva 2001: 44).

- 35 According to Bergmann, who studied the language, life and culture of the Kalmyks in 1802 and 1803, the word *Airak* referred to a drink made from fermented cow's milk: 'Weil sich die Kuhmilch im Sommer nicht lange frisch erhält, so wird sie von den Kalmücken zu einem säuerlich verarbeitet, welches *Airak* heißt' (1804/2: 79). *Ayiraq* 'sour milk (sour drink made from cow's milk)' is documented in Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck dictionary, most probably written between 1819 and 1823 (Svantesson [trans.] 2012: 24b). The use of this word among the Kalmyks is confirmed by Russian travelers and explorers of the nineteenth century. Nefedyev, who visited the Volga Kalmyks in 1833 and 1834, recorded evidence of two kinds of kumiss, *Čigan* (= WO *cigen* ~ *cigēn*), made from mare's milk, and *ayrek* (= WO *ayiraq*), made from cow's milk (1834: 135). According to Nebol'sin, who got acquainted with the life of the Kalmyks in 1850 and 1851, there was a distinction between kumiss (*čigen*) prepared from mare's milk and ayran (*ayrik*) prepared from cow's or sheep's milk (1852: 41, 49). Žiteckii, who conducted fieldwork among the Volga Kalmyks in 1883–1886, also records two names for dairy drinks, *aryan* or *arik* ('acidified milk') and *čigen* ('kumiss') (1887: 15b–16a).

equivalent *čege'e* < \*čegehe/n 'kumiss', etymologically related to \*čegehe/n 'white; light'<sup>36</sup> and thus representing a metaphorical designation of kumiss based on its color, is found not only in historical and modern Oirat varieties,<sup>37</sup> but also in Written Mongol,<sup>38</sup> as well as in Khalkha, Ordos and Buryat.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, the early historical accounts of the Oirat lexical differences, provided by Rashīd al-Dīn and the unknown author of the *Sir-a tuyuǰi*, look like the interminglings of fact and fantasy and therefore should not be taken at face value. The fact is that such differences certainly did exist, and some of them as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, otherwise they simply would not have been mentioned at all. However, the specific examples of these differences as given in our sources are fictitious rather than real, and they may be interpreted as more likely to belong to the field of perceptual dialectology.<sup>40</sup> Both authors probably heard something about distinctive lexical features of the Oirat dialects of their time, but they hardly had a clear idea of what these features were and how to explain them in an adequate manner. It seems that their information on Oirat was based not on first-hand knowledge obtained from the Oirats themselves but on hearsay evidence, orally transmitted by non-Oirats, at best only passingly familiar with the Oirat language and its actual features.

36 Cf. WM *čegen* (= *čegēn* < \*čegehen) 'blanc comme la neige, bien clair, éclatant' (Kow. III 2124a), 'soveršenno belyi, svetlyi' (Gol. III 263a), 'white, whitish, light' (L 169b). This word is a palatal doublet of PM \*čagaha/n 'white', for which see Nugteren (2011: 298). For more details on palatal/velar doublets in Mongolic, see Vladimircov (1929: 126–134); Tatar (1984: 169, 171–172); de Rachewiltz (trans.) (2006/2: 785–786).

37 Cf. WO *cigen* ~ *cigēn* (< \*čigehe/n < \*čegehe/n) 'kumiss' (MOM III 637a, b); Kalm. *tfigen* 'Kumys' (KWb 438b), 'kumys, ayran' (KRS 647b), 'kumys, ayran (iz kobylyego, korovyego ili verblyuzyego moloka)' (Céndée and Pyurbeev 2016: 265a–b); OirM *tfigen* 'kumys, ayraḳ' (OA 852), 'kumys' (Céndée and Pyurbeev 2016: 83a), 'a fermented drink made directly from mare's milk' (Céndée 2013: 42a); OirX *tfigen* 'fermented mare's milk' (Čoyijungjab and Gereltü 1998: 237), 'kumys (iz kobylyego ili korovyego moloka)' (Todaeva 2001: 438). Initial /i/ in these idioms is due to the palatalizing influence of the preceding \*č.

38 Cf. WM *čege* (= *čegē* < \*čegehe) 'kumys, kvašenoe moloko (u buryat)' (Gol. III 262c), *čege/n* ~ *čige/n* 'mare's milk, kumiss' (L 169a, 179a).

39 Cf. Kh. *ts'ege/ŋ* 'kumys' (BAMRS IV 286a); Ord. *tf'ike*: 'koumys fait avec du lait du jument' (DO 702a); Bur. *sege* 'kumys (napitok iz zabrodivšego kobylyego moloka; tekhnologiya izgotovleniya takaya že, kak u ayraḳa)' (BRS II 205b).

40 According to Montgomery and Beale (2011: 121), "perceptual dialectology is a discipline that investigates what language users themselves think and believe about language. It explores where people believe dialect areas to exist, and the geographical extent of these areas, along with how these people react to spoken language ... We place this area of study within a wider approach to the study of non-linguists' thoughts and beliefs about language, known ... as folk linguistics". For an overview of the current problematics and methodology of perceptual dialectology, see Preston (2018). Cf. also Preston (ed.) (1999) and Long and Preston (eds.) (2002).



Be that as it may, it should be noted that the very mention of linguistic distinctiveness of Oirat clearly points to some very early tendencies towards the differentiation of the Central Mongolic languages, which probably started to emerge in the Middle Mongol period and became more conspicuous by the mid-seventeenth century.

### 3 Oirat Dialectal Features in the *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur*

It is also important to draw attention to another early evidence of the distinctive features of Oirat dialects, which has not previously been taken into account in Oirat studies. The evidence is contained in the Mongol chronicle entitled *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur*, lit. 'The Jewel Translucent Sūtra' (hereafter ETS), which is mostly a description of the life and work of the famous Altan Qan of the Tümed (1508–1582)<sup>41</sup> and his immediate successors. The work was written in alliterative verse about 1607,<sup>42</sup> possibly at the behest of Noyanču Jünggin Qatun (ca. 1551–1612),<sup>43</sup> the most beloved wife of Altan Qan and the actual ruler of the Tümed after his death.<sup>44</sup> The chronicle contains various

41 For more biographical details concerning Altan Qan, see Kollmar-Paulenz (2001: 50–147); Elverskog (2003: 11–35; 2014); Atwood (2004: 9b–10b).

42 There is no mention of a date of composition or an author in the chronicle itself; however, its compilation can be dated to about 1607 on the basis of indirect evidence. For a fuller discussion on the dating of the work, see Heissig (1984: 191–192); Kollmar-Paulenz (2000: 191, Anm. 5; 2001: 23–26); Elverskog (2003: 44–46).

43 Noyanču Jünggin Qatun was the granddaughter (a daughter's daughter) of Altan Qan. Originally, she was promised to an Ordos prince, most probably Noyandara (d. 1572), the son of Mergen-jinong, but Altan Qan changed his decision and took her as his own third wife, which supposedly happened about 1567. After the death of Altan Qan, she successively married his son Senge Dügüireng (d. 1585), grandson Čürüke, or Namudai (d. 1607), and great-great-grandson Buşuytu. During this period, she played an outstanding role in the political life of the Tümed, for example, controlling the princely seal of Altan Qan and his elite troops. She actively supported peaceful relations with China and continued Altan Qan's activities in organizing translations of Buddhist works into Mongolian. For her services in maintaining peace on the Sino-Mongol border, she was granted the honorary title of *zhongshun fuzhen* 忠順夫人 'Loyal and Obedient Lady'. On her see Serruys (1975); Kollmar-Paulenz (2000); Atwood (2004: 10a–b).

44 This is evidenced by the fact that she is the most often mentioned person in the ETS after Altan Qan, while her name is only rarely encountered in other Mongol sources (Kollmar-Paulenz 2000: 192–194). Noyanču Jünggin Qatun is known for her interest in literary activities, namely translations of Buddhist works from Tibetan into Mongolian (Vladimircov 1927: 224, 226–227; Serruys 1975: 236), so her role as a patron of the chronicle, glorifying the deeds of her late husband as well as herself, should not be surprising.

data on the history and culture of the Mongols of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, confirming and supplementing the information provided by Chinese and Tibetan sources. Of special importance is a unique passage relating to the Oirats, which has no counterparts in other Mongol chronicles and documents. It is included in the account of Altan Qan's military campaign against the Öölöd<sup>45</sup> and Baatud,<sup>46</sup> which supposedly took place in 1558.<sup>47</sup> When the Oirats caught up with the retreating Tümed troops and engaged in battle, the Oirat seers (*oyirad-un üjemerčin*) saw light emanating from Altan Qan's body and, frightened by this, said to each other:

- (3) *ayuyduqui metü bolbai ni asuru niyтарqan yabunayila : aytan-u tuyuran-ača ni yal sitaqu metü yabuṇai la : aru degere ni daṇaṇatu čölmen dayaṇu yabuṇai la : amidu esen бүкүй-еңе gem ügei qayačalduy-a la*

[ETS 12r6–11]<sup>48</sup>

*ayu-yduqui metü bol-bai ni asuru*  
fear-NEC like become-PST.FC 3SG.POSS very  
*niyтарqan-yabu-nayi-la aytan-u tuyuran-ača*  
be.compact-CVB.MOD go-PROG=FOC gelding-GEN hoof-ABL  
*ni yal sita-qu metü yabu-nai la aru degere*  
3SG.POSS fire catch-PTCP.NPST like go-PROG FOC back on  
*ni dayaya-tu čölmen daya-ṇu yabu-nai la amidu*  
3SG.POSS satellite-POSS Venus follow-CVB.IPFV go-PROG FOC alive  
*esen бү-күй-еңе gem ügei qayača-ldu-ya la*  
healthy COP-PTCP.NPST-ABL harm EX.NEG escape-SOC-HORT FOC

45 Originally, the Öölöd (*Ögeled*) seem to have been a member tribe of the Four Oirat confederation, but quite early they separated from the rest of the Oirats and became part of the nomadic Turkmen tribes of Iran. Under the Qing dynasty, the name of the Öölöd came to be used for the entire Oirat confederation, almost as a synonym of the Oirats. See Okada (1987: 195, 210–211); cf. also Atwood (2004: 425b) and Lee (2016: 20, n. 14).

46 The Baatud (*Bayatud*) were one of the Oirat tribes, related to the Khoits, who claimed to be descendants of the Oirat ruling family under the Mongol Empire. Later, at an undetermined time, the Baatud disintegrated and were absorbed into the Kökenuur Oirats and Torguts. See Okada (1987: 196); cf. also Atwood (2004: 420a, 421a) and Lee (2016: 20, n. 14).

47 More precisely, between 1558 and 1568, but closer to the first date. No exact year is mentioned in the ETS. The *Erdeni-yin tobči* by Saṅang Sečen dates the campaign to 1552 (ET 70r17–22), but this dating seems to be incorrect. For details see Kollmar-Paulenz (2001: 91–93).

48 My transcription of this passage is based on the recent facsimile edition of the ETS published by Jorungy-a (2013: 192). It slightly differs from the transcriptions of Kollmar-Paulenz (2001: 165) and Elverskog (2003: 240).

'He<sup>49</sup> appears to have become frightening,<sup>50</sup> and indeed [his army] is moving forward in close order.<sup>51</sup> Indeed [he] is riding in such a way that the sparks<sup>52</sup> are flying<sup>53</sup> from his gelding's hooves. And indeed following behind him is Venus<sup>54</sup> with satellites. While we are [still] alive and healthy, let us just escape without harm.'<sup>55</sup>

In this passage, which will be called here the 'Oirat fragment', the unknown author of the ETS makes a deliberate attempt to introduce some features of the Oirat dialects spoken at the turn of the seventeenth century. In the absence of earlier internal evidence of the linguistic differences between the Mongolic languages, it is likely the oldest known representation of dialectal data in the

49 Altan Qan.

50 *Ayuyduqui metü*, lit. 'like the one who should be afraid of.' *Ayuyduqui* is a necessitative in *-GdUKU(i)* < *-GdAKU(i)*, historically a futuritive participle in *-KU(i)* of the passive in *-GdA-*, of the verb *ayu-* 'to fear, be afraid.' The necessitative, sometimes inaccurately called an imperative of the second person of the plural (Poppe 1974: § 333) or a benedictive (Janhunen 2003: 22–23; Rybatzki 2003a: 73–74), was used in Middle Mongol/Preclassical Mongol to express the necessity of the action or state denoted by the verb (cf. Poppe 1974: § 607; de Rachewiltz 1982: 21; 58, n. 37; de Rachewiltz (trans.) 2006/1: 545). (The opinion of Rybazky [2003a: 74] that it could express a polite request is not confirmed by the sources.) The labialized form of the necessitative marker *-GdUKU(i)*, which has developed from *-GdAKU(i)* as a result of regressive assimilation, is apparently unattested elsewhere.

51 The word *niytarqan* is a modal converb in *-n* of *\*niytarqa-*, a verb which is not registered in the dictionaries of Written Mongol, but which is clearly derived from *niyta* 'serré, très-délié, d'une manière compacte, étroitement' (Kow. II 671a), 'thick[ly], dense[ly], compact[ly]' (L 578b) with the denominal verbal suffix *+rKA-* that occurs in verbs meaning 'to manifest in the manner denoted by the primary word, or to act in a manner fully in accord with the thing denoted by the primary word' (Kempf 2013: 176–178; cf. also Poppe 1974: § 247; Godziński 1985: 100). Thus, the meaning of *\*niytarqa-* must be something like 'to be(come) thick, compact, or dense', hence, in a military context, 'to be in close order'. The verb *\*niytarqa-* seems to be virtually synonymous with *niytara-* 'to thicken, become compact or dense' (L 579a), another derivative of the same nominal stem.

52 Lit., "fire".

53 Lit., "catching".

54 In *čolmen* we have an otherwise unattested form that seems to be a palatal doublet of *čolman* ~ *čolmon* 'l'étoile du matin, venus, aurore' (Kow. III 2206b), 'morning star; Venus' (L 197a). For this word, which has numerous cognates in both Turkic and Mongolic, see Clauson (1964: 361–362); Ligeti (1966: 153–154); VEWT 115a–b; EDT 418b; Nugteren (2011: 307). In Mongolian astrology, Venus is associated with metal and believed to ensure military success (Mostaert 1969: 9, 11; Baumann 2005: 589–590).

55 My English translation differs from that of Elverskog (2003: 111).

Mongol literary tradition.<sup>56</sup> The Oirat features of the ETS have not previously been the subject of a special study.<sup>57</sup> Let us consider these features in more detail.

### 3.1 *The Third-Person Singular Possessive Particle ni*

- (4) a. *aytan-u tuyuran-ača ni* (aytan-u tuyuran-ača ni gelding-GEN hoof-ABL 3SG.POSS) 'from his gelding's hooves' [12r7–8]  
 b. *arudegereni* (aru degere ni back on 3SG.POSS) 'behind him' [12r9]  
 c. *ayuyduqui metü bolbai ni* (ayu-yduqui metü bol-bai ni fear-NEC like become-PST.FC 3SG.POSS) 'he appears to have become frightening' [12r6]

The 'vulgarized' form of the third-person singular possessive particle *ni* ~ *ni*, also attested in Western Middle Mongol sources and in late Preclassical Mongol monuments, is traditionally considered to be a colloquialism.<sup>58</sup> In the ETS, it occurs only in the 'Oirat fragment', clearly as a dialect marker. In the rest of the text, the particle has the standard written shape *inu* (2r1, 2r12 et *passim*), which is common for Middle Mongol and Written Mongol of both the Preclassical and Classical periods. In (4c), *ni* is used after the finite form of the verb as a modal particle expressing doubt or uncertainty, as in some Preclassical Mongol texts.<sup>59</sup>

In Written Oirat, *ni* is attested as a shortened variant of the third-person personal possessive marker *inu*, both singular and plural, and always joined to a preceding host (Rákos 2002: 23–24). It corresponds to *n̄i* in Modern Kalmuck (Badmaev 1966: 45–48; Sanžeev (ed.) 1983: 115–117; Benzing 1985: 98, 120–121; Say 2009: 644), *ɛ(ə)n̄i*, *n̄i* ~ *n̄i* or *n̄* in Kalmuck dialects (Kičikov 1963: 44; Ubušaeв 2006: 132–134), *n̄* ~ *n̄i* and *ɛ̄i* or *ɛ̄j* (< *n̄i* < *ni*) in Oirat dialects of Mongolia and China (Todaeva 1960: 33–34; Vandui 1965: 110; Coloo 1965: 75–76; Sečenbayatur et al. 2005: 281, 415; Oyuncheeг 2009: 91; Rákos 2012: 42; 2015b: 73–74; Céndée 2012: 149–151). Reduced shapes of this marker without an initial \*i are

56 Rashīd al-Dīn's account should be reckoned among the external sources on Mongolic languages, in terms of Rákos (2015b: 104), while the date of the *Sir-a tuyuǰi* is about 50 years later than that of the ETS.

57 One of these features, the *-la* emphatic particle, has been rightly identified as Oirat by Elverskog (2003: 217), but without detailed discussion.

58 See, e.g., Bobrovnikov (1849: 78); Poppe (1926: 20, 30; 1938: 79–80; 1955: 221–223).

59 For more details concerning its use in Preclassical Mongol see Poppe (1924: 675; 1967: 77, n. 13).

also found in Written Mongol<sup>60</sup> as well as in all modern Mongolic languages except Dagur; cf. Kh. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Janhunen 2012: 138), Ord. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Sengge and Jin 2010: 92–93), Bur. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Sanžeev (ed.) 1962: 92), Kham. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Janhunen 1990: 65), EYu. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Bulučilayū and Jalsan 1992: 180, 182), Mgl. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Čenggeltai 1991: 174), Mgr. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Slater 2003: 175–176), Bao. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Chen 1987: 124–125), Kgj. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Sečenčoytu 1999: 104–105), Dgx. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Böke 1986: 105), Mog. *ᠰᠠᠨ* (Böke 1996: 118–119, 121).<sup>61</sup>

### 3.2 The Progressive/Durative in -nA(y)i

- (5) a. *yabuᠨai* (yabu-nai go-PROG) 'is riding, going' [12r8, 10]  
 b. *yabunayila* (yabu-nayi-la go-PROG-FOC) 'indeed [his army] is moving forward' [12r7]

Historically, the progressive<sup>62</sup> or durative<sup>63</sup> marker \*-nA(y)i > -n(A) can be analyzed as a combination of the modal converb in \*-n with the generic,<sup>64</sup> or deductive present,<sup>65</sup> in \*-(y)i of the auxiliary verb \*a- 'to be'.<sup>66</sup> It is documented neither in Middle Mongol nor in Written Mongol,<sup>67</sup> but it occurs in most modern Mongolic languages. Its modern reflexes are Kh. -n(A) (Janhunen 2012: 157), Ord. -n(A:) (Sengge and Jin 2010: 169, 171), Khor. -n(A) (Bayančoytu 2002: 284, 290), Bur. -nə (Sanžeev (ed.) 1962: 263–264), Kalm. and Oir. -n(a)/-n(ε) (see below), Dag. (marginal) -n (Engkebatu 1988: 302–304),<sup>68</sup> EYu.

60 Cf. WM *ni* 'une particule vulgaire au lieu d' *anou inou*' (Kow. 11 645b), 'sokračenie časticy *anu, inu*' (Gol. 11 21b), 'used for *anu, inu*' (L 577a).

61 For different shapes of this particle in Mongolic languages, see also Delige'erma and Bo (2006: 216) and Manliyang (2012: 164–166).

62 As labeled by Brosig (2014: 21–23, 54).

63 As termed by Janhunen (2003: 23–25).

64 According to Brosig (2014: 54–55, 59–62, 68).

65 According to Poppe (1974: §349).

66 For the etymology of the Mongolic progressive/durative marker see Janhunen (2003: 24–25). Another, less convincing, etymology was suggested by Poppe (1955: 262–263).

67 The form *\*\*duradunai-j-e* in the Preclassical Mongol version of the *Xiao jing* 孝經 (XJ XVII 37b4), considered by Weiers (1969: 138) to be the only example of the use of the suffix -nA(y)i in Preclassical Mongol, should in fact be read *duradᠲai-j-e* (Ligeti 1972: 103; see also Cleaves 1985: 253, n. 82) and interpreted as the generic in -(y)i of the passive stem in -tA of *durad-* 'to remember', i.e. as *durad-ᠲai-j-e* (remember-PASS-GN IP) 'should be remembered'. The compound marker -dAi/-tAi (< -dA/-tA PASS + -(y)i GN) in combination with the illocutionary particle *j-e* was used in Preclassical Mongol to express the necessity or suitability to act (de Rachewiltz 1982: 21). In Classical Written Mongol, the suffix -nAi appears only "in popular books, instead of the suffix -nam/-nem" (Poppe 1974: §348).

68 It cannot be excluded that the marginal Dagur form of the non-past tense in -n goes back

*-ni*: ~ *-nAi* (Bulučilayu and Ĵalsan 1992: 249, 253), Mgr. *-ni* (Slater 2003: 120), Bao. *-na* ~ *-nuu* (Chen 1987: 191–194), Kgj. *-na* ~ *-ni* ~ *-ne* ~ *-n/-ŋ* (Sečenčoytu 1999: 143–145), Dgx. *-ne* (Böke 1986: 157), Mog. *-na* ~ *-ne* (Böke 1996: 182–187). Instead of, or in addition to *\*-nA(y)i*, several Mongolic languages use the other progressive/durative marker *\*-nAm*<sup>69</sup> (Middle Mongol, Preclassical Mongol,<sup>70</sup> Written Mongol, Khamnigan, Ööld and some other dialects of Xinjiang Oirat, Moghol, Eastern Yugur),<sup>71</sup> while some of them retain the original narrative, or progressive-habitual, in *\*-m/U(i)* (Middle Mongol/Preclassical Mongol, Written Mongol, Moghol, Mongghul, Baoan, Dongxiang, Kangjia).<sup>72</sup> According to Rybatzki (2003b: 381), “this distribution suggests that the durative is an innovation that has gradually replaced the more original narrative as the basic indicative form of the present tense range.”<sup>73</sup>

In the ETS, the progressive/durative in *-nA(y)i* is attested only in the ‘Oirat fragment’, most probably, as a typical grammatical feature of Oirat. In the rest of the text, it does not occur at all, but the narrative (progressive-habitual) in

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not to the progressive/durative in *\*-nA(y)i* but to the narrative in *\*-m/U(i)* (Tsumagari 2003: 147; Rybatzki 2003b: 381).

69 Etymologically, a combination of the modal converb in *\*-n* with the narrative (progressive-habitual) in *\*-m/U(i)* of the auxiliary *\*a-* ‘to be’. Cf. Janhunen (2003: 24). The markers *\*-nAm* and *\*-nA(y)i* are claimed by some scholars to be variants of a single Proto-Mongolic durative marker, reconstructed as *\*-nAi* *\*-nAm* (see, e.g., Janhunen 2003: 24–25; Rybatzki 2003b: 381). However, following Poppe (1955: 261–263), they are taken in this paper to be different forms that have given distinct sets of reflexes in historical and modern Mongolic varieties. Modern reflexes of *\*-nAm* retain the original nasal coda as /m/ or /n/ (see below, n. 71), whereas the development of *\*-nA(y)i* has gone through several stages, from monophthongization of the original complex *\*-A(y)i* to its irregular reduction and, finally, complete loss, i.e. *\*-nA(y)i* > *-nAi* > *-nA*: > *-nV* > *-nə* > *-n* -ŋ. The modern Mongolic shapes in *-n(A)*, *-n(A)*, and the like, are clearly derived from *\*-nA(y)i* and not *\*-nAm*, as evidenced by alternation between *-nA* and *-nAi* in some early sources, such as Witsen’s Kalmuck and “Dagur” materials (see below, n. 74).

70 Only in a few sixteenth-century manuscript fragments from Olon Süme. See Weiers (1969: 138–139).

71 Cf. WMM *-nAm* (Poppe 1938: 83–84), EMM (marginal) *-nAm* (Apatóczyk 2009: 12, 202), PrM (marginal) *-nAm* (Weiers 1969: 138–139), WM *-nAm* (Poppe 1974: § 347), Kham. *-nAn* (Janhunen 1990: 72), Ööl. *-nAm* (Sečen 1998: 444–445; Sečenbayatur et al. 2005: 420), EYu. *-nAn* *-nAm* (Bulučilayu and Ĵalsan 1992: 249, 254), Mog. *-nam* *-nan* (Böke 1996: 182–183).

72 Cf. MM *-mU* *-mUi* *-m* (Rybatzki 2003a: 75–76), PrM *-mU* *-mUi* *-m* (Weiers 1969: 133–137), WM *-mUi* (Poppe 1974: § 345), Mgl. *-m* (Čenggeltei 1991: 224–25), Bao. *-m* (Chen 1987: 191–194), Kgj. *-m* (Sečenčoytu 1999: 143–144), Dgx. *-mu* (Böke 1986: 157–158), Mog. *-m* (Böke 1996: 187–190).

73 For the distribution of the narrative and progressive/durative in Mongolic languages, see Wu (1996: 57–65); Rybatzki (2003b: 381); Qasgerel (2014: 176–192). Cf. also Delige’erma and Bo (2006: 243–244) and Manliyang (2012: 242–246).

*-mU(i)* is used instead; cf., e.g., *ǰalamui* (ǰala-mui invite-NAR) '[I] invite' [21v13, 18], *mürgümü* (mürgü-mü prostrate-NAR) '[I] prostrate' [53r13, 18, 24].<sup>74</sup>

The suffix *-nAi* (> *-nā/-nē*) is a colloquial marker of the non-past tense in Written Oirat, where it is found mostly in late narrative texts (Bobrovnikov 1849: 134, 343–345; Yakhontova 1996: 85; Rákos 2002: 33; Suseeva 2011: 149–151). Its Modern Kalmuck cognate, *-nA*,<sup>75</sup> expresses a range of meanings of the present tense, but in certain contexts it may be used to refer to the future or even the past tense (Sanžeev (ed.) 1983: 206–211; Ebert 1999: 326–327; Bläsing 2003: 244; Say 2009: 673–674). In Kalmuck dialects, it occurs as *-nA* (Torgut, Buzava) or only *-nē* (Dörbet) (Kotwicz 1929: 242–243; Benzing 1985: 86, 127–128), and it has the shape *-n(A)* in Oirat dialects of Mongolia and China (Kara 1958: 117; Todaeva 1960: 38; Vandui 1965: 123; Coloo 1965: 77; Birtalan 2003: 221–222; Sečenbayatur et al. 2005: 285–286, 420; Oyunčeečeg 2009: 161–162; Rákos 2012: 45–46; 2015b: 84–85; Cëndée 2012: 173).

### 3.3 The Focus Particle *la ~ ǰa*

- (6) a. *qayačalduy-a la* (qayača-ldu-ya la escape-SOC-HORT FOC) 'let us just escape' [12r11]

74 It should be noted that the progressive/durative marker *\*-nA(y)i* is well documented in Witsen's Kalmuck glossary; cf. *\*idenei* <Idenei> (ide-nei eat-PROG) 'they eat', *\*inēnei* <Ineney> (inē-nei laugh-PROG) 'they laugh', *\*ūlanai* <Ulanay> (ūla-nai cry-PROG) 'his crying', *\*bosunai* <Bofunay> (bos-u-nai get.up-E-PROG) 'to get up' (Badagarov 2018: 498, Nos. 298, 301; 499, Nos. 302, 310), etc. In some cases it has a reduced shape without a final *\*i*: *\*ölösne* <Jelerma> (corrupted from *\*<Jelesna>*) (ölös-ne feel.hungry-PROG) 'hungry', *\*medene* <medene> (mede-ne know-PROG) 'prudence' (ibid.: 513, No. 482; 514, No. 495), etc. By contrast, the progressive/durative is not used in Witsen's Mongol glossary, where it is replaced by the narrative in *\*-m/U(i)*, like in the main text of the ETS; cf. *\*deldmü* <Daltmou> 'I will beat' = WM *deleddümü* (deled-d-ü-mü beat-E-E-NAR) 'id.', *\*ilmü* <Ailmou> 'I will send' = PrM *ilemü* (ile-mü send-NAR) 'id.', *\*idmü* <Aidniou> (corrupted from *\*<Aidmou>*) 'I will eat' = WM *idemü* (ide-mü eat-NAR) 'id.' (Badagarov, Natsagdorj and Janhunien 2018: 428, Nos. 4–6). The narrative is absent from the Kalmuck glossary. In Witsen's "Dagur" material, the finite indicative non-past tense forms are only represented by the progressive/durative in *-nA(i)*; cf. *\*karānai* <karanay> (karā-nai curse-PROG) '(you) curse', *\*tölōnei* <tolonay> (tölō-nei pay-PROG) '(you) pay', *\*erene* <erene> (ere-ne demand-PROG) 'you demand' (Hajnal 1994: 303, No. 217; 305, Nos. 241, 245), etc. The progressive/durative in *-nA(i)* is also the only temporal-aspectual form of the non-past tense range in Stralenberg's Kalmuck vocabulary (cf. Krueger 1975: 29).

75 In the Kalmuck language of the early twentieth century, as documented by Ramstedt, there were two markers of the progressive/durative, which did not follow vowel harmony, namely *-nē* and *-n*, both going back to *\*-nA(y)i* (KWb XVIII § 26.11). The suffix *-n* has been lost in Modern Kalmuck, while the suffix *-nē* has acquired a velar counterpart, *-na*.

- b. *yabuṇai la* (yabu-nai go-PROG FOC) 'indeed is riding, going' [12r8–9, 10]
- c. *yabunayila* (yabu-nayi-la go-PROG-FOC) 'indeed [his army] is moving forward' [12r7]

The emphatic particle/clitic *la* ~ *la* is a cognate of the Eastern Middle Mongol particle *ele* (occasionally written *ale* or *al-e*, also *ele* ~ *ala* in the 'Phags-pa script), which is used most commonly to mark contrastive or restrictive focus (argument, predicate, or sentence) (Street 1986). Modern Mongolic reflexes of this particle, showing the irregular loss of word-initial \*e, also function mainly as focus markers; cf. Kh. *ᠭᠡ* (Janhunen 2012: 87, 218–219), Ord. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡᠭᠡ* ~ *ᠭᠡᠯᠡᠭᠡ* > *ᠭᠡ* (Sečen, Bayatur and Sengge 2002: 245; Sengge and Jin 2010: 237), Khor. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Bayan-čoytu 2002: 401–402), Bur. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* > *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Sanžeev (ed.) 1962: 318–319; Yamakoshi 2011: 171), Kham. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Yu 2011: 84), Kalm. and Oir. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* ~ *ᠭᠡᠯᠡᠭᠡ* ~ *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (see below), Dag. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Engkebatu 1988: 444), EYu. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* ~ *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Bulučilayū and Jalsan 1992: 305–306), Mgl. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡᠭᠡ* (Čenggeltei 1991: 296), Bao. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Chen 1987: 296), Kgj. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Sečenčoytu 1999: 218–219), Dgx. *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* (Böke 1986: 200).

In the ETS, the particle *la* ~ *la* is confined to the 'Oirat fragment', while the rest of the text documents only its original Middle Mongol/Preclassical Mongol shape *ele* [17v2, 35r4, 50v15] ~ *el-e* [17r25], most often after the conditional converb in the construction *-baS U ele/el-e*, which introduces restrictive conditional clauses.<sup>76</sup> This clitic, defined by Bobrovnikov (1849: 179) as a 'confirmative particle' (*častica podtverždeniya*), is attested in Written Oirat specifically as *la* (MOM III 582a).<sup>77</sup> In Modern Kalmuck, it has developed into the emphatic particle *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ*, which can be attached to any constituent of a clause (Badmaev 1966: 105; Sanžeev (ed.) 1983: 287–288; Benzing 1985: 74, 113; Say 2009: 706). The particle occurs as *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* ~ *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* ~ *ᠭᠡᠯᠡ* in Oirat dialects of Mongolia and China (Čoyijungjab and Gereltü 1998: 139; Birtalan 2003: 226; Oyunčeečeg 2009: 216–217; Cëndée 2012: 187–188).

#### 4 Conclusion

The 'Oirat fragment' of the ETS has two significant differences compared with other early accounts of Oirat linguistic peculiarities, as provided in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* and the *Sir-a tuyuḡi*. First, it contains not lexical but

76 For the use of this construction in Middle Mongol and Preclassical Mongol sources, see Street (1986: 222–229).

77 Cf. *la* 'in the colloquial language means the same as *bui*: it is' in Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck dictionary (Svantesson [trans.] 2012: 104a).



morphophonological (an innovative colloquial shape of the clitics *ni* ~ *ni* < \*inu and *la* ~ *la* < \*ele) and morphosyntactic (the progressive/durative in *-nA(y)i*) features that seem to have been considered Oirat by the anonymous author(s) of the chronicle. Second, these features look more genuinely Oirat, at least for the early seventeenth century, although their modern distribution is certainly rather wide and non-specific. This is especially true for the progressive/durative marker, which occurs in the shape *-nA(y)i*, containing the final /i/, that is found only in Written Oirat, as well as in Oirat materials of Western European authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>78</sup> The reduced shape of the focus particle *la* ~ *la* is present in almost all modern Mongolic languages, but if we look at the historical varieties chronologically closest to the date of composition of the ETS, it turns out that this shape also appears only in Written Oirat.<sup>79</sup> The least specific feature is the colloquial variant of the third-person singular possessive particle *ni* ~ *ni*, which is attested not only in most modern Mongolic languages, but also in Middle Mongol/Preclassical Mongol sources, including the manuscripts dated to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.<sup>80</sup> Strictly speaking, one would have every reason to regard it as a broadly colloquial feature of the language of the chronicle, without further specification, were it not for the fact that its use is clearly limited to the 'Oirat fragment'. Such a narrow distribution (3 attestations, all in the 'Oirat fragment', as opposed to more than 100 occurrences of this particle in its standard written shape *inu*, scattered throughout the text) suggests that *ni* ~ *ni* was also perceived as specifically Oirat by the compiler of the ETS. All these facts point to a quite reliable source of his information on Oirat dialects, which could be obtained either

78 The suffix *-nAi* is also documented as one of the markers of the non-past tense in Eastern Yugur, which is certainly out of the question here.

79 It is unattested in Middle Mongol/Preclassical Mongol and absent from the most reliable sources on Written Mongol vocabulary of the Classical period, the dictionaries of Kowalewski (Kow.) and Golstunskiĭ (Gol.). *la* ~ *le* 'intensifying particle' in Lessing's dictionary (L 513a) may be a late colloquial or dialectal variant, given the chronologically and linguistically heterogeneous materials of this dictionary.

80 The earliest attestations of the third-person singular possessive particle in the shape *ni* are found in the Mongol part of the quadrilingual manuscript of the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, which was added presumably in the fourteenth century (Poppe 1938: 79–80). *Ni* is also attested in the Mongol text of the 1413 Tyr inscription (Tyr 6) and the sixteenth-century manuscript fragments of the Mongol translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* from Olon Süme (os IV/63–64a2), as well as in the Mongol versions of the *Lalitavistara* (Bud 6a, 17b, 29a, etc.) and *Maudgalyāyanamatihṛdaya-sūtra* (Mol III 3a), dating from the fourteenth century but preserved only in later copies made in the late sixteenth or even seventeenth century. For the dating of these copies, see Vladimircov (1918: 1550–1551), Poppe (1967: 19) and Lőrincz (1982/1: 6–8).

from an Oirat, or at least from a person who was well acquainted with the language of the Oirats of that time. This makes the chronicle an extremely valuable source on Mongolic historical dialectology and folk linguistics, the importance of which cannot be overestimated.

## Abbreviations

### *Glosses*

3	third person	MOD	modal
ABL	ablative	NAR	narrative
COP	copula	NEC	necessitative
CVB	converb	NEG	negation
E	epenthetic sound	NP	noun phrase
EX	existential	NPST	non-past
FC	factual	PASS	passive
FOC	focus particle	POSS	possessive
GEN	genitive	PROG	progressive
GN	generic	PST	past
HORT	hortative	PTCP	participle
IP	illocutionary particle	SG	singular
IPFV	imperfective	SOC	sociative

### *Symbols*

<	developed from
>	developed into
*	reconstruction
**	misreading

### *Languages and Dialects*

Bao.	Baoan	Kalm.	Kalmuck
Bur.	Buryat	Kgj.	Kangjia
BurM	Buryat dialects of Mongolia	Kh.	Khalkha
BurT	Tunka Buryat	Kham.	Khamnigan
Dag.	Dagur	Khor.	Khorchin
DagB	Butha Dagur	Kit.	Kitan
DagT	Tacheng Dagur	Mgl.	Mongghul
Dgx.	Dongxiang	Mgr.	Mangghuer
EMM	Eastern Middle Mongol	MM	Middle Mongol
EYu.	Eastern Yugur	Mog.	Moghol

Oir.	Oirat	PM	Proto-Mongolic
OirM	Oirat dialects of Mongolia	PrM	Preclassical Mongol
OirX	Xinjiang Oirat	WM	Written Mongol
Ord.	Ordos	WMM	Western Middle Mongol
OT	Old Turkic	WO	Written Oirat
Ööl.	Ööld dialect of Xinjiang Oirat		

### Primary Sources

- Bud the Mongol version of the 'Twelve Deeds of Buddha' (1320s) (Poppe 1967).
- DLT the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* 'Compendium of the Turkic Dialects' by Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī (completed in 1077) (Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī 1982–1985).
- DY the Sino-Mongol glossary *Dada yu* 韃靼語/*Beilu yiyu* 北虜譯語 (between 1567 and 1603). The Mongol material is reconstructed by the author.
- DGZ the Sino-Mongol glossary *Dada guan zazi* 韃靼館雜字 (late fifteenth cent.?) (Šongqor 2017: 1–104, 343–401).
- ET the *Erdeni-yin tobči* by Sayang Sečen (1662) (Haenisch 1955; Sayang Secen 1990; 1991).
- ETS the *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur* (ca. 1607) (Kollmar-Paulenz 2001; Elverskog 2003).
- HY the Sino-Mongolian glossary *Huayi yiyu* 華夷譯語 (1389) (Mostaert 1977; Mostaert and de Rachewiltz 1995; Kuribayashi 2003).
- JT the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* by Rashīd al-Dīn (completed between 1306 and 1311) (Rashīd ad-Dīn 1968).
- LS *Liao Shi* 遼史 'The History of Liao', a Chinese dynastic history completed in 1344 under the direction of Toqto'a 脫脫, the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition of 1974.
- Mol the Mongol version of the 'Maudgalyāyana's Journey into the Hell' (fourteenth to sixteenth cent.) (Lőrincz 1982).
- OS the Mongol translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* from Olon Süme (sixteenth cent.) (Heissig 1976: 13–64).
- SHM the *Secret History of the Mongols* (mid-thirteenth cent.) (Kuribayashi and Choi-jinjab 2001; Kuribayashi 2009).
- ŠT the *Sir-a tuyuǰi* (between 1651 and 1662) (Cendina [trans.] 2017).
- Tyr the Mongol text of the Tyr trilingual inscription (1413) (Golovačev et al. 2011: 107–155; Rykin 2013; 2016; 2019).
- XJ the Preclassical Mongol version of the *Xiao jing* 孝經 (late thirteenth or early fourteenth cent.) (de Rachewiltz 1982; Kuribayashi 2014).
- YSZY the *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要, a Yuan dietary manual by Hu Sihui 忽思慧 (completed in 1330) (Lao 1969; Buell and Anderson 2010).
- YY the Sino-Mongol glossary *Yiyu* 譯語 from the *Dengtan bijiu* 登壇必究 (1598) (Apatóczy 2009; Bürgüd 2017).

### Dictionaries

- BAMRS Pyurbeev, Grigorii C., ed. 2001–2002. *Bol'shoi akademičeskii mongol'sko-russkii slovar'* = *Mongol-oros dëlgerèngüü ix tol'* [A large Mongolian-Russian academic dictionary]. 4 vols. Moskva: Academia.
- BAT Gantogto, G. 2011. *Buriad ayalguuny tol'* [A dictionary of the Buryat dialect]. Ulaanbaatar: Bèmbi-san.
- BRS Šagdarov, Lubsan D. and Čeremisov, Konstantin M. 2010. *Buryaad-orod toli* = *Buryatsko-russkii slovar'* [A Buryat-Russian dictionary]. 2 vols. Ulan-Udè: Respublikanskaya tipografiya.
- DO Mostaert, Antoine. 1941–1944. *Dictionnaire ordos*. 3 vols. Peking: Fu Jen Catholic University Press.
- DTS Nadelyaev, Vladimir M. et al., eds. 1969. *Drevnetyurkskii slovar'* [An Old Turkic dictionary]. Leningrad: Nauka.
- EDT Clauson, Gerard. 1972. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ĖSTYa 1974 Sevortyan, Ėrvand V. 1974. *Ėtimologičeskii slovar' tyurkskikh yazikov (Obščetyrskie i mežtyrskie osnovi na glasnje)* [An etymological dictionary of Turkic languages: Common Turkic and inter-Turkic vowel stems]. Moskva: Nauka.
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- HAU Wilkens, Jens. 2021. *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen: Altuigurisch—Deutsch—Turkish = Eski Uyğurcanın El Sözlüğü: Eski Uyğurca—Almanca—Türkçe*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag.
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- KRS Muniev, Bembja Ž. 1977. *Kalmücko-russkii slovar'*: 26 000 slov = *Xal'mg-ors tol'*: 26 000 ügmüd [A Kalmuck-Russian dictionary: 26,000 words]. Moskva: Russkii yazyk.
- KWb Ramstedt, Gustav John. 1935. *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*. (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae 3). Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- L Lessing, Ferdinand D., ed. 1960. *Mongolian–English Dictionary*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- MOM Krueger, John R. 1978–1984. *Materials for an Oirat-Mongolian to English Citation Dictionary*. (Publications of the Mongolia Society). Bloomington: The Mongolia Society, Indiana University.
- OA Coloo, Žavzangiin. 1989. *BNMAU dax' mongol xèlnü nutgün ayalguunü tol' bičig* [Dictionary of the Mongolian dialects in the Mongolian People's Republic]. Vol. 2: *Oïrd ayalguu* [Oirat dialect]. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsyn Xèvlèiin Gazar.

- TMEN Doerfer, Gerhard. 1963–1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*. 4 vols. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 16, 19–21). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- VEWT Räsänen, Martti. 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae 17/1). Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

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## A Previously Unknown Middle Mongolian Fragment from Pelliot Xixia Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France

*Alexander Vovin*

This is a modest contribution to celebrate the ninetieth birthday of András Róna-Tas, who is probably now the World's leading Mongolist. There is hardly any area in Mongolian linguistics or philology that is left untouched by him. This was recently augmented by almost unprecedented activity (especially for his age) in Kitan studies. His work on Mongolic and Kitan is widely known and appreciated by his colleagues around the globe who are located nowadays in Europe, North America, Japan, Mongolia (both Inner and Outer), China, Korea, and Russia. I will not be surprised if he is well-known in Zimbabwe as well. András is also responsible for training the most illustrious Hungarian Mongolists (with few exceptions) of older and middle generations, and not just Hungarian scholars. I can only regret that I have had no chance to study with him myself.

Several months ago while perusing Paul Pelliot's Xi-xia (西夏) collection funds in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, which are made available electronically, I stumbled upon a curious document that is to the best of my knowledge has never been published before. It is catalogued as Pelliot Xixia 1 and has a text in the Tangut (Xi-xia) language printed<sup>1</sup> on the *recto* side (see the Figure 20.1 in the Appendix). On the *verso* side of the same leaf we have something completely different (see the Figure 20.2 in the Appendix). It was clear from the first glance that this is a handwritten text in the Uyghur-Sogdian type of script. Given the chronology of both Tangut texts and texts in the Uyghur-Sogdian script, I initially thought that we deal here with Old Uyghur Turkic, so I asked my friend and colleague Mehmet Ölmez from the Istanbul University, one of the world's leading authorities on Old Uyghur to supply me with a reading and a translation. I was really surprised to read his immediate answer that the text is not in Old Uyghur Turkic, but probably in Mongolian. Mehmet

<sup>1</sup> It is quite clear even on the basis of the available photograph that this Tangut text is a fragment of a wood-block print.


has also immediately supplied me with the transliteration, since I do not read an Old Uyghur-style Mongolian writing (found on the Činggis stone and some other early documents) with ease for which I offer him my sincere gratitude, although I have had to correct his Middle Mongolian transcription and transliteration on several occasions. The rest was easy: I have added my morphemic analysis to the transcription and the translation, as well as some commentary. In order to understand how the Middle Mongolian text came to be written on the back of a Tangut fragment, the brief description of the text in Tangut was also necessary.

## 1 Brief Description of the Mongolian Text in *verso*

Unfortunately, there are no sizes of paper mentioned in the description provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The paper is very thin, so one can still see reversed Tangut characters from the *recto* side. There are altogether five lines in the Mongolian text, all of them written neatly in black ink between the lines of Tangut characters. Lines one and two suffered extensive damage, probably due to a water leak, so on line one only the top word survived, and on line two only the top and the bottom have survived. The trace of this leak is visible as a stain in a form of a star. Both top words on these two lines are followed by the punctuation mark ；, which normally marks the end of a sentence. Lines three and five are the longest, and neither has the punctuation mark ；.

## 2 Mongolian Text Analysis and Interpretation

line 1 ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨᠢᠶ᠋ᠠᠩᠪᠤ :  
'yknynkpw :  
in̄niyanbu :

line 2        mwɛnkywɭɣɭɣɭ'psw    */////*    t'kwz nɯɣkçyks'n  
monɣol-jila-basu: ..... tegüs nögçi-gsen  
completely go.away-PAST.ATTR

line 3    ʔŋk' pŋyŋk' wŋ ʕŋn'tw qyʃ'q'r '   
 yeke bilig-ün činadu kijayar-a   
 great knowledge-GEN opposite.side side-LOC

line 4    ᠬᠠᠭᠤᠰᠡᠨ ᠤ ᠵᠢᠷᠦᠬᠡᠨ ᠬᠡᠮᠡᠬᠡᠢ :  
 kwyrwks'n w jyrwk'n k'm'kwy :  
 kür-ügsen-ü jirüken keme-küi :  
 reach-PAST.ATTR-GEN heart say-NF

line 5    ᠶᠡᠯᠡᠭᠡᠰᠡᠨ ᠲᠡᠭᠦᠰᠡ ᠨᠠᠭᠤᠴᠢᠬᠤᠰᠡᠨ ᠶᠡᠯᠡ ᠫᠢᠯᠢᠭ  
 'yl'jw t'kwz nwykčyks'n yk' pylyk  
 ila-ju tegüs nögči-gsen yeke bilig  
 conquer-CONVI completely go.away-PAST.ATTR great knowledge

## 2.1 Translation

(4) [They] say that the heart that reached (3) the opposite side of the great knowledge, (2) which was completely lost ... if/when [we] behaved in the Mongolian way (1) [?]. (5) The great knowledge that was completely lost while conquering ...

## 2.2 Commentary

Line 1: This line is completely unclear.

Line 2: *Mongyol-jıla-* 'to do in a Mongolian way', 'to behave as a Mongol' is not attested in MM, but both *Mongyol* 'Mongol' and denominal derivative verbal suffix *-čila-* (Godziński 1985: 57) are. In addition, both *-čila-* ~ *-čile-* (Poppe 1964: 64) and *mongyol-čila-* (Lessing 1995: 543) appear in WM.

The conditional converb *-bAsU* is typically a WMM form (although it occurs in EMM as well); the major corresponding EMM morpheme is *-ʼAsU-*.

*Tegüs* 'completely' is an EMM form (帖古思 MNT §188, 帖骨思 HYYY 1: 27b.8), cf. WMM *tögüs* 'id.' (توكوس, Mu 352).

Line 3: MM *bilig* 'wisdom', 'knowledge' is a loan from Old Uyghur *bilig* 'id.'

*Činadu* 'on the opposite side' is otherwise a *hapax legomenon* in EMM, being attested only once in MNT §270 (赤納都).

For *kijayar* 'side' cf. EMM *kijär* (乞只阿舌兒, MNT §257, §264) ~ *kija'ar* (乞札阿舌兒, MNT §257) 'id.' *kijayar-a* is a locative case form, cf. *kija'ar-a* (乞札阿舌刺, MNT §90).

Line 4: For *jirüken* 'heart' cf. EMM *jirüke* (只舌魯格 MNT §125) ~ *jürüke* (主舌魯格 MNT §254) 'id.' and WMM *jürüken* (جوروكان Mu 140) 'id.' The relationship between this word and OT *yüräk* 'heart'<sup>2</sup> is not quite clear. Altaicists usually

2 To the best of my knowledge, both were for the first time mentioned by Ramstedt (1935: 483–484).

claim that MM *ǰirüke(n) ~ ǰürüken* and OT *yüräk* are ‘cognates’, but this is the only basic body part term that is common for these two language families. Viewing MM *ǰirüke(n) ~ ǰürüken* as a loan of OT *yüräk* is also difficult, because the vowel /ü/ in the first syllable in Middle Mongolian is obviously secondary, and can be explained as a secondary Mongolian internal development. Possibly we are dealing here with the directionality of borrowing from Mongolic into Turkic. This could also be supported by the distribution of *yüräk* ‘heart’ in the pre-Karakhanid Old Turkic texts. It is found in Old Uyghur texts TT v: A54.6–7, TT VII: 13: 25.3, TT x: 38 (Clauson 1972: 965), AY 4.2, 180.5, 421.9, MNB 81.1 (Caferoğlu 1968: 307), (Doğal and Usta 2014: 415) and in the Yeniseian inscription E 44.1 (Nadeliaev et al. 1969: 286), but not in the Orkhon inscriptions. This would be the situation expected if the word in question is a loan from the earliest known Mongolic language, on the description of which see Vovin (2019).

*Line 5:* This line probably represents the beginning of a new sentence.

*ila-* ‘to conquer’ is identical with the WM form *ila-*, not with EMM *ilay-* ‘id.’ (MNT §132, §272).

On EMM *tegüs ~ WMM tögüs* ‘completely’ see the commentary to line two.

### 3 Brief Description of the Tangut Text in *recto*<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, there are no sizes of paper mentioned in the description provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. There are altogether six lines on the page, each of them originally including fourteen characters. However, lines one, two, and three suffered the same damage that has been already men-

3 Although I would like to reproduce the Tangut text retyped below, it runs into several technical difficulties. First, I use the Tangut font insertion engine developed by Sven Osterkamp from the Bochum University, but it has some gaps. Second, among the sources utilized by Sven, Li Fangwen’s dictionary and Sofronov’s index (1968.2: 276–403) that he used for numerical codes are very cumbersome to use (first one organizes Tangut characters by four corner system, and the second one by purely fictitious ‘radicals’). The search by numbers in Grinstead (1972) does not yield any characters that can be copied and inserted into one’s own text, and the superb and the friendliest to use dictionary by Kychanov (2006), which utilizes the organization of Tangut characters by their bottom right corner was published too late to find its way into Osterkamp’s Tangut font insertion engine. Third, if one uses Kychanov (2006) and then tries to find its number in Li Fang-wen (1997) using Chinese and/or English indexes, one discovers very quickly that their translation tags frequently do not match, so it ends up being a wild goose chase, with the only alternative being a manual search for a necessary character in the Mojikyo fonts map. In any case, it is a Herculean effort to type in Tangut, and since

tioned above in the description of the Mongolian text. Therefore, only eleven characters are fully legible on lines one and two, with two characters damaged only partially on line one, but with three characters on line two completely gone. On line three the seventh character is damaged beyond recognition. The remaining three lines have survived intact, although the left part of the last character on line sixth is somewhat blurred. The top and bottom borders of the Tangut text is indicated by two parallel lines, with a thick line outside, and a thin one inside. There are no traces of any pagination, but this should be no surprise, because the Tangut text in all probability had a butterfly binding with page numbers and the name of the text printed on the outside bends of the paper leaves, which did not survive in this fragment

I omit the analysis and the translation of the Tangut text, as it is not connected to the Middle Mongolian text in any way except sharing the same sheet of paper. Content-wise, the Tangut text is a fragment of a Buddhist text called 《聖觀自在大悲心總持動能依經錄》 'A Sutra Based on the General Ability of Bodhisattva Guanyin to Hold the Great Compassion'.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile there is nothing Buddhist in contents of the Middle Mongolian text, as in all probability it represents some discussion of traditional Mongolian ideology and world-view.

#### 4 Conclusion

Pelliot's Tangut collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France comes from the famous cave seventeen, which is also known as the 'Library Cave'. This cave included almost unparalleled collection of documents not only in Chinese, but also in various Central Asian languages in addition to the collection of Buddhist statuary, etc. The cave was dug during the late Tang period in the years 827–859AD and judging by the art style of the Buddhist statuary sealed sometimes in the fourteenth century. Both Middle Mongolian and Tangut texts in our frag-

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neither András Róna-Tas nor myself are Tangutologists, retyped Tangut text would be only of a secondary interest. In short, the game is not worth the candles, and I have decided to omit the analysis and the translation of the Tangut text altogether.

- 4 I am grateful to Guillaume Jacques (Directeur de recherche, CNRS/CRLAO) and Wu Yu (Post-doctoral researcher) for the identification of the source of this fragment. Furthermore, I am also grateful to Michael Pye (Professor Emeritus, Marburg University), who provided additional information that this is relatively late and secondary text on Bodhisattva Guanyin (Jpn. Kannon), that is not even included into the Taishō edition of the Tripitaka Canon (p.c.). It seems that in addition to the Chinese and Xi-xia texts, there is also a Tibetan extant variant of this sutra.

ment are undated. It appears that the scribe who wrote the Middle Mongolian text used this sheet from a Tangut book as a scrape paper. While the Tangut book was printed without any doubt prior to the destruction of the Xi-xia state by Činggis-qayan during his last campaign in 1226–1227 AD, the Mongolian text must have been written after this date but no later than the fourteenth century. This is also supported by the paleography of the Mongolian-Uyghur script used in this fragment: it is virtually identical to the one found on the Činggis stone (1225 AD), seal of Güyüg (1240 AD), the letter of the first Ilk-Khan Aryun to Philip the Fair (between 1284–1291 AD), and the *paiza* of Abdulla (between 1362–1369 AD). Consequently, the present text represents a nice addition to the corpus of early Middle Mongolian texts. There is certainly a room for a further study: thus, for example, the enigmatic first line must be explained. It is also not unconceivable that my reading and interpretation of the remaining lines could be further improved.

Appendix

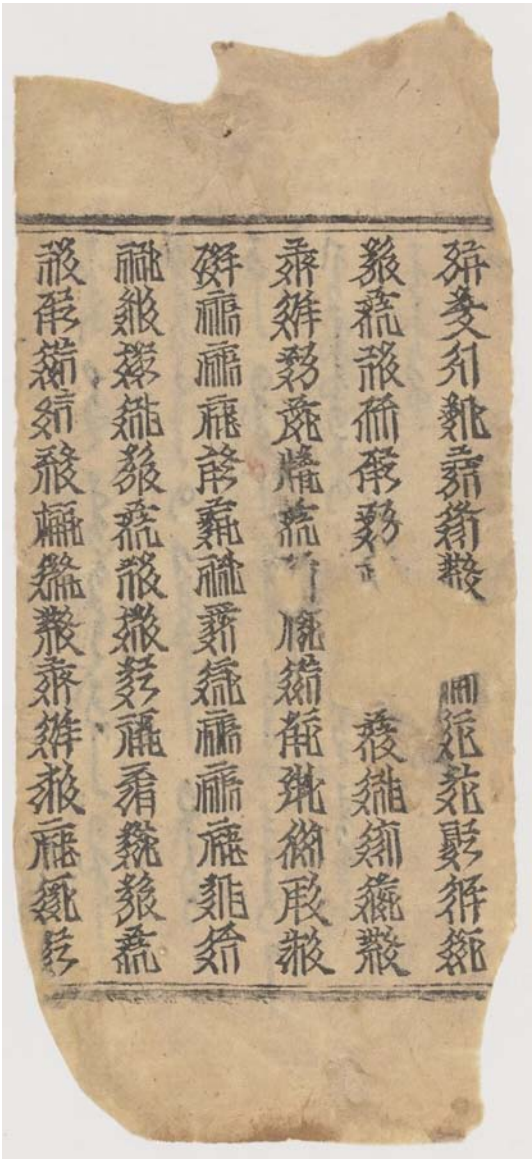


FIGURE 20.1 Tangut text





FIGURE 20.2 Middle Mongolian text

## Abbreviations

### *Linguistic Terms and Languages*

ATTR	Attributive
CONVI	Converbum imperfecti
EMM	Eastern Middle Mongolian
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
LOC	Locative
MM	Middle Mongolian (both Eastern and Western)
NF	Nomen futuri
OT	Old Turkic
PAST	Past tense
WM	Written Mongolian
WMM	Western Middle Mongolian

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#### Mongolic

HYYY	Hua-yi yi-yu (華夷譯語), 1389 AD
MNT	Mongyol-un niuča tobča'an, 1240 AD
Mu	Muqaddimat al-Adab, 15th century AD

#### Turkic

AY	Altun Yaruq, 10th (?) century AD
MNB	Matrisimit nom bitig, 9–10th (?) century AD
TT	Türkische Turfan-texte, 10th (?) century AD

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## Opfere im Tempel des Konfuzius! Ein kleiner Almanach der frühen Cing Zeit

Michael Weiers

Der erste imperativische Teil vorstehenden Beitragtitels verdankt sich einem manjurischen Textbeleg, den die JMZD (siehe unten **Quellen**) auf Fol. 4688:2 folgendermaßen überliefern: *kūngfuze-i mioo-de wece seme takūrambi* ‚Was man mit den Worten ‘Opfere im Tempel des Konfuzius!’ zusendet‘. Der Beleg gehört zu einem Textabschnitt in den JMZD, der auf Fol. 4687:10 mit einer großen Kreisbirga eingeleitet wird und das Thema für den Textabschnitt angibt: *narhūn bithei yamun* ‚Hof der geheimen Schriftstücke‘. Hiernach gehört der Beleg mit der Aufforderung ‚Opfere im Tempel des Konfuzius!‘ zur Gruppe von geheimen Schriftstücken. Neben der Gruppe der geheimen Schriftstücke überliefern die JMZD noch zwei weitere Gruppen für das Schriftwesen. Die drei Gruppen hat der manjurische Oberherrscher *Sure Han* ‚Weiser Herrscher‘ (mo. *Sečen Qayan*) entsprechend europäischer Datierung am 11. April 1636 aufzeichnen lassen unter dem Oberbegriff *bithei ilan yamun* ‚die drei Höfe des Schriftwesens‘ (JMZD Fol. 4686). Dieser Oberbegriff *bithei ilan yamun* ersetzte den bis dahin verwendeten Begriff *bithei jurgan* ‚Büro für das Schriftwesen‘.

Das Einführen der ‚drei Höfe des Schriftwesens‘, die auflisten, welche Textsorten von Schriftstücken das damalige manjurische Schriftwesen unterschied, hat stattgefunden 39 Tage vor dem 19. Mai 1636, dem Tag, an dem der manjurische Cing Staat (ma. *dayicing gurun* ‚Großer Cing Staat‘) erstmals schriftliche Erwähnung fand. Der 19. Mai 1636 gilt der Historie deswegen auch als Gründungstag der manjurischen Cing Dynastie.

Der geringe zeitliche Abstand zwischen Einführung der *bithei ilan yamun* und dem Gründungstag des Cing Staates mag dafür sprechen, daß die drei Höfe des Schriftwesens ganz bewußt noch vor der *dayicing* Staatsgründung in die JMZD aufgenommen worden sind. Für diese Annahme mag auch das Verwenden von ins Auge fallenden Textsymbolen im handschriftlichen Schreibtext der *bithei ilan yamun* sprechen, wie z.B. das Verwenden der *birya* in den Varianten kleine *birya* für das Abgrenzen der einzelnen Sachbereiche der Schriftstücke voneinander innerhalb der Höfe, und davon dann abweichend eine sonst nicht belegte extra groß gehaltene *birya* sowie eine ebenso auffällig gestaltete Doppelkreis-*birya* für das Abgrenzen der Höfe voneinander. Durch die letzte-

ren auffällig groß geschriebenen Textsymbole konnte die Untergliederung der Sachbereiche in Textabschnitte besonders hervorgehoben werden, was für eine übersichtliche textuelle Auflistung von Sachbereichen eines jungen aufstrebenden Staates sicherlich sehr willkommen gewesen sein dürfte.

Aufs Ganze gesehen bietet die Auflistung der Sachbereiche der drei Höfe des manjurischen Schriftwesens eine Zusammenschau dessen, was kurz vor Gründung des manjurischen *dayicing* Staates von manjurischer Seite aus gesehen für einen neuen Manjustaat als politisch und administrativ für notwendig erachtet wurde. Vor diesem Hintergrund erweisen sich die Sachbereiche (ma. *bayita*) der drei Höfe des manjurischen Schriftwesens – insgesamt 25 an der Zahl – als Hinweise auf Themen, die offensichtlich in der frühen Anfangszeit der Manjudynastie Cing wichtig und von Bedeutung waren.

Die Palette der *bayita* ‚Sachbereiche‘ des manjurischen Schriftwesens bezieht sich auf ganz unterschiedliche Aufgaben und Bereiche wie z. B. auf Worte und Befehle des Herrschers, Archivierung handgeschriebener Schriftstücke des Herrschers, Schriftstücke, die zu fremden Reichen hin und her geschickt werden, auf Schriftstücke an Beamte des Militärs, oder auf das Unterrichten kaiserlicher Prinzen im Schriftwesen. Die drei Höfe des Schriftwesens behandeln im ersten Hof Belange des Herrscherhauses und seiner Geschichte, im zweiten Hof das geheime Schriftwesen, und im dritten Hof Belange der Verwaltung (vgl. unten Literatur: Weiers 2001).

Wie oben einleitend schon ausgeführt, nimmt vorliegender Beitrag von den 25 *bayita* des am 11. April 1636 in die JMZD eingetragenen Textes zum manjurischen Schriftwesen aus der Gruppe des ‚Hofes der geheimen Schriftstücke‘ den Sachbereich mit der Aufforderung ‚Opfere im Tempel des Konfuzius!‘ etwas näher in den Blick. Hierzu sei zunächst zum Namen des Konfuzius gesagt, daß es sich hierbei um die latinisierte Form des chin. Familiennamens *Kong* 孔 sowie um den chin. Beinamen *Fuzi* 夫子 ‚Meister‘ handelt. Meister Kong, alias Konfuzius, lebte 551–479 vor Chr. im China der Zhou-Dynastie. Konfuzius gehört aus chinesischer Sicht zusammen mit seinen Nachfolgern und Anhängern zur 儒家思想 *rújiā sīxiǎng* = wortwörtlich: ‚Schule der Gelehrten des Nachdenkens‘ (ausführlich zu dieser Schule vgl. Unger 2000, unter Ju-kia 儒家, S. 41–43). Im zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend fanden des Konfuzius und seiner Nachfolger Ansichten besonders Beachtung in der chinesischen Dynastie Ming (1368–1662). Zu dieser Zeit wurden Konfuzius Lehren – diese Lehren waren schon während der chin. Dynastie Song (960–1279) durch budhistisches und daoistisches Gedankengut vertieft worden – zur Staatsideologie erhoben. Allenthalben kam es auch zur Gründung von ‚Tempeln des Konfuzius‘, und Konfuzius hielt auch Einzug in staatliche Ämter, z. B. in das Kommunikationsamt der Ming-Dynastie (vgl. Paul 1996, S. 30 ff.).

Vor diesem Hintergrund soll nun diskutiert werden, was zu der Aufforderung ‚Opfere im Tempel des Konfuzius!‘ vom 11. April 1636 zu sagen sein mag. Zunächst sei hierzu festgehalten, daß der Tempel des Konfuzius lediglich als Ort erwähnt wird, an dem ein Opfer darzubringen sei. Auftraggeber des Opfers war hingegen der Hof der geheimen Schriftstücke. Hierbei handelt es sich wohl um eine übergeordnete Stelle der staatlichen *bithei ilan yamun* ‚drei Ämter des Schriftwesens‘. Die Aufforderung ‚Opfere im Tempel des Konfuzius!‘ dürfte wohl zurückgehen auf das Vorbild ‚Tempel des Konfuzius‘ in der Ming-Dynastie. Warum der manjurische Oberherrscher Sure Han aber dieses Vorbild in seine Planung für den Cing Staat übernommen hat, mag damit zu erklären sein, daß bereits im manjurischen Ayisin Staat (1616–1636) etliche Chinesen Aufnahme gefunden hatten, deren Weltanschauung neu-konfuzianisch orientiert war. Demnach war den drei Höfen des Schriftwesens mit ihrer Aufforderung ‚Opfere im Tempel des Konfuzius!‘ daran gelegen darauf hinzuweisen, daß die zukünftige manjurische Staatsführung auch die Belange ihrer chinesischen neu-konfuzianischen Untertanen zu berücksichtigen beabsichtige.

Zur Zeit, während der Sure Han den Text für die zukünftigen drei Ämter des Schriftwesens hatte niederschreiben lassen, wurde Ming China von Banden sowie Freibeutern verheert und geplündert. Politisch und wirtschaftlich befand sich Ming China in Auflösung begriffen, während Sure Han den Machtbereich seines manjurischen Ayisin Staates durch Absprachen und Verträge mit Mongolenführern abzusichern und auszubauen vermochte. Allerdings war den Absprachen und Bündnisverträgen nur zu oft kurze Dauer, Vertragsbruch, oder gar gänzliche Nichtbeachtung beschieden. Angesichts dieser Gegebenheiten, und besonders auch angesichts der Planung eines neuen manjurischen Staates an Stelle des bisherigen manjurischen Ayisin Staates, sah sich Sure Han veranlaßt, an den König von Korea Boten zu senden, um die Verhältnisse in Korea zu erkunden. Das dann fehlgeschlagene Unternehmen leiten die JMZD ein auf Fol. 4627: 7 mit einer Datumsangabe als Vorblatt: ‚Des Sure Han zehntes Jahr, rotes Mausjahr, Aufzeichnungen des zweiten Monats‘ = März 1636. Die im JMZD auf Korea bezogenen manjurischen Schreiben beginnen dann jeweils mit der Absenderangabe: *ayisin gūrun-i han-i bithe* ‚Schreiben des Oberherrschers des Ayisin Staates‘.

Die urchriftlichen und zeitgenössischen JMZD leiten hierauf über zum Vorbereitungs- und Gründungsgeschehen des neuen manjurischen Cing Staates, worüber ausführlich bis zum 27. Mai 1636 die Arbeit von Gruber (2006: 130–138), unterrichtet.

Die Neugründung eines Manjustaates, die besonders auch Mongolen dahingehend favorisierten, daß für den bisherigen Manjuherrscher Sure Han ein

neuer großer Name ausgerufen werde, und damit der alte auch der neue Oberherrscher bliebe, mag damals eng damit verbunden gewesen sein, daß die Gemahlin Sutai und der Sohn Erke Konggor des weitgerühmten Mongolenherrschers Ligdan nunmehr den Manju unterstanden. Die politischen Verhältnisse waren also damals besonders unter Berücksichtigung der Mongolen sehr günstig gewesen für eine manjurische staatliche Neugründung *dayicing gurun* ‚Großer Cing Staat‘.

Die Manjuren bezeichneten damals noch kurz vor Gründung ihres Großen Cing Staates die mit ihnen verbundenen Mongolengebiete außerhalb des manjurischen Ayisin Staates als *te geli mani tulergi dehi tumen monggoi gurun* ‚Staat unserer jetzigen gesamten äußeren vierzig zehntausender Mongolen‘ (JMZD Fol. 4634: 7). Schon 1619 wurde laut eines manjusprachigen Eintrags (vgl. JMZD Fol. 489: 4) Ligdan Khan, der sich selber als Herrscher über alle Mongolen ansah, bezeichnet als *dehi tūmen monggo gurun-i ejen baturu cinggis han* ‚Held Cinggis Khan (Ehrentitel Ligdans, der ihn mit Tschinggis Khan verbindet), Herr des vierzig zehntausender Mongolenvolkes‘. *dehi tūmen monggo* ‚vierzig zehntausender Mongolen‘ könnte demnach damals im Jahre 1619 schon eine manjusprachige Bezeichnung für Mongolen gewesen sein, die jeweils eine repräsentative Mongolengruppe ansprach. Zu solchen Mongolen zählten wohl auch diejenigen Mongolen, die oben der 1636 Text in JMZD Fol. 4634: 7 anspricht als ‚... unsere jetzigen gesamten äußeren vierzig zehntausender Mongolen‘. Mit diesen Mongolen dürfte nicht die Gesamtheit aller Mongolen angesprochen gewesen sein, sondern in erster Linie Mongolen aus dem ‚Nachlaß‘ (Witwe Sutai und Sohn Erke Konggor nebst Untertanen) des Ligdan Khan. Diese Mongolen lebten außerhalb des manjurischen Ayisin Territoriums, und wurden noch nicht zu den innermanjurischen Bannermongolen gezählt. Mit der Aufnahme und Eingliederung der Sutai und des Erke Konggor in die Manjugeinschaft des Ayisin Staates auf höchster Ebene, hatte sich dann für Sure Han die Möglichkeit eröffnet, über persönlich-familiäre Bindungen hin auch Macht über das Gefolge der Sutai und ihres Sohnes zu erlangen. Die JMZD vermerken hierzu auf Fol. 4717: 1–2: (1) *tulergi goloi monggoi juwan ninggūn gurun-i dehi uyun beyile* (2) + *han-de amba doro-be toktobumbi seme jihe manggi*: ‚... Nachdem neunundvierzig Beyile (Vorsteher, Gebieter) von sechzehn mongolischen Staaten der Außengebiete mit den Worten ‘für den Herrscher wird man eine große Regierung festlegen lassen’ gekommen waren ...‘. Dieser JMZD-Textpassage zufolge bescherte das Festlegen einer neuen Regierung für Sure Han in Verbund mit der Gründung des neuen Manjustaates *dayicing* einen erheblichen Zuwachs an Einfluß und Macht, bestehend u. a. eben aus sechzehn mongolischen Staaten der mongolischen Außengebiete, die sich südwestlich der manjurischen Territorien erstreckten.

Wie bedeutsam dieser Zuwachs für den Manjustaat damals war, mag daraus ersichtlich werden, daß der junge Manjustaat es sogleich unternahm, die Verwaltung der sechzehn neuen Mongolenstaaten und wohl auch der innermanjurischen Bannermongolen sowie der innermanjurischen Bannerchinesen mittels dreier neuer Dienststellen zu regeln. Es waren dies der manjurische *monggo yamun* ‚Mongolenhof‘, der mongolische *mongyol-un yabudal-un yamun* ‚Hof für die Angelegenheiten der Mongolen‘, und für die Regelung zwischen den Chinesen und ihren unmittelbaren mongolischen Nachbarn im Norden der chinesische 蒙古衙門 *ménggǔ yámén* ‚Mongolenhof‘.

Den ersten bedeutenden Feldzug gegen Ming China unter dem Kommando des Cing Staates unternahmen die Manju bereits im Sommer 1636. Die Erweiterung und Festigung des neuen Manjustaates brachten es dann mit sich, daß die 1636 eingerichteten Dienststellen umgegliedert wurden. Man unterschied nunmehr eine mongolische Dienststelle *yadayadu mongyol törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun* ‚Hof für die Angelegenheiten, welche die mongolische Regierung im Außenbereich regeln‘ von einer manjurischen *tulergi golo-be dasara jurgan* ‚Jurgan (vgl. unten), das die Außenmarken verwaltet‘, und einer chinesischen 理藩院 *Lifān yuàn* ‚Hof für die Regulierung der Grenzregion‘. Sitz dieser Dienststellen dürfte die manjurische Hauptstadt Mukden gewesen sein. Dafür, wie diese Dienststellen damals genau besetzt waren, kann man bisher noch auf keine manjusprachigen urschriftlichen Angaben zurückgreifen.

Einer Bemerkung wert erweist sich die Bezeichnung der mongolischen und chinesischen Dienststelle als *yamun* bzw. *yuàn* ‚Hof‘ im Hinblick auf die Benennung der manjurischen Dienststelle mit *jurgan*. Der Begriff *jurgan* mag mit seinen Bedeutungen *Zeile, Linie, Richtlinie; Pflicht, Pflichterfüllung* im Rahmen einer Dienststellenbezeichnung vielleicht damals schon hingewiesen haben auf den dann später semantisch aus dem Chinesischen übernommenen Begriff 部 *bù* ‚Ministerium‘.

Enge Beziehungen zwischen Manju und Mongolen prägten auch die weiteren frühen Jahre des Cing Staates. So finden sich in den Textsammlungen JMZD und MYBD (vgl. unten unter **Quellen**) originale urschriftliche Schreiben in Faksimile veröffentlicht aus der Regierungszeit des manjurischen Sure Han (reg. im Ayisin-Staat 1626–1636 sowie im Dayicing Staat ab 1636–1644). Diese Schreiben sind u.a. Beleg eben auch für enge Verbindungen zwischen den damaligen Manjuren und Mongolen. In den MYBD 1997 finden sich unter den 50 Texten aus dem mongolischen Hof für die Angelegenheiten, welche die mongolische Regierung im Außenbereich regeln (mo. *yadayadu mongyol törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun*) in verschiedenen Texten die Namen mongolischer Stämme verzeichnet, die den Manju Geschenke überbracht hatten. Diesen Angaben zufolge pflegten in den frühen 40er Jahren des 17. Jh.s. fol-



gende Mongolengemeinschaften Beziehungen zu den Manju: Abay-a, Aoqan, Bayarin, Dörbed, Dörben Keüked, Gorlos, Kesigten, Köke Qota Tümed, Naiman, Ongniyud, Ordos, Ögeled, Qayučin, Qalq-a, Qaračin, Qorčin, Sünid, Tümed, Üjümüčin.

Textmaterial dafür, wie sich dieses Verhältnis zwischen Mongolen und Manju weiterhin entwickelt haben mag, liefern von mongolischsprachiger Seite aus gesehen 7 faksimilierte Bände von Textabschriften (vgl. unten unter **Quellen** die Sigle MDEE 2003), die den Zeitraum von 1636 bis 1670 umfassen. Diese Aufzeichnungen sind bisher noch nicht in extenso ausgewertet worden. Manjusprachiges Textmaterial für die gleiche Frage zum Verhältnis zwischen Manju und Mongolen dürften die ebenfalls noch nicht ausgewerteten MMAD 2010 (vgl. unten unter **Quellen**) für die Jahre ab 1653 liefern.

Um die Mitte der 30er Jahre des 17. Jh.s. sahen bekanntlich der unabhängige mongolische Machthaber *Sečen Qan Šoloi* aus dem mongolischen *qalqa* ‚Sperrgebiet‘ *doloyan otoq* ‚sieben Stämme‘ sowie ihm folgend der mongolische Machthaber *Tüsiyetü Qan Gombodorji* ihre Machtbereiche als mit dem manjurischen Ayisin- und Dayicing-Staat gleichberechtigte Grössen an. Die soeben genannten Manjustaaten hingegen betrachteten die ihnen noch nicht unterstellten, im Inneren vielfach in Handel verstrickten Mongolengebiete als noch zu erobernde Territorien des Nordwestens, die sie dementsprechend in Manjusprache bezeichneten als *arui kalka* ‚Sperrgebiete des Nordens‘. Verwaltungstechnisch bezeichneten die damals noch unabhängigen Mongolen ihre Wohngebiete als *ayimay* ‚Stamm, Clan‘ = Aimag ~ Aimak.

Es gab damals im 17./18. Jh. vier mongolische Aimaks: *Ĵasaytu Qan Aimak*, *Sečen Qan Aimak*, *Sayin Noyan Qan Aimak* und *Tüsiyetü Qan Aimak*. Das mongolische Wort *Qalqa* verlor im Verlaufe des 17. Jh. seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung ‚Sperre, Tor‘ – daher die Bezeichnung ‚Sperrgebiet‘ – und bezeichnete mit *Qalqa* wie auch noch heute in der Regel Volk, Sprache, und Wohngebiet der *Qalqa*- ~ *Khalkha*-Mongolen, heute мо. Халх.

Im Jahre 1644 nahmen manjurische Truppen die chinesische Ming Hauptstadt Peking ein. Dies war ein Ereignis, das die noch nicht den Manju unterstellten Mongolen schon erwartet haben mochten, als sie im Jahre 1640 am Fluß Emil im Gebiet der heutigen chinesischen Autonomen Region 新疆 *Xīnjiāng* ‚neues Grenzland‘ eine Versammlung einberiefen, um zu einer Einigung darüber zu kommen, wie man u. a. mit den Manju umgehen könne. Eine Einigung wurde jedoch nicht erreicht.

Nach der Eroberung von Peking durch die Manju schlitterte die chinesische Dynastie Ming förmlich ihrem Ende entgegen. Die letzten Herrscher der chinesischen Dynastie Ming befanden sich nunmehr als Kaiser der Südlichen Ming ständig auf der Flucht vor dem sie verfolgenden Militär der Manju, bis 1662 der

letzte Süd-Ming Kaiser *Yǒnglì* 永厲 (nicht zu verwechseln mit dem Ming-Kaiser 永樂 *Yǒnglè*, 1402–1424) gefangengenommen und hingerichtet wurde. Mit dem Tod dieses Herrschers fand auch die Ära der chinesischen Kaiser ihr Ende, da die noch folgenden Kaiser im manjurischen Cing China keine Chinesen, sondern Manjuren waren, die als Fremdherrscher über China geboten. Die Zeit, während der in China überhaupt noch Kaiser regierten, endete dann offiziell im Februar 1912 mit dem Beginn der chinesischen Republik.

Nach der für China und Chinesen wohl schändlichen Hinrichtung des Kaisers *Yǒnglì* der Südlichen Ming dürfte in China die Manjuherrschaft nicht gerade an Sympathie gewonnen haben. Als Beleg dafür mag der zwischen 1674 und 1681 im Süden des Reiches aufgeflamnte Aufstand dreier Ming-Prätendenten angeführt sein. Erst nach Niederschlagung dieses Aufstands konnte das manjurische *dayicing gurun* endgültig seine Herrschaft über ganz China absichern und seine Verwaltung dann dementsprechend neu regeln. Wie die mongolische Gesetzgebung aussah, an deren Grundsätzen sich die Verwaltung damals orientieren konnte, sei mittels folgender Literaturhinweise angezeigt (zu den jeweiligen Volltiteln vgl. unten unter **Literatur**): Alinge 1934; Bodde and Morris 1967; Nayiraltu und Altaqorkil 1989; Riasanovsky 1965. Zur Entwicklung im manjurischen Cing Staat von 1661 bis 1684 aus chinesischer Sicht vgl. Kessler 1976.

Schon 1634 hatte der mongolische Oirate *Qotoqočin* (reg. bis 1653), der den Titel *Batur Qung Taiji* führte, die Herrschaft über einen Großteil der oiratischen Stämme übernommen. Die von ihm beherrschten mongolischen Oiraten, deren Territorium sich südsüdwestlich des Territoriums der heutigen Mongolischen Republik erstreckte, bezeichneten sich seitdem als *dzün yar* ‚linker Flügel‘ (daher die Regionalbezeichnung *Dsungarei*). Unter 10 Herrschern sollten die oiratisch-mongolischen Choschoten und Dsungaren bis 1758 in einem eigenen Staat, der seine größte Bedeutung und Ausdehnung bis weit nach Westen im 18. Jahrhundert erlangte, die Geschicke Innerasiens mitbestimmen. Die Beziehungen des Manjustaates zu den oiratischen Choschoten und Dsungaren im 17. Jh. beleuchten verschiedene Beiträge, welche die Zeit der Einflußnahme des oiratischen Herrschers Galdan auf die mongolischen Aimak Territorien behandeln (siehe unten unter Literatur: Čimeddorji 1991 und Romanovsky 1998). Die erst heute im neuen Jahrtausend zugänglich gewordenen umfangreichen mongolisch- und manjursprachigen Textsammlungen MBGD 2005 und MMAD 2010 (vgl. unten unter **Quellen**) dürften, wie noch zukünftig durchzuführende Untersuchungen zu MBGD und MMAD zeigen mögen, weitere Kenntnisse zum Problemkreis ‚Oiraten‘ vermitteln.

Die mongolisch-oiratischen Einfälle unter dem oiratisch-mongolischen Herrscher Galdan in das Gebiet der damaligen Aimak Mongolen – ihre Wohn-

gebiete entsprachen in etwa dem Territorium der modernen Mongolischen Republik – führten im Mai 1691 in der Örtlichkeit *mo. Dolojan Nayur* ‚Sieben-See‘ zu einer manjurisch-mongolisch-oiratischen Zusammenkunft. Auf dieser Zusammenkunft unterstellten sich die vom dsungar-oiratischen Galdan sowie vom ʃasaytu Qan Aimak bedrohten übrigen Aimak Mongolen dem Schutz des manjurischen Cing Staates. Damit war dem manjurischen Cing Staat ein beträchtlicher Teil der nördlichen Mongolengebiete zugefallen.

Die Zugehörigkeit zum manjurischen Cing Staat sollte die Mongolen einbinden in die vielfältigen Auseinandersetzungen der Manju mit den oiratisch-mongolischen Choschoten und Dsungaren, die erst 1758 ihr Ende finden sollten. Als Beispiel für diese Auseinandersetzungen sei verwiesen auf den Zeitraum 1717–1727, über den drei Faksimilebände mit urschriftlichen manju- und chinesischsprachigen Dokumenten berichten (siehe unten unter **Quellen**: MNKY 1971). Die Schriftstücke (meistens Throneingaben) wurden ausgetauscht zwischen einem Würdenträger im Range eines Großfeldherren namens *ma. Nian geng you* (chin. 年羹堯 *Nián gēng yáo*). Der Großfeldherr entstammte einem manjurischen Chinesenbanner, und seine kaiserlichen Adressaten waren *ma. Elhe Tayifin* ‚Gesunder Weltfriede‘, reg. 1661–1722 (*mo. Engke Amuyulang*; chin. 康熙 *Kāngxī*) und *ma. Hūwalyasun Tob* ‚Harmonische Geradheit‘, reg. 1723–1735 (*mo. Nayiraltu Tob*; chin. 雍正 *Yōngzhèng*). Zur Auswertung dieser Schriftstücke vgl. unten unter Literatur: Wu 1995. Unbedingt Berücksichtigung finden sollten auch noch angesichts der langen Regierungszeit (1661–1722) des Manjuherrschers *Elhe Tayifin* die beiden manjusprachigen Faksimilebände mit urschriftlichen kaiserlichen Dokumenten (vgl. unten unter **Quellen** die Sigle SPMK).

## Epilog

Den Lesern des voranstehenden Beitrags mag aufgefallen sein, daß in den Darlegungen zu den ersten rund hundert Jahren der Existenz des *dayicing gurun* im Haupttext der Abhandlung Herrschernamen sowie Territorialbezeichnungen nicht, wie vielfach sonst üblich, in Chinesisch, sondern in Manju oder Mongolisch aufgeführt wurden. In einer Darlegung wie der hier vorliegenden, die sich nach heutiger moderner Sicht mit China beschäftigte, erweckt wohl das Verfahren, die Herrscher nicht chinesisch zu benennen, sicher einiges Erstaunen. Vorliegender Beitrag befaßt sich nun aber gar nicht mit China, sondern mit einem außerhalb Chinas 1636 ausgerufenen Staat, dessen nicht-chinesisches südtungusisches Herrschervolk sich seit 1635 als Manju bezeichnete, und bereits vorher seit 1616 außerhalb Chinas in einem als *ma. ayisin*

*gurun* ‚Gold Staat‘ bezeichneten Staatswesen regiert hatte. Der 1636 ausgerufene Manjustaat ging, wie oben im vorliegenden Beitrag gezeigt, bald dazu über, Teile Chinas sowie einen Großteil der Mongolenvölker zu unterwerfen. Der nichtchinesische Manjustaat erlangte schließlich Ende des 17. Jh.s die Alleinherrschaft über ganz China sowie im Verlauf des 18. Jh. die Vormachtstellung über weite Gebiete Innerasiens bis hinein nach Südostasien. Angesichts dieser Entwicklung des Manjustaates sollte sich die historische Forschung darüber einig werden, den Qing Staat zu definieren als manjurischen Großstaat mit dem u. a. vormaligen Ming-Staatsgebiet als chinesischem Landesteil. Diese Staatsdefinition stünde durchaus in Einklang mit der von keinem Geringeren als dem Historiker Leopold von Ranke erhobenen Forderung, Geschichte so darzustellen ‚wie es eigentlich gewesen‘ (siehe unten unter Literatur: Ranke 1885). Dieser Forderung Rankes entspricht auch die Auswahl der hier vorgelegten Quellen, bei denen es sich quellenkundlich um Überreste handelt. Die hier vorgelegten manju- und mongolischsprachigen Quellen sind demnach, um einen modernen Begriff zu verwenden, quellenkundlich authentisch.

Die Zeitläufe der ersten rund hundert Jahre Qing Geschichte präsentieren sich als kaleidoskopartig immer wieder verschobene Verhältnisse, denen die Manju als Regierende, die Mongolen als nach Eigenständigkeit Strebende, und die Chinesen trotz Überzahl an Bevölkerung als Benachteiligte beizukommen versucht haben. Es ist mit Aufgabe der Historie, forschend Wege zu finden, um die aus derartigen Verhältnissen sich ergebenden – auch vom Textmaterial her bedingten – Verknotungen und Irrungen bestmöglich zu klären. Vorliegender kleiner Almanach mag diesem Ziel dienlich sein.

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# On the Phonetic Value of Some Glyphs of Khitan Small Script

Wu Yingzhe

According to previous research results,<sup>1</sup> it is well known that some glyphs of Khitan small script have their spelled equivalents which can be found in the Khitan materials. These equivalents provide important clues for the study of the phonetic value of the corresponding glyphs. On the basis of the roots of the ordinal numerals, Professor Chinggeltei have ever demonstrated a few phonetic values of some cardinal numbers of Khitan language. Scholars had speculated various phonetic values for the Khitan glyphs 𐰚 (𐰚𐰏 be born), 𐰚 (eight), 𐰚 (white) respectively, but the actual phonetic values of them are still unknown up to now. Consulting the phonetic values of the ‘Spelled Form’, the author concludes that 𐰚 is read *suei* or *sui*, 𐰚 *niem* and 𐰚 *siu* or *su*. Meanwhile, the author put forward his own interpretation opinion for some Khitan words.

## 1 Introduction

Khitan Research Group considered Khitan small script as a kind of primary alphabetic writing which shows some omissions in orthography. There are variant spellings for one particular word. ‘Benevolence’ (仁) is written as 𐰚𐰚𐰚𐰚 or 𐰚𐰚𐰚𐰚, ‘Jian’ (监, an imperial office) is 𐰚𐰚𐰚 or 𐰚𐰚𐰚, ‘Chen’ (official under a feudal ruler, 臣) is 𐰚𐰚 or 𐰚𐰚, etc. (Chinggeltei et al. 1985). Investigating the materials in Khitan script, it is not difficult to find that this kind of spelling ‘omission’ exists in the materials later discovered, and there is even a phenomenon that one glyph is sometimes spelled with two or three other glyphs. The author once named this type of spelling feature that surpasses the ‘omission’ of orthography as ‘Spelled Form’ (分写式, Wu Yingzhe 2004). On the other hand, the different spellings of a word played an important role in later studies, especially in reconstructing the phonetic value of some glyphs. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> This paper was originally written in Chinese, and now it is translated into English to celebrate the goth Birthday of great scholar academician Professor Róna-Tas.

ing to the roots of the ordinal numbers in Khitan language, Chinggeltei and Liu Fengzhu et al. predicted the phonetic values of the cardinal numbers, which is considered to be a good example of applying the ‘omission’ of orthography or ‘Spelled Form’.

This paper continues to investigate the ‘Spelled Form’ in Khitan small script, and obtains the phonetic values of several glyphs from the comparison between the single-glyph-word and the ‘Spelled Form’, so as to provide reference to the academic circle.

## 2 Glyph 𐰚

𐰚𐰢 and 𐰚𐰣 are both interpreted as ‘bear, be born’ 生 (Chinggeltei 1985). The main difference between them is that the former one is for male, while the latter one is for female. According to our observation, 𐰚 is usually at the beginning of a word, sometimes used independently, but not in the middle or end of a word. The endings of this verb are quite varied, whose grammatical meaning known so far are as follows. 𐰚𐰢𐰣𐰠𐰢𐰣 (Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong 12, *Damaged Epitaph of the Country Guarding Supreme General in Khitan Small Script* 11) means ‘biological mother’, is a feminine word, and probably in causative voice. The corresponding expression is 𐰚𐰢𐰣𐰠𐰢𐰣 (Epitaph of Yelü Hongyong 2, *Epitaph of the Imperial Consort of the States of Song and Wei* 4) means ‘biological father’, is a masculine word, probably in causative voice. 𐰚𐰢𐰣𐰠𐰢𐰣 (töre=ksen) in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Kuribayashi Hitoshi et al. 2001) means ‘gave birth to’, is an intransitive and transitive verb. If 𐰚𐰢𐰣𐰠𐰢𐰣 is in the causative voice, then the word meaning ‘give birth to’ in Khitan language is probably a transitive verb. 𐰚𐰢𐰣𐰠𐰢𐰣 (Epitaph of Yelü Jue 8), 𐰚𐰢𐰣𐰠𐰢𐰣 (Epitaph of Yelü Chaozhi Langjun 5) and 𐰚𐰢𐰣𐰠𐰢𐰣 (Epitaph of Yelü Xiangwen 8) are different spelling forms for ‘biological’ of ‘biological parents’. The main difference between the latter two spellings is whether there is an omission of vowel *a* (𐰢) or not. The author thinks this type of ‘omission’ relates to the back vowel reduction after the second syllable.

All the words mentioned above mean ‘give birth to’, but there are only slight differences in the changes of the suffixes. There seems to be no disagreement in the academic circles about their meanings. However, concerning the pronunciation of 𐰚, there are two different opinions. One is [tʰur] (Ji Shi 1996), and the other is *mən* (Wang Hongli 1986). Obviously, the two kinds of reconstruction were done based on the pronunciation of the related words of ‘give birth to’ in Mongolian, which shows a little lack of evidence. In fact, we could be able to





𠤎 is read as *s*, 火 as *uei*, 关 as *i* (Chinggeltei 2010), 𠤎火关 as *suei* or *sui*, thus 𠤎 can be read as *suei* or *sui*.

The phonetic value of 𠤎 cannot be completely determined based on this clue alone. Firstly, we can't rule out the possibility that 𠤎 is a clerical error of 𠤎火关. Secondly, it is possible that 𠤎九芬 and 𠤎火关 九芬 may present the different names. Therefore, we need to find the evidence to confirm the pronunciation of 𠤎 is *suei* or *sui* to solve the problem. There is the following sentence in Line 3 of *Epitaph of Prince of Guangling of Great Khitan*:

生𠤎	𠤎存及火关	公东外𠤎	令东及北	𠤎	九𠤎	𠤎𠤎
祖父	耶律	□ <sup>4</sup> □□之	第五	可汗	景	宗
grandfather	Yelü	of □□□	the fifth	Khan	Jing	Zong
𠤎主	𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎	𠤎	𠤎雨	𠤎雨	九火	𠤎
皇帝	生	父	秦	晋	国	王
Emperor	biological	father	Qin	Jin	State	Prince

'His grandfather is the fifth Emperor, Jingzong, of Yelü □, and his biological father is the Prince of the States of Qin and Jin.'

This part presented Yelü Zongjiao's grandfather, Emperor Jingzong (Yelü Xian) and his father Prince of the States of Qin and Jin (Yelü Longqing). According to *Interpretation of the National Language of The History of Liao* and *Epitaph of Prince of Guangling of Great Khitan* in Chinese, Lüfen (Zongjiao) is the son of the Prince of the States of Qin and Jin, thus 𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎 𠤎 means no doubt the 'biological father'. All of the glyphs in this word have been deciphered already. 𠤎 is read *s*, 𠤎 *uei*, 𠤎 *l*, 𠤎 *ya*, 𠤎 *a*, 𠤎 *ər* (Chinggeltei 2010), and together it could be read as *soilyar* or *suilgar*. From the perspective of pronunciation, meaning and context, the root 𠤎𠤎 *suei* or *sui* and the aforementioned 𠤎火关 *suei* or *sui* are all the 'Spelled Form' of 𠤎. Therefore, we can presume that 𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎 𠤎 and 𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎, 𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎𠤎 are all homophonesynonyms, but not the clerical errors.

Although 𠤎 *suei* or *sui*, 'give birth to' in Khitan could not be confirmed in Mongolian languages, individual Mongolian word may be related to it in etymology. 𠤎 *süi* means 'engagement', 𠤎 *subai* means 'unfertilized', 'not pregnant' (Mongolian Language Institute, 1999). If Khitan word 𠤎 and the former one are cognate words, it shows that the two words 'give birth to' and 'marriage' are closely related in meaning. If 𠤎 and the latter one are cognate words, it indicates that the meanings of 'give birth to' in Khitan and Mongolian are reversed. Of course, 𠤎九芬 is transliteration of a person's name 隋哥 Sui Ge, but not 生哥 'biological Ge'.

4 Word meaning is unknown.

## 3 Glyphs 𐰇, 𐰈, 𐰉

The relationship between Khitan and Mongolian has always been one of the focuses for the researchers. According to the present research results, the pronunciations of four seasons, kinship terms and the Twelve Earthly Branches<sup>5</sup> in Khitan language are close to those in Mongolian language. However, the pronunciations of colors and directions are different from Mongolian. Linguists believe that the similarities and differences of numerals are crucial to confirm the relationship between two languages. The carinal numbers ‘One’ to ‘ten’ in Khitan language have been repeatedly discussed by the researchers. The pronunciations of ‘two’ 𐰇 *qur*, ‘three’ 𐰈 *yur*, ‘four’ 𐰉 *dur*, ‘five’ 𐰊 *t’au*, ‘seven’ 𐰋 *dol* and ‘nine’ 𐰌 have been widely accepted by academic world. We constructed the pronunciation of 𐰍 ‘ten’ *p’o* or *ap’o* (Wu Yingzhe 2014). Then all the pronunciations of cardinal numbers have been reasonably explained except 𐰎 ‘six’ and 𐰏 ‘eight’.<sup>6</sup> On the basis of previous studies, this paper also explores the pronunciation of the cardinal number 𐰏 ‘eight’. As we know that both 𐰏 and 𐰐 bear the meaning of ‘eight’, the former one is for both female and male while the latter one is only for male (Wu Yingzhe 2007). There is the following sentence in Line 2 of *Epitaph of Yelü Pu Suli Taifu*:

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This is an introduction of Dinian Yanmu from the standpoint of Shulan Shilu, who is the second uncle of the Emperor Taizu of Liao Dynasty and the elder brother of Dinian Yanmu. The fourth word 国 means 'body', which can be learnt from Ji Shi's decipherment of 国 中 中 九 丕 丹 (*Epitaph of Prince Song Shangfu Yuyue of Great Liao 9*) as 'guard officer' (Ji shi 1996). There is only the difference between 么 and 才, comparing the sixth word 来 么 力 and the previous 来 才 力. Both 么 and 才 can be read as *ia*, so 来 么 力 also means 'chi'. The last word 火 火 丕 丕 火 means 'up to', a masculine verb. From all these already known words, it can be inferred that 才 伏 行 余 化 九 和 国 伏 文 丕 来 才 力 火 火 丕 丕 火 means 'Elder brother Yanmu Irgen is eight Chi tall.' Apparently, the fifth word 伏 文 丕 is the 'spelled form' of 丕 'eight'. Since 伏 is *n*, 文 *ie*, 丕 *em*, then 伏 文 丕 is *niem*. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 'eight' is 乃蠻 *naiman*, the pronunciation is close to 丕, 伏 文 丕 *niem*. 'Eight' in Mongolian is *ne:m*, in Dahur *naim*, in Eastern Yugur, Monguor and Dongxiang *naiman*, and in Baoan *naimay*. These pronunciations are all similar to 'eight' *niem* in Khitan.

Through Jiruhe's observation, 别 霄 止 炎 伞 火 has another kind of spelling 止 炎 禾 in Line 21 of *Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian Taiwei*, which shows that 伞 火 is the 'spelled form' of 禾. Since 伞 火 is *ts-iu* or *s-iu*, then 禾 is also *siu* or *su*. Therefore, we can infer that 万 闲 余 伏 禾 which appeared in Line 13 of *Epitaph of Mme. Han* is 云独昆苏 Yun Du Kun Su, who is the younger brother of Liao Taizu. Then the phonetic value of the second glyph 闲 in 万 闲 余 伏 could be reconstructed as *du*. The author has once presumed that 闲 might be a locative case auxiliary word (Wu Yingzhe 2007). Since 闲 is read as *du*, its grammatical meaning can be furthered proved.

#### 4 Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, we first learned that some single-glyph words in Khitan small scripts do have corresponding spelled forms. This phenomenon has important reference value to the academic research on the phonetic value of glyphs, and the exploration of combination rules of glyphs and the nature of Khitan small script. Here is a summary of the explored 'spelled forms' so far, which have been summed up in the following table:

TABLE 22.1 Explored ‘spelled forms’

	Single-glyph word	Spelled form	Meaning	Pronunciation
1	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	one (female, male)	əmu
2	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	one (male)	nə <sup>a</sup>
3	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	two (female, male)	dʒur
4	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	two (male)	dʒur? <sup>b</sup>
5	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	three (female, male)	yur
6	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	three (male)	yur?
7	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	four (female, male)	dur
8	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	four (male)	dur?
9	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	seven (female, male)	dol
10	𐰇	𐰇𐰏/𐰇𐰏	seven (male)	dol?
11	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	eight (female, male)	niem
12	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	gold	nigu
13	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	emperor	di
14	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	east	dor
15	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	give birth to	suei ~ sui
16	𐰇	𐰇𐰏	White (the seventh and the eighth of the ten Heavenly Stems)	siu ~ su

a According to the latest research of Wu Yingzhe (2021), 𐰇 pronounced nə.

b The one with question mark means the reconstruction of the pronunciation is not sure yet, since we cannot be sure about whether the final consonant falls off when a word root is attached with a suffix.

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**PART 3**

*Linguistic and Cultural  
Contacts of Altaic Languages*







## An Enigmatic Name for Wild Pears in Zazaki: A Study on Names of Pears in Asia Minor

Uwe Bläsing

The Middle East,<sup>1</sup> and especially the southern parts of the Caucasus and the Caspian region (Gilan, Mazandaran)<sup>2</sup> as well as Anatolia are famous for their imposing richness in pears. Hundreds of sorts can be found. Reason therefore is on the one hand that one of the cradles of the botanical genus *Pyrus* was possibly located within this area (cf. *Pyrus caucasica* Fed.; syn. *Pyrus communis* subsp. *caucasica* (Fed.) Browicz).<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, *Pyrus* is more than any other fruit appropriate for extensive cultivation. Principally we must make a difference between wild pears as *Pyrus pyraster* (L.) Burgsd. and cultivated species as *Pyrus communis* L. (syn. *Pyrus communis* subsp. *communis*; European Pear), from which most of our cultivars have been developed (*Beurre d'Anjou*, *Williams' bon chretien*, *Beurre Bosc*, etc.).<sup>4</sup> Already in the ancient world various kinds of (cultivated) pears have been known. Plinius, for instance, reports of about forty.<sup>5</sup> From the late Ottoman Empire we have some documents with lists reflecting the tree population of orchards most notably in and around Istanbul. One of these lists was edited and published from manuscript by Mrs. Günay Kut in her fine article 'Meyve Bahçesi' (2005), i.e., 'Fruit Garden'. From this amazing document we learn, that in the middle of the 19th century more than 200 native and foreign sorts of pears were known and—up to a certain degree—grown in the Ottoman Empire. By this number of different sorts, pears are leading before

1 A preliminary version of this essay has been presented in autumn 2011 on the occasion of the International Conference *The Zaza People: History, Language, Culture, Identity* (28–30 October) in Yerevan, Armenia.

2 According to Zamani and Attar (2010: 484) "Iran is an important center of the diversity of *Pyrus*." There are 18 species "distributed mainly in two regions, namely the Alborz and Zagros Mts."

3 The ultimate centre of origin is said to be at the foothills of the Tien Shan mountain range in the heart of Asia.

4 For further information see: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%27Anjou>, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Williamspear>, and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosc\\_Pear](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosc_Pear); 20-01-2021.

5 For detailed information on pears in the Antiquity see Pauly-Wissowa (Fünfter Halbband 1897: 491–498).

apples and other fruit. Most of the pears mentioned, come from the Balkans and Western Anatolia. From the eastern parts of Asia Minor and the Pontus, the richest area in pears, there is very few evidence; here are some examples (Kut *ibid.*): (no. 89) *Kayseriye'den Manolaki armudu, Bey armudu resminde gayet âbdâr armut* ('The Manolaki pear from Kayseri, a very juicy pear resembling the *Bey armudu*');<sup>6</sup> (no. 88) *Kayseriye'den rayihası gayet güzel Kürdistan armudu* ('From Kayseri the *Kürdistan* pear, having a very lovely odor'); (no. 28) *Gümüşhane'den, the Kebir Gümüşhane armudu* ('From Gümüşhane the *Kebir* [big] *Gümüşhane* pear').

Concerning the pear names, most of them are quite transparent and thus can easily be analysed, as the following small selection of examples taken from different languages of the region demonstrates:

1. Season or time of ripening
  - 'Winter-Pear'—TURKISH (OTTOMAN) *kış armudu*, ARMENIAN *jmr̄n-a-tanj*, (İgdir and Van) *jmeṛn-uk*, (İzmir) *jmeṛn-eni*, GEORGIAN (Ingiloi dialect) *zamtr-ul-a*, ABKHAZ *a-ʒən-ha* and NEO-ARAMAIC (Herzliya, a village close to the city of Siirt, SE Anatolia) *setwa-ya* and GREEK (Pontus) *χειμῶν-ἄπιν ~ χειμῶν-ἄπ'* (Papadopoulos 2: 507a);<sup>7</sup> for detailed information see, Bläsing (2004: 112–113).
2. Colour of the fruits
  - 'Red-Pear'—TURKISH (Hemşin) *kırmızı armut*, ARMENIAN *karmr-a-tanj*, (İzmir) *karmr-eni*, GREEK (Pontus) *κόκκιν-ἄπιν ~ κόκκιν-ἄπ'* > TURKISH (Trabzon) *goginap*, GEORGIAN *çitel-a* and ABKHAZ *a-ha-pš'*;<sup>8</sup> for detailed information see Bläsing (2004: 114).
3. Taste of the fruits
  - 'Sugar-Pear'—TURKISH (Kemerhisar–Niğde) *şeker armudu*, (*Niğde Armudu*) *şekeri*, (Trabzon) *şekerap*,<sup>9</sup> ARMENIAN *şak'ar-a-tanj*, *şak'arkeṇi* and ABKHAZ *a-š'akar-ha*; see Bläsing (2004: 100). A combination of colour and taste is represented in the name TURKISH (Bor–Niğde) *ak-şekeri* 'White-Sugar', a very sweet pear of light yellowish colour (DS 162a).

6 *Manolaki* reflects most probably the Greek personal name *Μανωλάκης* (an affectionate form of *Μανουήλ* 'Manuel') suggesting that this sort once was introduced or grown by Anatolian Greeks.

7 Cf. TURKISH *kış*, ARMENIAN *jmeṛ(n)*, GEORGIAN *zamtar-i*, ABKHAZ *a-ʒən*, ARAMAIC *setwa* and GREEK *χειμῶνας* 'winter'.

8 Cf. TURKISH *kırmızı*, ARMENIAN *karmir*, GREEK *κόκκιν(ος)*, GEORGIAN *çitel-i* and ABKHAZ *-apš'* 'red'.

9 < \**şeker-ἄπ'*. This form is derived from GREEK (Pontus) *σεκέρ'/σεκέρπιν* (< TURKISH *şeker*) + *ἄπ'/ἄπιν* 'pear'.

4. Form of the fruits
  - ‘Ox-Belly’—TURKISH (*Bodrum, Fethiye–Muğla*) *öküzgöbeği* ‘a kind of oval pear’ (*DS* 4623a).<sup>10</sup>
  - ‘Boat-Arse’—TURKISH (*Düzce–Bolu*) *teknegöt* ‘a kind of pear having very juicy fruits, big and flat in form’ (*DS* 3866b).<sup>11</sup>
  - ‘Hare-Head’—TURKISH (*Güdüll, Ayaş–Ankara*) *tavşanbaşı* ‘a kind of pear with large fruits’ (*TZT* 1938: 40; *DS* 3848a).<sup>12</sup>
5. Pears in comparison with other fruits or plants
  - ‘Pumpkin-Pear’—TURKISH (*Gümüşhane*) *kabak armudu*, (Hemshin) *tetmedanç*’ (< ARMENIAN (Hemshin) *\*ttme-danc*), GREEK (Pontus) *κολογκυθ-άπ’* ~ *κολογκυθ-άπιν* (see Bläsing 2004: 94–95) and AZERBAIJANI *gabax armut* (Širälijev 1967: 339).<sup>13</sup>
  - ‘Watermelon-Pear’—TURKISH (*Bafra–Samsun*) *karpuz armudu*, GREEK (Pontus) *καρπουζ-άπ’* ~ *καρπουζ-άπιν*, ABKHAZ *a-k’ərp’əž’o-ha* (Bläsing 2004: 113) and AZERBAIJANI *ğarpuz armut* (Širälijev 1967: 339).<sup>14</sup>
  - ‘Turnip-Pear’—TURKISH (*Gümüşhane*) *şalgam armudu* ‘a medium-sized green pear ripening in winter’ (*DS* 3739b).<sup>15</sup>
  - ‘Rose-Pear’—TURKISH (*Gümüşhane*) *gül armudu* ‘a sort of red pear’ (*DS* 2217a; *TZT* 1938: 40).<sup>16</sup>
6. Pears classified according to their stalk<sup>17</sup>
  - ‘Long-Stalk’—TURKISH (*Niğde*) *sapiuzun* ~ *sapuzun*, (*Keşanuz–Ankara*) *uzunsap* (*DS* 3541a, 3542b, 4054a; Bläsing 2004: 115).
  - ‘Thick-Stalk’—TURKISH (*Güneyce–Rize*) *kalunsap* (*Kara* 2014: 41), (Hemshin) *kalın sap armudu* (Bläsing 2004: 115).
  - ‘Curved-Stalk’—TURKISH (Hemshin) *eğri sap armudu*, *egri sap* (Bläsing 2004: 115) > LAZ *eğrisap-i* [sic!] (Benli 2004: 56b).

10 Cf. TURKISH *öküz* ‘ox’ and *göbek* ‘belly, waist’.

11 Cf. TURKISH *tekne* ‘a kind of boat or a wooden bowl’ and *göt* ‘arse, rear’.

12 This name also denotes ‘a kind of apple’ (in Niğde) and ‘a kind of quince’ (in Isparta). Cf. TURKISH *tavşan* ‘hare’ and *baş* ‘head’.

13 Cf. TURKISH *kabak*, ARMENIAN (Western) *ttum*, GREEK (Pontus) *κολογκύθιν* and AZERBAIJANI *gabax* ‘pumpkin’.

14 Cf. TURKISH *karpuz*, GREEK (Pontus) *καρπουζιν*, ABKHAZ *a-k’ərp’əž’o* and AZERBAIJANI *ğarpuz* ‘watermelon’.

15 This name is already attested in ‘Meyve Bahçesi’: *Ohrîden. Şalgam armudu* ‘From Ohrid [in Macedonia] the *Şalgam* pear’ (Kut 2005: no. 129).

16 In ‘Meyve Bahçesi’ mentioned as: *İtalya’nın gayet kebir gül armudu* ‘Italy’s very big *Gül* pear’ (Kut 2005: no. 11).

17 Cf. TURKISH *sap* ‘stalk’, *uzun* ‘long’, *kalın* ‘thick’, *eğri* ‘curved’.

7. Pear names reflecting places
  - TURKISH *Ankara armudu*, a cultivar favoured for its very juicy, delicious fruits; it is a typical winter pear.<sup>18</sup> Further historical and modern names of this type are: *Tokat armudu*, *Malatya armudu* (Kiper 1941: 35–37; 72–74), *İstanbul armudu* (a synonym of *Akça armudu*), *Kabuğu ince Arnavut armudu* ‘the Arnavut (= Albanian) Pear having thin skin’ (Kut 2005: no. 151), and many more.
8. Other names are:
  - TURKISH (Gümüşhane) *keşişyemez armudu* ‘The Monk-Doesn’t-Eat-It Pear’, ‘a delicious green summer pear’ (DS 2772a) and (Kal’a-i Sultaniye = Çanakkale) *vezirbeğendi (armudu)* ‘The Vezir-Liked-It Pear’, ‘a delicious pear having normal, not grainy pulp’ (Kut 2005: no. 173); AZERBAIJANI *ayagörmüz armut* ‘The Agha-Doesn’t-See-It Pear’ (Şiräliyev 1967: 339).<sup>19</sup>
  - ARMENIAN *k’arçin*, KURDISH *kārçîn*, a name which is obviously a co-production consisting of ARMENIAN *k’ar* ‘stone’ + KURDISH *-çîn*. This suffix actually represents the present stem (*çîn-*) of the verb KURDISH *çandin* ‘to grow, to cultivate’; thus, the pear (tree) in question seems to be a sort ‘grown on stone, i.e., on hard and stony ground’; for more detail see Bläsing (2004: 91–93).

However, it remains a quite considerable number of pear names which are (still) obscure from their meaning as well as their origin. These names are in general single terms often attested at a very early stage of a language as for instance GREEK *ἄπιον/ἄπιος*, ARMENIAN *tanj* and even LATIN *pirum/pirus* (see Beekes 2010: 116; Ačarıyan 4: 369a; de Vaan 2008: 467),<sup>20</sup> the latter of which serves in botany as denomination of the genus (*Pyrus* L.; see Genaust 1996: 522). Further names belonging to this group are GEORGIAN (*m*)*sxal-i* (Tschenkéli 845b)<sup>21</sup> and *panța* (Bläsing 2007) and last but not least the *\*Vrmūd*/*\*Vmrūd*-based forms in many Iranian (as well as Iranianized / Persianized) languages, as for example PAHLAVI *urmōd* ~ *umrōd*, PERSIAN *armūd*, KURDISH *hirmî*, etc.

18 For detailed information see <http://www.gencziraat.com/Bahce-Bitkileri/Ankara-Armudu-Yetistiriciligi-15.html> (last accessed: 21.01.2021). As *Ankara emrudu* also registered in ‘Meyve Bahçesi’ (Kut 2005: no. 33).

19 Cf. TURKISH *keşiş* ‘monk’, *yemek* ‘to eat’; *vezir* ‘Vezir, counsellor’, *beğenmek* ‘to like, to enjoy’ and AZERBAIJANI *aya* ‘Agha, landlord’, *görmək* ‘to see’.

20 According to Robert Beekes (ibid.) the Greek and the Latin term are related to each other and considered to be Mediterranean substrate.

21 In the case of this term, however, cf. the very convincing recent attempt of etymological explanation by Rhona Fenwick (2017).

(for more detail, see Bläsing 2005: 10–14)<sup>22</sup> and, of course, ZAZAKI *meroy* ~ *meroe*, *miroy*, *muri*, *murû*, *mûrû* (Malmisanij 1992: 214a, 220b, 225b, 226b), *mirôî*, *merô* (Hadank 1932: 216), *muro*, *muri*, *muriye*, *mura* and (tree) *miroyêr*, *murwêr* (Koyo Berz), *muro*, *miroye*, *murwa* and *murwêr*, *murwêre* (Hayig and Werner 2012: 168). Besides this standard name for cultivated sorts (fruit and tree, respectively) the following variants of a name typical for wild pears attract our attention:

- ZAZAKI *şıqoq*, *şıqoq-ı*, *şeqoq-ı* ~ *şıqoq*, *şıqoq-i* ‘wild pear’ and *şıqoq-êr* ~ *şıqoq-êr* ‘wild pear-tree’ (Koyo Berz; Malmisanij 1992: 333a; Hayig and Werner 2012: 246b).<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the evidence in Zazaki one can encounter this term in a good number of tongues spoken in the eastern half of Asia Minor, so for instance as:

- KURDISH (Kurmanji) *şıqoq* ~ *şekok* (Îzolî 1987: 205a, 208b), *şekûke*, *şikoke*, *şelqoq* (Chyet 2003: 572b) as well as *şakok* ‘wild pear’ used in the region of Kahramanmaraş, especially in Pazarcık and Elbistan (communicated by Asiye Atakan from Pazarcık).
- ARMENIAN *šk'ok* (Xarberd), *şak'ok* (Arapkir) ‘a kind of wild pear’, *šk'ok'i* (Xarberd) ‘tree of a wild pear’ and *şek'k'o(y)*, *şēk'k'oy* (Arabkir) ‘wild pear’ (Açarıyan 1913: 827b, 849a; *HLBB* 4: 229a, 312b; Malxaseanc' 3: 550a).
- TURKISH *şekok* (Tunceli) ‘a sort of pear’ (Gülensoy and Buran 1992: 183), *şakık*, *şakok*, *şakuke* ~ *şakuka* (Elazığ), *şakuk* (Keskin–Kırıkkale) ‘wild pear, a kind of pear’; here an example from the region of Elazığ: *bu yılki şakuke çoğ çoğ gozel imiş, köve teflon açam da birezim göndersünler* ‘this year's şakuke-pears are said to be very good; I'll call the village, they should send me some’ (Buran and İlhan 2008: 193b; Gülensoy and Buran 1994: 238; Buran 1997: 204; *DS* 3738).<sup>24</sup>
- NEO-ARAMAIC *şāqoq-ta* (Plural *şāqoq-e*) ‘pear’ (Jastrow 1988: 198a) in the local idiom of Hertevin (province Siirt) and *şōqūqo* ‘*Pyrus amygdaliformis* Vill.’<sup>25</sup> in the Tūrōyo dialect (Ritter 1979: 500). As for the sort of pear, a short text on grafting fruit trees (‘Okulieren von Obstbäumen’) communicated by

22 Concerning the discussion of the *armut*-complex in general, see also Adriano Rossi's valuable additions (2015) on my paper.

23 As for the alternation of *s* and *ş* in Zazaki dialects, see Paul (1998: 8).

24 Also cf. *şekok*, *şıkoqi* (sic!), *şikoke* ‘*Pyrus elaeagnifolia* Pall. subsp. *elaegnifolia*’ and *şekok* ‘*Pyrus syriaca* Boiss. var. *syriaca*’ (Korkmaz and Demirkuş 2019: 189).

25 The Almond Leafed Pear, *Pyrus amygdaliformis* Vill., syn. *Pyrus spinosa* Forssk. (see Zander 2000: 629) is a native in Anatolia.



FIGURE 23.1 *Şekok* trees and pears in Karlıova (Bingöl)  
 PHOTOGRAPH FROM: BÜLENT TEMİZ, “BİNGÖL’DE ‘YABANI ARMUT-  
 LARA’ ILGI” (ON THE ‘WILD PEARS’ IN BİNGÖL), *DOĞRUHABER GAZETESİ*,  
 10.10.2017, [HTTPS://DOGRUHABER.COM.TR/HABER/264841-BINGOLDE](https://dogruhaber.com.tr/haber/264841-bingolde-yabani-armutlara-ilgi/)  
 -YABANI-ARMUTLARA-ILGI/; 29-02-2021

Otto Jastrow (1988: 130) in the dialect materials from Hertevin provides the following valuable information:

(259) *hakma barranyata honi go haqlan. ?amen saxle, hakma barranyata honi go haqlan, spedahi bet?azen, matm?ennehen. (260) qemli spedahi, teli, qté?lennen ?an barranyata mpatet ?ar?a. mpatet ?ar?a qté?lennen, w qemli zili. taza meteli hakma šaxe, mšaqoqe. (261) mšaqoqe meteli hakma šaxe, meteli teli, qaléplennen ?an barranyata, gréšlenne ?ani le?lehen, (262) qemli taza bha gella w bha gedda krehli le?lehen, hada mmareş ?şerrennen, (263) meteli zili qte?li hakma serde w kube, meteli taza, sé?lenna hdorehen, w treli mennehen ...*

(259) On our field there are some wild pears. I said: Children, on our field there are some wild pears, tomorrow I'll go and graft them. (260) In the morning I sallied out, came and cut off these wild pears (*barranyata*) just above the ground. Just above the ground I cut them off and brought some scions of pears (*šaqoqe*). (261) I brought some scions of pears, barked the wild pears and put them [the scions] onto [this understock]. (262) Then I swathed them with a piece of cloth and a piece of cord and tied them

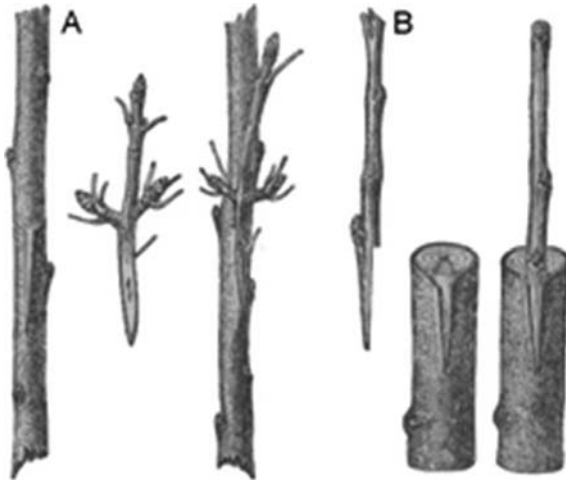


FIGURE 23.2 Simple forms of bark grafting  
 FIGURE FROM: [HTTP://DE.WIKIPEDIA  
 .ORG/WIKI/PFROPFEN\\_\(PFLANZEN\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pfropfen_(Pflanzen));  
 27-02-2021

neatly. (263) I cut off some bushes and thorny shrubs, brought them and made a fence surrounding them [the grafted pairs] and left them so ... From this description we understand that in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Hertevin *šāqoqta* must be a kind of cultivated sort, since it is used as scion (*šaxa*). The understock, i.e. the wild pear, here is called *barrani* (ibid.: 183a).<sup>26</sup> However, what kind or species *šāqoq-ta* is, remains unclear. Perhaps it is *Pyrus amygdaliformis* Vill. as in the Tūrōyo dialect of Tūr ‘Abdîn.<sup>27</sup>

26 Other sorts mentioned from Hertevin are *setwaya* ‘winter pear’, *hezîrani* ‘early (in June) ripening pear’ (< KURDISH *hezîranî*, *hezîranî*, *hizranî* id.; Chyet 2003: 277a), and *žālā sohrék* ‘a winter pear, having a white and a red side’ (Jastrow 1988: 131 [‘Obstbäume’, 246–248], 198a, 189b, 180a).

27 ʾĪsa Işık from the village ʾĪwārdo reporting on the tree population of the vine-yards tells ‘that the number of trees there is not very high but that many different kinds of trees are scattered over the vine-yards’: <sup>1</sup>kiṭo <sup>2</sup>tene u <sup>3</sup>rjīkaṭ, <sup>4</sup>remune ḥalye, remune ḥamuše, <sup>5</sup>reume rištmbāḡil, <sup>6</sup>izrole, <sup>7</sup>ḥabuše, <sup>8</sup>kānīre, <sup>9</sup>šoquqe, <sup>10</sup>tute, <sup>11</sup>ribānākaṭ dābbaluṭe, <sup>12</sup>ḥōriṣme, <sup>13</sup>baṭme, <sup>14</sup>gullat, <sup>15</sup>spārgle, u haxa buṣīklano ‘Es gibt <sup>1</sup>feigen und <sup>2</sup>kleinfeigen, <sup>3</sup>süße und saure granatapfelbäume, <sup>4</sup>rištmbāḡil-granaten, <sup>5</sup>azrōlo-bäume, <sup>6</sup>äpfel- und <sup>7</sup>birnbäume, <sup>8</sup>mandelblattbirnen (*Pyrus amygdaliformis* Vill.), <sup>9</sup>maulbeerbäume, <sup>10</sup>steineichenbäume, <sup>11</sup>kleinfrüchtige kirschbäume (*Cerasus turtuosa* Boiss. et Hausskn.), <sup>12</sup>terebinthen, <sup>13</sup>rosen, <sup>14</sup>quitten und so weiter” (Ritter 1971: ٩٩ 94, 134–135). Here the term for pear in general is *kānīre* (cf. SYRIAC *kūmaṭrā* ~ *kāmaṭrā*, *kamtrē* (Brockelmann 1928: 333a; Payne Smith 1957: 209a, 217b), ARABIC (literary) *kummaṭrā* ‘pear; *Pyrus communis*’ (Wehr 1985: 1119a), etc.; see Löw 1881: No. 153).

The languages just cited as well as the specific groups they belong to, do—at first glance—offer neither an apparent explanation for this name (as the examples discussed in the beginning of my essay) nor suitable traces of its etymological connection can be ascertained. It is so that the term is not even common for one of these languages, because all the attestations are—perhaps with the exception of Zazaki—restricted to some few dialects only. From this striking distribution we can judge that the underlying etymon is possibly not part of the genuine vocabulary of these languages, but must be looked for in the lingual substrate of the area. Robert Dankoff's attribution of the Turkish and Armenian forms within his monograph, *Armenian Loanwords in Turkish* (1995: 188) to group E), i.e., "Words found in both languages, the direction of borrowing being uncertain. Some cases may be due to independent borrowing from a common source ..." can definitely be seen in the light of this opinion. Whether or to what degree interaction has taken place between the several languages shown in the list above is difficult to determine. Forms like TURKISH *şakık*, *şakuk* and especially NEO-ARAMAIC *šōqūqo* are, due to their puzzling vocalism ( $a, \bar{o} < \bar{a}$ ) in the first syllables, under conditions of normal development, incompatible with the rest. However, there must be a connecting element on a deeper level.

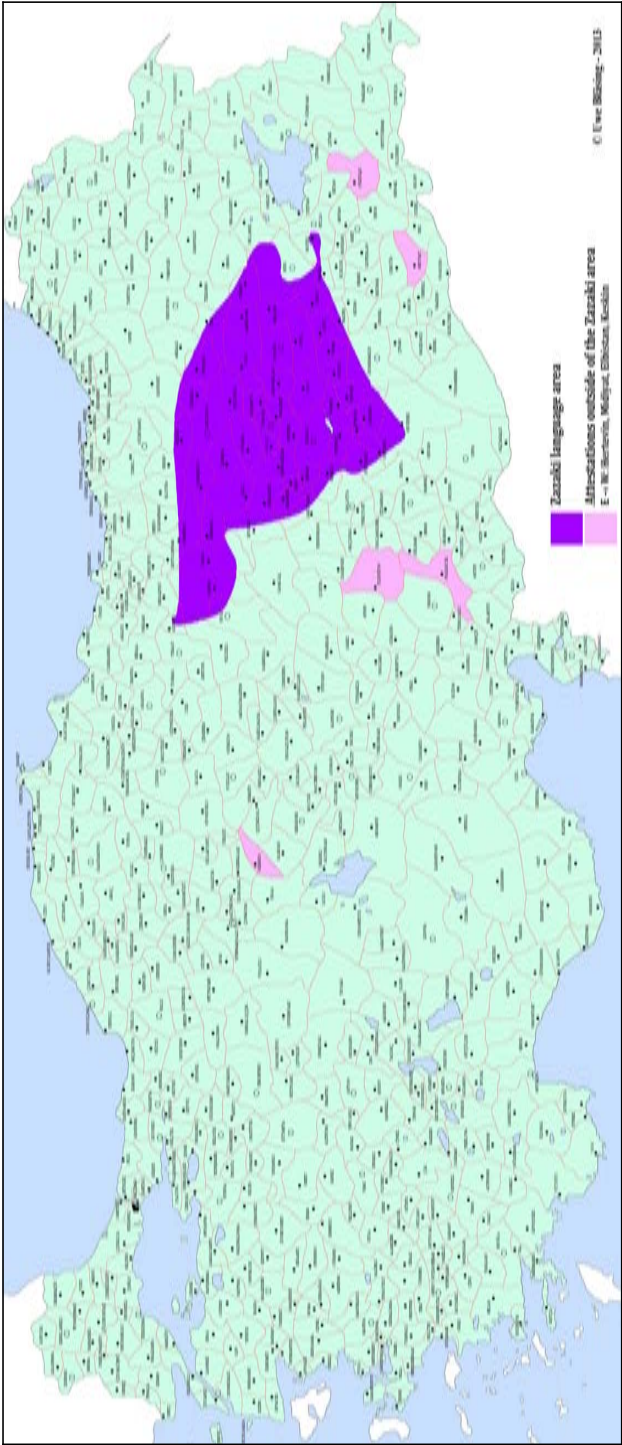
Here, at this point it is perhaps useful to make the data just gained visible in form of a map displaying the pear name's distribution in relation to its centre, the Zazaki language area.

On the following pages I shall outline different models of etymological interpretation. As a prelude to my explications, however, I take the liberty of telling you a story which happened some years ago here in Leiden.

It was on a pleasant afternoon in autumn, when a friend of mine dropped in for a gossip and a drink of course. I was just working on some pear names, but his coming offered a welcome opportunity for a break. Well, an acceptable bottle of fine drink was found in the twinkling of an eye and the thin-walled bulgy glasses were, as usual, sparkling out of the cabinet waiting for duty. For the rest of this unexpected 'party' we had amazing stories and also 'pears' enough to chatter about. Besides the *şekok* pear from Tunceli, I mentioned among many others the *arpa armudu*, i.e., 'barley-pear',<sup>28</sup> when my friend all of a sudden emptied his glass in one gulp like manufacturer Frolov in Anton Chekhov's tale *Пьяные* ('Drunk') and said: 'This *şekok*, you mentioned, my friend, could be a barley-pear too'. I did not understand, what he meant ... not at all. So, I

28 Cf. TURKISH *arpa armudu* (Gümüşhane; Niğde) ~ *arparmudı* (Bor-Niğde) 'a juicy, green pear ripening at the same time as barley' (DS 330a).





asked and then emptied my glass in even the same manner as he did. He, once a student of Mesopotamian languages, told me that the name of barley is *še* in Sumerian and *še'u* in Akkadian and was wondering whether this term could be the 'first component' of the name *šekok*. Well, what's to answer in such a situation? First, I filled our empty balloon glasses again, took some cookies from the kitchen and told him:

In general, it is very difficult to come in cases like this to clear decisions. Because to breathe life into such an etymology, we need very significant materials for its establishment. First of all, we should be able to analyse the lexeme in convincing manner if not entirely at least to a larger extent. If *še-* is barley, what is the rest? Furthermore, there must be an intermediary language, since the languages the term is attested in are—with the exception of Aramaic—not long enough present in this area to have received direct loans from Akkadian or even Sumerian.

Due to the lack of dictionaries etc. and the continual temptation of the exquisite high proof beverage we had to stop at this point. But today I intend to continue spinning this yarn by explicating my objections against this etymological approach.

It is true, that the name of 'barley' is *še* in Sumerian and *še'u* in Akkadian (see *CAD* 17.1: 345). But for the determination of the term's remaining part, let's say its 'non-first component(s)', a convincing solution cannot be found within the Mesopotamian realm and scrutinizing potential intermediary languages too—as for instance Old Aramaic, chiefly Classical Syriac, or relevant Iranian tongues—does not deliver any indication of the existence of such a name. These facts make its Mesopotamian/Semitic origin fairly unlikely.

Also, areal languages, once spoken in Asia Minor, as Urartian and the Anatolian languages, do not provide any clue for our pear name. This, however, is not surprising since our knowledge of their vocabulary is quite limited. Therefore the substrate theory still is an acceptable interpretation.

Concerning our starting point, 'barley pear', except in TURKISH *arpa armudu* this salient metaphor occurs in a small number of dialectal forms in the north easternmost part of Turkey. These are TURKISH *kera* (*Yusufeli*—Artvin) 'a sort of pear ripening early' (*DS* 2751a) and *sakera* (*Aşağı Maden*—Artvin) 'arpa armudu' (İlker 1992: 210). Both are evidently loanwords from Georgian. The first one represents GEORGIAN *ker-a*, which is derived from *ker-i* 'barley' (Tschenkéli 1548b) by the suffix *-a* expressing possession of a quality or similarity (Fähnrich 1986: 32–33). Thus, *kera* basically means 'barley-like, having the colour of bar-

ley', i.e., 'blond, fair-haired' (Tschenkéli 1548a).<sup>29</sup> The base of the second name too is GEORGIAN *ker-i* 'barley'. Formally it is made up by the circumfix *sa-e*, which forms adjectives of purpose (Fähnrich 1986: 43). Semantically speaking GEORGIAN *sa-ker-e* is something 'used for the storage or cultivation, vel sim. of barley' (Tschenkéli 1174b). In the Turkish dialect of Maden Köyü, however, *sakere* serves as name of 'a kind of pear getting ripe exactly in the time of barley harvest' (see İlker 1989: 215). Further evidence for the latter term in connection with fruit comes from dialectal Georgian: cf. *sakera-i* 'a kind of pear' (Puțkaraže 1993: 515a) and *sakera-j kliav-i* 'a kind of medium-sized, sweet plum' (Nižaraže 1971: 313a).

The second approach of interpretation of *şeqoq* is based on a more language-internal analysis of it by calling in some additional pear names of Zazaki. Besides the *şeqoq/şiqoq*-group the following, in our context relevant names are: *henuqoq* 'a kind of pear', *şeqşeqo(q)* 'wild pear (= *şeqoq*)'<sup>30</sup> and *şiqdiri* ~ *sıqdiri* 'a sourish kind of wild pear' (Koyo Berz; Hayiq and Werner 2012: 246b).<sup>31</sup>

Starting from the set *şeqoq/henuqoq* theoretically two types of segmentation are possible:

*şe-qoq* : *şeq-oq*  
*henu-qoq*<sup>32</sup> : *henuq-oq*

But if we include the names *şeqşeqo* and *şiqdiri* into our discussion the segmentation type *şeq* + *oq* seems more logical:

*şeq-oq*  
*şeq-şeq-o(q)*  
*şiq-diri*  
 [*henuq-oq*]

29 The homonymous looking word TURKISH *kerä* 'stone base of the fireplace' (*DS* *ibid.*) used in the same corner of Turkey (*Ardanuç*–Artvin), is also a Georgian loanword. It goes, however, back on GEORGIAN *kerä* 'fireplace, hearth' (Tschenkéli 569a).

30 Cf. also *şeqşeqo* 'a plant that grows in fields (between crops) and barren lands and its cone' (Malmisanij 1992: 329b) and *şeqşeqo* 'a toy for children with balls or similar items inside'. The latter, however, represents *şekşeko*, the 'beş taş' game (*ibid.*: 328b).

31 And as name of the tree: *şiqdirêr* ~ *sıqdirêr* (Koyo Berz). According to Hayig and Werner (*ibid.*) *şiqdiri* and *sıqdirêr* is a 'wild quince (tree)'.

32 Cf. ZAZAKI *qoq* 1. 'round peak, mountaintop; branch knot; round, having the form of a ball or a head' (Koyo Berz; Hayig and Werner 2012: 219b).

Before this background the second elements can be interpreted as follows:

- a) *-oq* ← *-ok(e)*, which is a diminutive suffix in Kurdish, sometimes with a pejorative connotation (see Bedir Khan and Lescot 1970: 289). The same is true for the *-o* in the reduplicated form *şeqşeq-o* (ibid.).<sup>33</sup> In Zazaki this formant appears only sporadically as for instance in *peqpeq-oq* 'locust', *çıkçık-ok* 'a kind of very small bird', *genum-ok* 'mixed wheat, a wheat-like grass', *şeytan-ok* 'devil, someone devilish', *teyr-ok* 'tiny bird' (Koyo Berz).
- b) *-diri* ← KURDISH *dirî* 'thorns, thorny shrub' (KR 1960: 221b; Chyet 2003: 157a).<sup>34</sup> Cf. ZAZAKI *dir* 'thorny plant', *dirik(i)*, *durrik* 'thornbush, blackberry (shrub)', *dirukêr* 'blackberry shrub, mulberry tree' (Koyo Berz; Hayig and Werner 2012: 90a).

This suggests that the pear names in question are of Kurdish origin or that they have a 'mixed' Zazaki-Kurdish structure. The next step is to search for the most likely interpretation of the first elements.

- A) *şeq* ~ *şik*: In some Kurdish dialects forms very similar to our Zazaki pear names are attested, notably *şeqoq*, *şeqoqî*, *şeqşeqokî* 'splayed, with legs apart/astride' (KR 1960: 698b) and in Zazaki one finds *şeq* 'cleft(ed), split(ted)',<sup>35</sup> each of the parts of something forked; crotch' (Malmisanij 1992: 329b). However, a relationship between the pears and these lexemes is fraught with semantical problems. Etymologically, they are of Arabic origin (see Cabolov 2: 294, 295) ←  $\sqrt{ş}qq$  as in ARABIC *şaqq* (something split, cloven) 'clove, crack, slit', *şiqq* 'a half; (one) side, (one) part (of two)' (Wehr 1985: 666a).

A better option in case of our fruit name seems to be KURDISH *şeq* 'fresh, refreshing (fruit)' (KR 1960: 698b). This term, however, is typical for 'South-Kurdish', i.e. ?Sorani?.

- B) As for *henuq-*, this element can be connected to ZAZAKI *henuq-nayenu/ henuq-nayış* (~ *xenuq-*) 'to choke, to strangle' (Koyo Berz; Malmisanij 397a).<sup>36</sup> Semantically this interpretation makes sense in so far as the

33 A further wild pear name made up obviously by reduplication is TURKISH (*Erciş*—Van) *diğdiği* (DS 1452a).

34 Loanwords from Kurdish are: TURKISH (*Divriği*—Sivas) *dırı* 'a thorny shrub resembling a rosebush' (DS 1469a) and NEO-ARAMAIC (Türöyo) *dirih*, *dirhe* 'thorn' (Ritter 1979: 131).

35 → ZAZAKI *şeqal* 'cleft(ed), split(ted)', *şeqata/e* 'yarılmış olan', *şeqatış* 'to split', *şeqayış* ~ *şeqıyayış* 'to be splitted', *şeqnayış* 'to split, divide' (Malmisanij 329b); further cf. KURDISH *şeqitîn* ~ *şiqitîn* 'to split; to be split or cleft in half' (Chyet 2003: 584b).

36 Further cf. *henuq-na* (past stem) '(he) has strangled' and *henuq-ut* 'a sore throat and cough, a kind of bronchitis', *xenuqe* 'the part of the yoke laying around the animal's neck; oxbow' (ibid.). The stem *henuq-/xenuq-* however is a loan: ← ARABIC *hanq* 'strangling, strangulation', *hāniq* 'choking, strangling' (Wehr 1985: 367).

metaphor of ‘strangling pear, pear sticking in somebody’s throat’ is attested in Anatolia especially for wild pears due to their astringent taste (also from the consistence of their pulp they much more resample quinces). Here some examples: TURKISH (Bursa, *Düzce*–Bolu) *ayı boğan* ‘Bear Choker’ (*DS* 416a); (*Acıpayam*–Denizli; *Bozdoğan*–Aydın; Samsun) *boğaz alan* ‘Throat-Attacker’<sup>37</sup> (*DS* 727a) and *gelinboğan* ‘Bride-Strangler’ (*TZT* 1938: 40); OTTOMAN *gülû-gîr* ‘wild pear’ (Devellioğlu 1978: 356b), which represents PERSIAN *gulû-gîr* ‘suffocating, throttling, sour or unsavoury food, which sticks in the throat and is digested with difficulty’ and reflecting these features ‘wild of choke-pear’<sup>38</sup> (Steingass 1957: 1096a).

Another pear name light must shed on in the context with the *şekok*-set is KURDISH *bişkoke* ‘*Pyrus syriaca* Boiss. var. *syriaca*’ (Korkmaz and Demirkuş 2019: 189),<sup>39</sup> which at first sight may seem to be a member of it. But screening the word structure this view turns out to be impossible, since *bi-* is a morphological element indicating the presence of a property or quality (see Bedir Khan and Lescot 1970: 280) which makes not really sense in case of our pear name. So, we must look for another, more plausible explanation, which probably is found in *bişkok* ‘button, bud’ (*KR* 1960: 123–124; Chyet 2003: 72b; Cabolov 1: 193).

Last but not least I would like to introduce a kind of *faux ami*. The term in question is ARABIC *barqūq*, a designation for *Prunus armeniaca* L., the apricot and some other species of the genus *Prunus* L.<sup>40</sup> which in colloquial speech can also function—so communicated by no one less than the eminent Sephardic philosopher and physician, Moses Maimonides (1138–1204)—as name of pears (see Friedländer 1901: 7b; Löw 1924: 236). Thus, the correspondence *qoq* : *quq* suggests that both names by reason of this ‘element’ could be relatives of each other in one or another sense. This, however, is a quite dangerous guess because ARABIC *barqūq* is related to GREEK *περόκκιον* (Galen) ‘apricot’ which is said to

37 Also used for ‘a sort of quince which is not juicy’ or ‘an unripe quince’ (Isparta; *Bozdoğan*–Aydın; Samsun; *DS* *ibid.*).

38 As for the term ‘choke-pear’ see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Choke\\_pear\\_\(plant\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Choke_pear_(plant)) (last accessed on 01-02-2021).

39 Additional evidence for this name not to be found in the usual dictionaries, provides internet, e.g.: <https://ku.wikipedia.org/wiki/Şikok>, <https://ku.wiktionary.org/wiki/ahlat>, <https://glosbe.com/ku/tr/biškoke>; 25-03-2021.

40 In contemporary Arabic the term stands mostly for plums vel sim.; cf.: (Standard) *barqūq* ‘plum’ (Wehr 1985: 83a); (Palestinian) *barḳūḳ* ‘Pflaume; Reine-Claude, grün’ (Bauer 1933: 244b); (Algerian) *barqūq* ‘prune sauvage’ (Ben Sedira 1882: 28); (Moroccan) *berquq* (dim. *brīqqa*) ‘plum, prune’ (Harrell 1966: 11b); etc.

go back to *πραικόκιον* (?) being a transcription of LATIN *praecoquus* ‘early ripening’; see Strömberg (1940: 180).<sup>41</sup>

Besides the semantic exception of *barqūq* ‘pear’ we find one more in the modern Arabic vernacular of Syria: *bar’ū* (برقوق) ‘Papaver *rhoeas* L., common poppy, corn rose, field poppy’ (El-Massarani and Segal 1978: 74b). Astonishingly the term is here not used for a fruit, but a flowering plant. Whatever the reason of this significant difference may be, is not entirely clear. Possible triggers therefor could be the thick, obovoid fruit capsule of poppy or, what is more likely, the red colour of its blossom. Both cases would, of course, presuppose the folk etymological interpretation of GREEK -κοκ- as κόκκος 1. ‘kernel of fruits, especially of the pomegranate’ (for the capsules), and 2. (classical) ‘scarlet, red’, (9th–12th century) κοκκιν- (in many derivatives and composita), κοκκοίς, (modern) κόκκινος ‘red’ (LBG 1: 847–848).<sup>42</sup> The latter meaning also applies to the ‘red-cheeked’ apricot and most of the plum sorts. In addition, its linking to κοκκ- ‘red’ would certainly explain the long -κκ- in Greek. A quite similar case of folk etymological modification is to be found in the Syriac loan of this term—*bar qūqāyā*, ܒܪܩܩܝܐ (B<sub>a</sub>R Q<sub>u</sub>WQ<sub>a</sub>Y<sub>a</sub>?) ‘*malum Armeniacum*, ‘apricot’ (< \*βερ-κοκ[χ]α ?)—where the name’s first part is reinterpreted as *bar* ‘son; daughter (*bart* = *bat*), a young, etc.’ which is confirmed by the appropriate (feminine) plural form (‘daughters’; here: ‘seed(s), fruit(s)’), *banāt qūqāyā*, ܒܢܐܬ ܩܘܩܝܐ (BN<sub>a</sub>T Q<sub>u</sub>WQ<sub>a</sub>Y<sub>a</sub>?) (*Thesaurus* 1: 595, 620). Unclear remains what is the second part associated with (see Payne Smith 1957: 497b).

History and terminology of *Prunus armeniaca* L., and in particular her way via the Maghrebini world to Europe, or in other terms the development of *al-barqūq* to *apricot*, *Aprikose*, etc. are—in a most meticulous manner—described by B. Hasselrot in ‘L’ Abricot, Essai de monographie onomasiologique et sémantique’ (1941).

41 This view as well as the term’s great formal variety in Greek (cf. βρεκόκκια in Dioskurides, βερίκοκκον and βερικόκκιον in Geoponica, βερίκοκα, βερύκοκκον, βερίκωκον, βερίκουκα, βερέκεκκον as well as προκόκκια, προκύκκιον; Strömberg, *ibid.*) requires some illuminating notes: Robert Beekes, for instance, questions the ‘traditional’ etymological approach because “it is unclear how this [= πραικόκκ[ι]ον < *praecoquum*] could have yielded βερίκοκκον” (2010: 211). The main problems here are 1. the replacement of LATIN *p*- by GREEK β-, reflected in the majority of the forms, 2. the word’s initial disyllabic structure, and 3. the opposition of LATIN -c- (short) : GREEK -κκ- (long), also to be met in most of the forms attested. These difficulties have already led Robert Strömberg to introducing this apricot name as an example of a loanword with many disfigurements (‘Entstellung der Lehnwörter’; *ibid.*).

42 In connection with this cf. my discussion and etymological redefinition of GREEK κοκκύμηλον ‘plum’ (Bläsing 2012: 22–24).

So far today! It is time now for the postlude which I leave to Kate Chopin (1851–1904) by introducing a quite significant sentence of her best-known work, *The Awakening* (1899: 34):<sup>43</sup>

But the beginning of things, of a world especially, is necessarily vague, tangled, chaotic, and exceedingly disturbing.

This is not only true for a New Orleanian lady at the turn of the 20th century who is longing for independence and love. It is also true for an etymologist in search of deeper knowledge of word origins. The lady in the American South is torn between the social expectations prevailing in the deeply conservative society of her time and her own feelings and desires. She lost this struggle and paid with her life by committing suicide. This is not an option for an etymologist, and I shall certainly not follow this example! However, reading my lines above again and again I feel like a poorly equipped serviceman who is just returning from a lost battle since—due to the lack of earlier etymological approaches concerning oriental names of maloid fruits and the very limited information at hand—my attempt cannot be more than a beginning and so ‘things’ are still ‘vague, tangled, chaotic’, and sometimes even ‘exceedingly disturbing’. This is the dilemma, I guess, every fair etymologist once is confronted with. No one knows this better than our dear colleague honoured by this Festschrift, András Róna-Tas, who is one of the most experienced scholars in our field.

Dearest friend, I hope the ungentle, dry pear from Eastern Anatolia will lastly not turn out to be a *hocaboğan*, a ‘Scholar-Strangler’. Just in order to prevent such an incident I added the sweet and juicy apricot which is so famous for your country and, of course, the stuff a pleasant *barack pálinka* is distilled from. Please, accept by this my very best wishes on your special day.

Love,  
Uwe

43 From the first print: *The Awakening* by Kate Chopin, Author of ‘A Night in Acadie’, ‘Bayou Folks’, etc., Herbert S. Stone Company, Chicago and New York, MDCCCXCIX.

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## Similarities in Hungarian and Turkic Folk Literature: Folktales

Éva Csáki

It is a well-known fact that Hungarians had used to live surrounded by Turkic tribes before they settled in the Carpathian Basin in 896. This period is mentioned as the centuries of nomads. While we have ample studies on linguistic interactions, little had been done on the field of folk literature. Á. Vámbéry as a Hungarian Turkologist was the first to carry out field-work in Central Asia. His books informed us about the state of folklore traditions among Turkic groups he had observed. Some of his students (Thúry, Krčsmárik, Kúnos, etc.) published minor or major works, yet we still have black spots on this field.

Examining proverbs, translating hundreds of folksongs I discovered many similarities between the Turkic and Hungarian traditional folklore that are reflected and can be documented. Interaction took place between the neighbours naturally and friendly. Many different techniques were introduced by the Turks on the field of agriculture the vocabulary of which is still present in modern Hungarian language.

Hungarian epos had long got lost<sup>1</sup> and we have only hints of the early period of our history. Yet we see how old genres survive in newer ones or change a route to find new forms like ballads or folktales, even Sufi miracles or myths.

We have the names of the heroes in folktales or the events they face similar to the Turkic (Azeri, Turkish, Karachay Balkar, Tatar, Bashkir, Uyghur,<sup>2</sup> etc.) ones. There is a Hungarian dissertation on the supernatural heroes (dragon, witch<sup>3</sup> and magic steed) of Tatar magic folktales (Dallos 2005). Another Hungarian Turkologist Sipos (2010) chose, translated and compared some hundred and fifty Azeri folktales to be compared with their Hungarian counterpart. As

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- 1 Lőrincz (1981), Hungarian Mongolist, made mention of his opinion, that the contents of Hungarian folktales are built up on the hints that used to take place in myths and heroic songs in the Nomad era.
  - 2 Yhong Jinwen (1995) of Yughur origin published an article on the shamanistic features of Yughur tales.
  - 3 I wrote an article also on the characteristics of witches in Hungarian folktales as well as on the origin of the loanword *boszorkány* 'witch' in Hungarian (Csáki 2014).

for other Altaic peoples like Mongolians several researches have been carried out, e.g., that of Lőrincz (1979). Hungarian folk ballads also contain many different characteristics present in the folk literature of Altaic peoples. One of them is formal: we do have alliteration (front rhyme) in the lines, serving the aim to express the message of the ballad. Apart from this we find curse and blessing in them as well as in Turkic and Mongolian heroic epics. Most of their message is well known in other cultures all over Europe or further, it is the form (the what and how?) that matters most. What is accepted from other cultures, what is borrowed from them, and how it is implanted into ones' own. The difference in the form reflects the essence of the ethnic difference.

It is important to compare the corpus of both sides in order to see the influences. Apart from language that can be considered the main part of any culture, there are many other fields like music, religion, traditions, etc., that can be compared and serve as proofs backing each other in order to understand the connections.



In an international conference on folklore held in Gaziantep (Csáki 2006) I started to write a series of lectures on the same topic. It is difficult to make mention of all the details, but it is also a must to talk about the Eastern (mainly Turkic) elements present in Hungarian culture. Most probably the first handing down of a Hungarian folktale was carried out by P. Virág in 1797.<sup>4</sup>

It is an important fact that not any Eastern element is of Turkic origin, yet in most cases it is the Turks who handed over to the Hungarians the elements derived from Inner or Central Asia. I had an article (Csáki 2014) on the witch, that was most probably intermediated by Turks to us. It is also<sup>5</sup> important to make mention of the mythical stag of Hungarian legendary prehistory. It is written in the old Hungarian legends that two sons of our forefather were chasing a certain heavenly, wonderful stag in the course of a hunting. They were after the kingly animal unnoticed to their escorts. The animal allured them to a hidden, unknown district, where they had never been before. They found it very

4 The tale is about a certain black man drawing back into seclusion from world (Horváth 1927: 105).

5 The hunting of a white animal is taboo and also dangerous in the Narts, the heroic epos of the Karachay and Balkar people (Hajieva 2014: 110). Satanay, the wife of the Nart Özüzmek, was an *obur*. She could understand the language of herbs and trees. She could also change her shape and turn into a white doe with three legs. The ability of metamorphosis can be observed in Hungarian folk tales mainly with magic horses the so called *táltos*.

beautiful as well as the girls living there surrounded by untouched nature. Soon they decided to remain there forever. The motive of an unparalleled stag had been present and well known in Anatolia ever since the first civilisation. We can admire the small statues of so many centuries as archaeological findings exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations. It was present already in the Hittite Empire, etc., but we are aware of the great stag present in the Sufi legends of the Middle Ages as well.

The marvellous fast growing and development of (mainly male) new-born babies is a common element well known both in Siberia, e.g., among the Kyrgyz people<sup>6</sup> and also in Greek mythology.<sup>7</sup> There are equivalents or at least similar elements in Greek and Egyptian mythology.<sup>8</sup> Turks had it like Hungarians.<sup>9</sup> We do not know where it first appeared, but mention should be made of it.

Á. Sipos translated a hundred and one Azeri folktales into Hungarian, preferring the similar ones, the abbreviated form of which has a parallel row of events. The sky-high trees—considered as ultimate eastern characteristics symbolising eternity must be mentioned because many of the Hungarian place names call our attention to the traditional sacrificial rite held under certain huge trees (Csáki 1999). There is a well-known picture of a girl sitting under the tree with the head of the sleeping hero on her lap<sup>10</sup> (Sipos 2013–2014/I: 143; 2013–2014/II: 19; [2013–2014]/III: 172).

Both the seven, twelve or twenty four headed dragons guarding the source of water<sup>11</sup> (Sipos [2013–2014]/III: 92), avoid and frighten the locals from drinking. The magic steed of the hero having a special name and unusual number of legs (mainly three up to six) able to speak a human language<sup>12</sup> when in need (Sipos

6 *Töstük Batır* was born to an old woman. He started to walk and speak when he was three months old (Hoppál 2007: 39).

7 It was not only Apollo, Hermes and Demophoon who grew up in a rather short period in Greek mythology (Richardson 1989: 14, 18, 28), but many others as well. On the other hand we know this character from the Nart epic poem well spread in the Caucasus. Hungarians have *Fehérlófia* as a counterpart.

8 Kákósy (1978) published an article on the similarities.

9 Benedek (2007: 119) offers the number of the folk-tale type in the international catalogues (AaTh301B).

10 This is a well-known picture in Hungarian folk ballads and tales alike. Among Azeri folktales I found it in the tale of *The seven brothers* and in *Meliknemmed* and in another volume in a variant entitled *Melik Memmed and Melik Ahmed*.

11 In the Azeri folktale *The youngest prince*, we have much more similarities with Hungarian folktales.

12 In the Azeri folktale called *Black horse* we can enlist a row of further parallelism with Hungarian folktales.

2013–2014/II: 172), able to run as fast as wind or anything, even fly above in the sky (Sipos 2013–2014/II: 178), etc., are elements that can be enlisted here.

The positive hero of a tale descending to the underworld had solved a great problem but he is not wanted by his friends or brothers any more. They are greedy, jealous of him, so they do not help him come to the world any more, moreover they take away his bride<sup>13</sup> (Sipos 2013–2014/II: 189; [2013–2014]/III: 174).

There is another aspect of studying folklore texts and it is to do with linguistics. I have dealt with name-giving traditions of Hungarian and Turkic peoples (Csáki 2002, 2013). These names can be proper personal or place-names, even the names given to animals. These special telling proper names can also be examined in folk tales. The Hungarian valiant *Vas + gyúró* [the Turkish counterpart *Demir + yoğuran*] ‘Man with prodigious power’, *Hegy + görgető* [T. Tepe + delen] ‘mountain roller’, etc., have parallels in Turkic folktales. They reflect important parts of the culture of any people.

I have also dealt with special lexicalized forms (calques) translated from a neighbouring Turkic people (Csáki 2012a). It is possible to search for hints of ancient beliefs, and traditions hidden in a place-name. The Hungarian place name *Körtvélyes*, e.g., can serve as a hint for a long forgotten cult of trees (Csáki 2002). The cult is well documented among Karachays (Haĵieva 2014: 57).

The way people speak out in folktales calling or addressing each other is also a telling one.

## Conclusion

Valuable as they are with educating and entertaining elements, the art of folk literature is one of the most important vehicles to characterise any people. In it we can find traditions of centuries, values preserved from the forefathers. It is philology that can research these pieces of art by scientific methods in order to add the results to those of history. We can understand much more the typical characteristic features if we disconnect or oppose them with those belonging to the epics of other nations.

Folklore texts when handed down with much care are valid documents for the literature of the age, for the culture of the people, for their history as well as for the linguistic state. Therefore we highly appreciate researchers going to do

13 This motive is well known in many different Hungarian folktales, and also present in *Melik Memmed* and *Melik Ahmed*.

fieldwork among those who still know some folklore texts; however TV, radio and the internet will sweep them away in the near future.

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## The Arabic and Persian Layer of Names of Chuvash Mythical Creatures

*Edina Dallos*

My article was inspired by a contradiction that arises in the works of two eminent Hungarian Turkologists, András Róna-Tas and István Vásáry, in their analysis of Chuvash folk religion (or beliefs). In Volume 3 of the *Encyclopaedia of Religions*, Róna-Tas writes: “The dominant elements of contemporary Chuvash popular religion, however, do not originate from Chuvash religion but from Islam” (Róna-Tas 1987)<sup>1</sup> whereas, István Vásáry claims the following: ... there are several difficulties in unanimously deriving the Chuvash ethnicity from the Volga Bulgarians. In the 16th century, when the Russians came into contact with them, the Chuvash were ‘heathens’, that is, non-Muslim (Vásáry 2003: 134). Even though the two statements do not refer to the same time period,<sup>2</sup> nor are their contents mutually exclusive, the two opinions fundamentally differ from each other in their assessment of the role of Islam in the religious life of the Chuvash. In my present work, I tried to examine, in a single sub-area, the origin of the names of mythical creatures, the proportion of Arabic and Persian elements introduced through Islam, and whether they are of dominant or peripheral importance throughout the system.

The available Chuvash material is significant, with thousands of pages of folklore text and descriptions, most of which was written/recorded in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>3</sup> Texts regarding

1 Benzing held a similar opinion, but he concluded that the Chuvash could have been of the Muslim faith in an earlier era (Benzing 1957: 435; also Scherner 1977: 168).

2 Actually, what Róna-Tas calls ‘contemporary’, knowing the literature he used, refers to the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. However, it also has to be noted in connection with Vásáry’s claim that in the 16th century, Russian sources recorded rather scanty data about the Chuvash. Some more detailed Russian descriptions about the Chuvash being heathens are typical from the 17th century to the first two decades of the 20th century.

3 In my recently published book (Dallos 2020), I deal with Chuvash mythical creatures in more detail. I examined 75 beings thoroughly and I provide data in this book about some two hundred Chuvash mythical beings. The scope of this article does not allow me to cite all the important data or to analyse them in detail, but an overview of problems sometimes only lightly touched on and some suggested solutions can be found in my book.

mythical creatures occur in prayers, ceremonial texts and incantations and a significant number of legends have also been recorded. The number of Chuvash mythical creatures in the texts of various ceremonies, prayers, and incantations is enormous; hundreds of mythical creatures are invoked in the various texts. However, the nature or function of many beings is not known except for the fact that they were besought. It is nevertheless clear that these mythical creatures were divided into a certain hierarchy—the line of invoked beings usually begins in the same way, but the continuations are more varied. Based on this hierarchy and other types of data about the beings (such as legends), as well as their prevalence, we can consider about forty beings to be the most important figures in the Chuvash belief system.<sup>4</sup> In the following part of my paper, I basically focus on these, and only look at the additional data in one or two cases.

Mythical creatures can be classified in several ways within a belief system, and although the basic objective of my article suggests an etymological classification, I also try to consider other approaches. Without the role and significance of some individual beings within the system, the result could easily be misleading.

The names of nine of the forty beings, as well as a part of the names of two beings, are of Arabic or Persian origin. First of all, I must record the most important linguistic<sup>5</sup> and ethnographic data on these beings.

## 1 *aštaxa*

The modern Persian word *aždarhā* / *aždahā* ‘dragon’ (Gaffarov 1: 24) passed into several Turkic languages with the meanings ‘dragon, dragon snake, evil spirit’ (Budagov 1: 38; Räsänen 1969: 53; Fedotov 1996/1: 66 and also Tokarev 1987/1: 50). The word came into Chuvash through the Tartar language (about this and some phonetic difficulties, see Scherner 1977: 122).

4 The selection of these is not straightforward, therefore it is also debatable. I myself list the following beings here (in alphabetical order): *alpas(tă)*, *ama*, *ar-šuri*, *aslati*, *aštaxa*, *Ašapatman*, *čük*, *Esrel*, *xayar*, *xärpan*, *xärlä šir*, *xärt-šurt*, *xävel*, *xitam*, *fyi*, *irä*, *yärëx*, *kävak xuppi*, *kälë*, *kepe*, *kiremet*, *Malëm xuša*, *Pixampar*, *Pirëšti*, *Pülëxsë*, *šëlen*, *šër*, *šil*, *šisëm*, *šul*, *šut tënçe* / *santaläk*, *šiv(ri)*, *šuyttan*, *Turä*, *usal*, *vëre šëlen*, *vilë(ške)*, *vupär*, *vupkän*, *vutaš*.

5 Scherner (1977) thoroughly examined the Arabic and Persian elements of the Chuvash language. I have used his work as a basis for my own; I have only once overruled his etymology. In his excellent work, Scherner was able to distinguish between early borrowings and Tartar-mediated data, which is also very important for my topic.

It exists in several forms in the Chuvash language; Ašmarin deals with it in four different entries in his dictionary: *aštak* 'identical with *aštakkă*; a flying snake in tales' (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 128); *aštakkă* 'identical with *aštaxa*; evil spirit: if it sticks to somebody, they will fall ill, they cannot walk, they wane like a candle, even if they eat and drink' (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 128); *aštaxa* 'dragon; a snake that swallows up humans and domesticated animals' (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 128); *aštaxa* / *aštaxa šēlen* 'dragon; thunderstorm demon'<sup>6</sup> (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 216). In Mészáros's description (1909: 46), it appears as the name of two different creatures. One of them is a nightly light phenomenon, which also has a Chuvash-etymon name (*věre šēlen*), and the other is a demon taking on a human body, which enters into a sexual relationship with a person like a succubus or incubus. If visited by the demon regularly, the person will eventually die as a result.

In the other Turkic languages, this being is primarily characterised by beastliness and concepts relating to stormy weather. As this word came into Chuvash from the Tartar language, it is not insignificant to note that in Tartar, *aždaxa* exists as basically two concepts. On one hand, it is the zoomorphic, human-destroying dragon of tales (Dallos 2009: 109–199). On the other hand, a snake that lives for a hundred years becomes an *aždaxa* which, if lives a long life (100 years), turns into a *yuxa*. This is rare though, because the *aždaxa* is generally taken to a far-away island by a cloud (Nasyrov 1880: 245; Koblov 1910: 449).

## 2 *Ašapatman*

This name is the compound of the names of one of Muhammad's wives عائشة (*ʿāiša*) and his daughter فاطمة (*Fāṭima*). In Scherner's opinion (1977: 123–124), it came into the Chuvash language through Tartar mediation. In Chuvash, it exists in various forms: *Ašapatman*, *Ašapatman karčăk(ě)* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 212), *ašamatman* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 211), *asapatman* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 99); *ešepatman* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 43); *laša patman* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/VIII: 67); *šapatan* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/XVII: 126); together with the particle *peke* χ 'like, as if, similarly', it is used to refer to huge things (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 212) as well as being used in swearing (Ašmarin 1928–1950/II: 211).

6 Ašmarin does not use this phrase but a description which can thus be summarised in one word.

As a mythical creature, this word appears in incantations as a healer or as the being on whose behalf the healer heals. Such use of this compound form is widespread among the Turkic peoples of the Volga region, and some other data besides this also appear in the folklore of other Turkic peoples (Dallos 2020: 40).

### 3 *Esrel*

It goes back to the Arabic word عزرائيل (*ʿIzrāʾīl*) ‘the angel of death’ (Baranov 1984: 513). According to Egorov (1964: 347), however, the Persian form حزرائیل may appear as the mediator, whereas Basilov (1988: 538) derives this form directly from Islam, spreading from the 9–10th century. Scherner (1977: 138) considers it to be a much later borrowing, supposedly mediated by Tartar mulahs, but the Tartar form could only be an inferred \**Äzraʾil*, and by no means the present-day Tartar literary *Gäzraʾil*.<sup>7</sup> The word also exists in some other Turkic languages, meaning ‘the angel of death’. In Chuvash, its further versions are: *Esreylĕ*, *Esrelĕ*, *Esrellĕ*, *Esril* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/III: 33–34); *ěsrĕjlʼă* (*ěsrĕlʼă*, *isrĕlʼ*) ‘the spirit of death; the head of the cemetery’ (Mészáros 1909: 43).

*Esrel*’s main function is to take the soul out of the human body at the moment of death (this concept corresponds with the Muslim *ʿIzrāʾīl* tradition).<sup>8</sup> Even though related to death and destruction, it is yet another function of *Esrel* to destroy farm animals (and perhaps family members) as a revenge on the host because they had not made a sacrifice to him. Enderov, who analysed a bigger mythical text corpus than previous authors, also pointed out *Esrel*’s nature related to illnesses (Enderov 2002: 63–69).

### 4 *xayar*

A word of Arabic origin, coming into Chuvash through Tartar mediation: Arabic *ʿayyār* ‘drunk, tramp’ > Tartar *ɣayyar* ‘cheater, cunning’ > Chuvash ‘evil, strict’ (Scherner 1977: 77; as well as with the same etymology and related Turkic data: Räsänen 1969: 152; Egorov 1964: 288; Fedotov 1996/II: 315). In Chuvash, the word has a basic meaning of ‘bad, evil’ but also appears as a mythical creature. Ašmarin (1928–1950/XVI: 9) provides the following meanings: ‘1. angry, strict,

7 The Arabic sound *ʿain* has two different equivalents in Tartar. In earlier borrowings: Arabic *ʿain* = Tartar Ø; in later borrowings Arabic *ʿain* = Tartar *g* (Scherner 1977: 75).

8 The first record of this related to the Chuvash is from 1828, which was published in 1845 by Protopopov Aleksandr.

evil; evil person; 2. angry; 3. frightful; 4. cruel; 5. bad; 6. angry; 7. wild; 8. heavy, pouring (of rain); 9. anger; 10. strictness; 11. the name of an illness; 12. the name of an evil spirit’.

Some of the literature on mythical creatures does not regard it as one, but several early records and mythical texts suggest that it was also used as the name of some evil spirit. Besides *xayar*, there is the word *usal*, of Turkic etymon, which primarily also means ‘bad’, but it can also be interpreted as a mythical creature.

## 5 *xārpan*

The Turkic equivalents of this word exist in many Turkic languages, where it is of Arabic origin (Räsänen 1969: 302): قربان (*qurbān*) ‘sacrifice’ (Baranov 1984: 630). The Chuvash word-initial *x-* suggests an earlier borrowing (Schermer 1977: 80, 85). In Ašmarin’s 17-volume dictionary, *xārpan* as a god appears in several different compounds.<sup>9</sup>

The interpretation of *xārpan* is greatly complicated by the fact that the authors were aware of the etymology and original meaning of the word (Arabic *qurbān* ‘sacrifice’), which fundamentally determined their interpretation. As a counterexample, we can cite Ašmarin, who knew many more folk prayer texts, and also stated that the worshippers certainly did not know the meaning of *xārpan* ‘sacrifice’, as they linked the word *xārpan* with the Chuvash verb *xärt-* ‘dry’ by folk etymology.<sup>10</sup> Paasonen also seems to have known such a prayer, that is why he gave the meaning of the word as ‘some spirit (which dries up the limbs of man)’ (Paasonen 1908: 43).<sup>11</sup> The collections where *xārpan* actually means ‘sacrifice, the spirit of the sacrifice’, or some related transcendent being, come mostly from the Chuvash diaspora in Tatarstan.<sup>12</sup>

9 For example: *karta xārpaně* ‘the *xārpan* of the stable’, *ut xārpaně* ‘the *xārpan* of a horse’, *ēne xārpaně* ‘the *xārpan* of a heifer’.

10 In Chuvash beliefs, dehydration or ‘dry disease’ appears in several places and in several forms (cf. e.g. Sboev 2004: 548; Ašmarin 1982: 23).

11 There are examples of this in present-day language use, too: *vat xārpan* ‘old hag, old geezer’ (*vat* ‘old’) (Skvorcov 1982: 548); here, probably the meaning ‘dry, parched’ is associated with the word *xārpan*.

12 A most typical example of this can be seen in the beer-sacrifice lists from the end of the 19th century. Magnitskij recorded this typical Chuvash social ceremony in four instances. In the prayers recited here, dozens of important deities and lesser spirits are invoked, but *xārpan* only appears among the names of the Tetyus sacrifice in Tatarstan (Magnitskij 1884: 58–92).

6 *kiremet*

It exists in the languages of several Turkic peoples of Islam faith with the meanings 'miracle, grace, a miracle made by a saint, generosity' (its summary: Egorov 1964: 113; Fedotov 1996/II: 297; on some other shades of its meaning: Dallos 2018: 73–76). The word is of Arabic origin: Ar. كرامة (*karāmat*) 'honesty, fairness; generosity', its plural is: كرامات 'miracle' (Baranov 1984: 684); it passed into Chuvash via Tartar (Egorov 1964: 113; Fedotov 1996/II: 297; Scherner 1977: 31–32). In present-day Tartar, among the Islamic faith population, it means 'miracle' (Denisova 1966: 259, 320); in the collections of Christian Tartar Valentine, it appears with the meaning 'misconception, superstition' (Berta 1988: 291), and also among Christian Tartars, it had a meaning similar to that in Chuvash (Sofijskij 1877: 678–680). Scherner supposes that the word is a late, 18th century, or even later borrowing from Tartar (1977: 31–32). This is contradicted by the fact that we have data from Chuvash-land from as early as 1638 for *kiremet* as a place name (Dmitriev 1981: 136). Nor do ethnographic data support Scherner's opinion, for *kiremet* as some kind of evil spirit is widespread not only among the Chuvash but also among the surrounding Finno-Ugric-language peoples (Udmurt, Mari, Moksha Mordvin), for whom the word is of Chuvash origin (Paasonen 1897: 37; Wichmann 1903: 72–73; Räsänen 1920: 98, 145). Furthermore, its previous prevalence is also indicated by the fact that it appears in an 18th-century description of the Maris: 'Chuvash and Cheremis god and the place of prayers' (Čulkov 1782: 180). It must certainly have taken a long time for this concept to become so deeply rooted so widely and in such different languages and cultures.

*Kiremet* is one of the most characteristic and complex beings of the Chuvash belief system. On one hand, it means an external place somewhat different from its surroundings (it can be a small grove or a solitary tree, a waterside clearing or a gully), but on the other hand, the site of some violent death could also become a *kiremet* in several cases. *Kiremet* is the given place and also the spirit living there, which can bring sickness and misfortune to a person. In case of trouble, it can be propitiated with a sacrifice. There can be several *kiremet*s around each village, but at the same time, there were great *kiremet*s that were respected by the whole Chuvash people. Thus it can be said that the *kiremet*s had some kind of hierarchy.<sup>13</sup> The spirit is partially localised, that is, the sacrifice must be presented to it at its dwelling place, but at the same time, it can

13 This was recognised very early; the first description and analysis relating to it is from 1756 (Miller 2001: 136).

cause illness even far away from that place. Nevertheless, there are records and interpretations suggesting that the *kiremet*, or at least some of the *kiremet*s, may have been a benevolent or formerly benevolent spirit, but was diabolised by Orthodox missionary work, which converted it into a completely evil force (with a summary of previous literature, see Goto 2007: 145–158).

*Kiremet* can be paralleled with the spirit *yěřěx*<sup>14</sup> and the word of Turkic origin *irä* ('good') is often used in its names (Georgi 2001: 176; Magnitskij 1881: 85, 89; Mészáros 1909: 32).

## 7 *Pixampar*

Persian loan word: Persian پیغمبر (*payyāmbār*) 'prophet' (Gaffarov 1976: 138) exists with the same meaning in the languages of many Islamized Turkic peoples (cf. e.g. Egorov 1964: 162–163; Räsänen 1969: 382; Scherner 1977: 168). Based on Chuvash data, Scherner (1977: 164–168) places the word in the old, non-Tartar-mediated layer, and agrees with Benzing in that the word serves as evidence of the early existence of Islam among the Chuvash.

In Chuvash beliefs, *Pixampar* (*Pixanpar*, *Puxampar* Ašmarin 1928–1950/IX: 251–252; X: 57) appeared in three different functions. In some records, he is the lord, master, or god of wild animals or wolves (*kaškärsen turri*, *kayäk xuśa*). In this capacity, people pray to him to protect the animals and the farmyard and not to release his wolves (e.g. Višnevskij 2001: 232; Mész 1909: 161–162). It may be related to the original meaning ('prophet') of this word that the clairvoyant ability of medicine women was also attributed to the gift of *Pixampar* (Sboev 2004: 81; Zolotnickij 1875: 202). Mil'kovič already recorded in the 18th century that the nature of *Pixampar* was related to the fate of humans (Mil'kovič 1827: 137). According to this, at the orders of *Kepe*,<sup>15</sup> humans' various qualities and spiritual character are provided by his two helpers: *Pixampar* and *Pülěxšě*.<sup>16</sup>

14 According to some records, this being appears to be some kind of house spirit, but in several descriptions, its nature is almost identical with the *kiremet*. The records also differ in whether it is more of a malevolent or rather a benevolent creature (cf. Goto 2007: 158–163; Dallos 2020: 68–71).

15 Ašmarin (1928–1950/VI: 189) and Mészáros (1909: 19) consider the name of this mythical creature to be of Arabic origin, but deriving it from the Arabic الكعبة (*al-ka'aba* 'Kaba', كعبة 'cube') cannot be linguistically justified. The word in Chuvash is of Finno-Ugric origin (cf. e.g. Räsänen 1969: 253–254). *Kepe* is basically related to fate as well as the family.

16 *Pülěxšě* is an important figure of Chuvash beliefs (cf. e.g. Ašmarin 1928–1950/X: 80–81; Dal-



8 *Pirěšti*

The New Persian فرشته (*färešte*) ‘angel’ (Gaffarov 1976/II: 601) is present in almost all Islamized Turkic languages; on Persian origin and Turkic data: (Egorov 1964: 161; Räsänen 1969: 145; Fedotov 1996/II: 434). It came into Chuvash through Tartar mediation (Schermer 1977: 5).

Descriptions of *Pirěšti* are known only from the very end of the 19th century; no traces of it can be found in any of the earlier sources. In the records, it can be described in three different ways: as a personal protective angel, as some kind of soul-concept, and as a house spirit.

The first detailed description was given by Rekeev, who describes the *Pirěštis* as the most significant spirits after *Pülěχśě* (Rekeev 1896: 419–420). Inside every human being, there lives a *Pirěšti* and if someone sleeps with their mouth open, it comes out in the shape of a little white animal. For Mészáros, it means a personal but always invisible angel who walks by and cares for a person throughout their life (1909: 19–20). In the north, where Christianity spread earlier and deeper, it is not called *Pirěšti* but *Ankěl*. To Paasonen’s knowledge, someone dead also has a *Pirěšti*, which goes to the commemoration of the dead—Paasonen therefore interprets the word as meaning ‘soul’ or ‘ghost’ (Paasonen 1908: 103). Paasonen also writes that every person actually has two *Pirěštis*, one sent by God and the other by Satan.

9 *śut tēnce / śut santalāk*

This compound appears among Chuvash mythical creatures in two different forms (*śut tēnce* / *śut santalāk*), which mean almost the same: *śut* ‘light’ (Ašmarin 1928–1950/XII: 279) + *tēnce* ‘world, lightness, bright’ (Ašmarin 1928–1950/XV: 54), and *santalāk* ‘weather, climate, sun, the visible world, celestial body, Planet Earth’ (Ašmarin 1928–1950/XII: 39–41). The equivalents of *śut(ă)* in Turkic languages date from the Middle Turkic period (cf. Räsänen 1969: 178, 180); the Turkic equivalents of *tēnce* are eventually of Arabic origin (Räsänen 1969: 141; Fedotov 1996/II: 217): Arabic دُنْيَا (*dunyā*) ‘world’ (Baranov 1984: 263); it came into Chuvash through Tartar mediation (Schermer 1977: 53). The word could have also passed into Turkic languages from Persian. Several etymological attempts are known in relation to the origin of *santalāk* (cf. Egorov 1964: 202; Fedotov 1996/II: 84–85).

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los 2020: 93–96). In several prayers, it appears as the second most important being after God (*Tură*). However, in other texts, it appears as a subordinate to some lesser spirit.

According to Ašmarin, after *těnce* of Arabic origin was introduced into the Chuvash language, the name doubled over time, but originally the two figures must certainly have been a single god (Ašmarin 1921: 34).<sup>17</sup> This mythical creature is not usually discussed in the large summary works, yet it seems that it may have been an important figure in the Chuvash pantheon in the past. The figure *śut těnce* already appears in Mil'kovič's 18th-century list, and in a prominent place, fifth among the 33 good deities (Mil'kovič 1827: 136). Sboev also mentions the figure *śut těnce* as significant: the fourth of the 41 good deities (Sboev 2004: 80).

It is difficult to form a more accurate picture of this mythical creature because its name has survived only in prayers as an invoked deity. Where it occurs in prayers, it may have a place among the greater, more significant deities, but elsewhere it appears much lower in the hierarchy, among natural phenomena (or those of them that have become mythical creatures).

## 10 *śuyttan*

The Turkic equivalents of this word exist in several Turkic languages, where it is of Arabic origin: *شیطان* (*šayṭān*) 'Satan, devil, demon' (Baranov 1984: 424; the same in Persian); further back it comes from Egyptian (Egorov 1964: 338; Räsänen 1967: 441; Fedotov 1996/11: 460). It came into Chuvash from Tartar (Schermer 1977: 35).

The 'devil, evil spirit' meaning of *śuyttan* can already be found in early sources, although, according to more detailed descriptions, this particular mythical creature much rather belongs to the line of lesser, localised spirits.<sup>18</sup> However, available data are many and diverse here, too. Actually, some of the literature interprets the figure of the Chuvash *śuyttan* as 'the evil one, the Satan' on the basis of the role that this word plays in other cultures. Mészáros notes that there are a great many *śuyttans* (i.e., it is not a single given evil supernatural being), and that it is not exactly the same concept for the northern and southern Chuvash. In the south, it is typically associated with water, whirlwinds and lightning. It lives at the bottom of lakes, in baths or watermills and is dangerous for humans because it drowns them or removes their intestines in the bath. In

17 Actually, we do not know exactly when the two different second parts of the compound were established in Chuvash.

18 The Chuvash belief system is very rich in local spirits; waters, meadows, the edge of ploughed fields, the roads outside the village are all sources of danger, where the given local spirits plague people with lingering diseases.

the north, it lives in the stream or in the grain-drying barn by its stove, guards the treasure, changes babies and gives the medicine man power to bewitch (Mészáros 1909: 28–32).

## 11 *Valēm xuša*

The second part of the compound is clear, the Chuvash *xuša* is a word of Persian origin (earlier borrowing from Persian, cf. Scherner 1977: 52) that exists in many Turkic languages with the meaning ‘master, owner, merchant’ (cf. e.g. Egorov 1964: 310; Räsänen 1969: 161; Fedotov 1996/II: 371; Persian: *خواجه* (*xʷāǰa*) ‘high-ranking man, superior, master, sire, don, professor, wise man’ (Gaf. I, 303)). It has been well recorded in Turkic languages since the 12th century.

The first part is less clear and it exists in several forms in Chuvash: *Valem*, *Valēm*, *Valām*, *Melim*, *Malem*, *Malēm*, *Melēm*, *Ilem*, *Yelim* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/v: 161, 162, 165; VIII: 184, 185, 222). Zolotnitsky starts from the form *Malēm xuša* and believes that the compound originates from the name of Muslim sheikh (saint) *Malyum xodža*, whose tomb is next to Mount Bilarsk (1875: 151).<sup>19</sup> This is questioned by Magnitskij (1891: 13) on the basis of the nature of the spirit (i.e. for semantic reasons), but accepted by Romanov (1957: 195), who classifies this figure among the Islamic-rooted terms for Chuvash pagan spirits, and also Denisov, who interprets it as a Volga Bulgarian relic of Chuvash mythology (Denisov 1959: 63–64; also Ašmarin 1902: 20). Fedotov considers the form *Valēm xuša* as primary and associates the word *valēm* with the Chuvash word *valē*, *val*, meaning ‘part, part of something’, and also includes the names of two other mythical creatures, *valle*<sup>20</sup> and *valēs*.<sup>21</sup>

According to some descriptions, *Valēm xuša* is the name of a *kiremet*, and according to some others, the name of a *yěřx* spirit. There is also a record of a

19 Zolotnitskij takes the data from Berezin: on this hill stand the tombs of three great Muslim saints, as we know from the account of a 16th-century Tartar historian (Berezin 1853: 89). Prior to Berezin's record, Kudryashev wrote in an article published in 1826 about a cemetery near Bilarsk called Balin-Gus, which was revered by Bashkirs and Tartars alike, that the water springing up there was supposed to have healing powers.

20 According to Yurkin's description (1891: 28), every three years, a white lamb sacrifice was presented to *Valle* in a closed family circle so that the household chattels would not be lost or ruined. Denisov also finds a connection with mythical creature *valle*, but he derives it from the Arabic word *vālī* ‘holy’ (Denisov 1959: 64).

21 The meaning of the Chuvash *valēs* is ‘the distributor of goods, the name of a spirit’ (Ašmarin 1928–1950/v: 162). It is worth noting that the name of *pülēxšē*, a significant figure in Chuvash mythology, also means ‘distributor’.

sacrifice presented specifically to it, and in the case of larger sacrifices, its name can be found among the deities and spirits invoked (Dallos 2020: 124). In his list of *kiremets*, Mil'kovič (1827: 138) mentions it among the 'medium *kiremets*'.



The names of seven of the nine beings came into Chuvash from Tartar (and relatively late); the two older borrowings being the Arabic *qurbān* and the Persian *payyāmbār*. At the same time, it is also worth examining which are the data that have retained their Islamic roots in their function (i.e., meaning). As we can see above, the different names often cover several, sometimes quite different, functions. In table 25.1, I took the function of the given being considered the most widespread, as a basis.

Some clear conclusions can be drawn from the table. There are only two names that have the same or almost the same meaning as in Islam, both of which are newer, Tartar loan words. The proportion of names used in a function completely different from the original meaning is much higher; here, the proportion of elements belonging to the old and new layers is the same. There are also a significant number of names that appear in Chuvash as mythical creatures but are not related to Islam, i.e., they were not originally religious terms.

Table 25.2 shows the positive or negative nature of mythical creatures. Naturally, a lot of ambivalent traits are characteristic of mythical creatures, but the basic character of a being can usually be determined.

It is clear from this table that the Arabic and Persian elements tended to become much more characteristically harmful creatures. In fact, we only have one piece of data of a clearly positive role, which, moreover, occurs only in a certain group of texts, the incantations. It is also worth mentioning here that the *kiremet* (which is known among all the Chuvash population) is not simply a harmful creature, but the most frightening creature in all Chuvash folklore. The two early borrowings from the Arabic and Persian languages, *Xārpan* and *Pix-ampar*, could mean either a positive or a negative being due to their multiple forms and functions and they also vary by place and time.

Table 25.3 shows whether mythical creatures of Arabic and Persian origin have any parallels in the Chuvash belief system. In parentheses, the 'name' column contains elements that are not of Arabic/Persian origin, and the 'example' column lists those that correspond to the given figure only partially or only in certain places.

There are four beings that clearly have their parallels. One of them is the figure of *Ašapatman* in incantations. In incantations where some unreal person is healing or assists in the healing, there may be the Russian-etymon *starik*

TABLE 25.1 Relationship with Islam

Name	The same or similar in Islam	Significant difference	Completely different
<i>Aštata</i>	[non-religious term]	(+) <sup>a</sup>	+
<i>Ašapatman</i>			
<i>Esrel</i>	+		
<i>xayar</i>	[non-religious term]		
<i>Xārpan</i>			+
<i>kiremet</i>			+
<i>Pixampar</i>			+
<i>Pirešti</i>	+		
(šut) tēnče	[non-religious term]		
šuyttan		+	
(Valēm) xuša	[non-religious term]		

a In folk Islam, Fatima sometimes appears as a healer, usually protecting against the evil eye (cf. e.g. Kriss and Kriss Heinrich 1960–1962/1: 23–38).

TABLE 25.2 The nature of Chuvash creatures

Name	Harmful	Helpful	No such determination
<i>Aštata</i>	+		
<i>Ašapatman</i>		+	
<i>Esrel</i>	+		
<i>xayar</i>	+		
<i>Xārpan</i>	+	+	
<i>kiremet</i>	+		
<i>Pixampar</i>	+	+	
<i>Pirešti</i>			+
(šut) tēnče			+
šuyttan	+		
(Valēm) xuša	+		

TABLE 25.3 Parallel mythical creatures in the Chuvash belief system

Name	Parallel figure	Example
<i>Astaxa</i>	+ / –	<i>verě šelen</i>
<i>Ašapatman</i>	+	<i>starik, karčik</i>
<i>Esrel</i>	–	
<i>xayar</i>	+	<i>usal</i>
<i>Xärpan</i>	+ / –	
<i>kiremet</i>	+ / –	( <i>yěřex / iră</i> )
<i>Pixampar</i>	+ / –	( <i>Pülëxsě</i> )
<i>Pirešti</i>	+	<i>Ankěl</i>
( <i>śut</i> ) <i>těnce</i>	+	<i>śut santalāk</i>
<i>śuyttan</i>	+ / –	
( <i>Valēm</i> ) <i>xuśa</i>	[not an independent being <sup>a</sup> ]	

a The name of a *kiremet* or *yěřex* spirit.

‘old man’ and the Turkic-etymon *karčik* ‘old woman’.<sup>22</sup> There is a clear parallel between Arab origin *xayar* ‘bad, evil’ and Turkic-etymon *usal*. *Pirešti* of Persian origin, which appears very late, can largely be related to the Russian-etymon *ankěl*, also a late borrowing. No Turkic-etymon word can be found here; the angelic figure had presumably not been part of Chuvash beliefs earlier. The creature meaning ‘light world’ appears in two parallel forms (*śut těnce / santalāk*).

*Esrel*, who can be interpreted as death personified, has no parallel, and in this function, it basically retained its character derived from folk Islam (it can also be found in this form in Tartar and Bashkir cultures). In the Chuvash records, it appeared in the 18th century, along with its forms different from the original meaning, pointing in the direction of disease demons.

In the case of *Xärpan*, *kiremet*, *Pixampar* and *śuyttan*, I used the +/- sign, because these beings appear in more than one function in Chuvash beliefs, and they may have a parallel in some of their functions and not in others.

It is worth taking a look at what types of beliefs these beings were associated with. To do this, I must first provide larger semantic groups of the system of Chuvash mythical beings. The previous literature generally classified these

22 In the texts, there are always references to their unreal nature, for example: coming from 77 worlds, coming from the middle of 77 seas; golden-haired, silver-toothed (cf. e.g. Mészáros 1909: 379, 385, 386).

TABLE 25.4 Semantic groups of the system of Chuvash mythical beings

	Abode	Competence	Function	Example
I. deities	celestial	the whole world	creation, (regulation, control)	<i>Tură</i> ( <i>Kepe, Pülëxsě, Pixampar</i> )
II. supernatural mediators	between the celestial and earthly worlds	between the celestial and earthly worlds	supervision (divine orders) mediation (people's prayers) (healing)	<i>Pirěšti, čük, kělě (Xärpan, Kepe, Pülëxsě, Pixampar)</i> ( <i>Ašapatman</i> )
III. natural forces / phenomena	celestial / earthly	the world	assistance / damage	<i>xěvel, kăvak xuppi, śil</i>
IV. local spirits	earthly	a given place / the human world	damage / assistance	<i>ar-šuri, xěrt-šurt, yěřěx, kiremet, Valēm xuša, vutăš</i>
V. demons	earthly (but not restricted to a single site)	the human world	damage a) causing illness and trouble b) death	a) <i>xayar, xităm, iyi, šuyt-tan, (xärpan)</i> b) <i>Esrel</i>
VI. monsters	earthly	the human world	damage	<i>ăstaxa, verě šelěn</i>

beings in two different ways; one based on the celestial-earthly opposition and the other on a kind of good-evil opposition (or combinations thereof, e.g. good celestial deities, bad earthly spirits). I will try to outline a slightly more detailed and accurate picture. When setting up the main groups of mythical beings, six major groups can be distinguished, based on the 'abode', competence, function, and nature of the beings (see Table 25.4).

Some important conclusions can be drawn for our topic. Only the word *Tură* can unequivocally be included in the first group, but in many texts, some other figures can also be interpreted as celestial, good deities. However, these only include a single early-borrowed Persian element, *Pixampar*.

In the second group, there is a Persian word, *Pirěšti*, which is not an early borrowing (in fact, it appears in its given function rather late, only at the very end of the 19th century). It has no Chuvash-etymon equivalent; the word *ankěl*, which can be paralleled with *Pirěšti*, is also a late borrowing—from Russian). On the basis of this, it seems that personal angel-type mediators only appeared late in the Chuvash belief system. I have classified those elements into this group that only appear in prayer texts but we cannot find legends about them. Their function is difficult to define, but since they are all related to sacrifice and prayer, it seems that they were originally the means of humans' communication to deities (prayer, sacrifice, the place and object of sacrifice) and with time, they became independent supernatural beings. By this time, they were

already invoked in prayers (e.g. *Čük sirlax!* 'Sacrifice, have mercy!'). There are also a great many prayer texts in which the divine will or order is mediated to the human world by certain beings immediately following God in the hierarchy (*Pülěxsě, Kepe, Pixampar*). In certain places (mainly in Tartar environments) *Xārpan* can be classified here as a kind of sacrifice-god.

No less interesting is the third major category, which does not contain Arabic/Persian elements, since all of the creatures here are of Turkic etymon. The fourth group contains a mixture of Turkic and Arabic-/Persian-etymon names. In subgroup a) of the fifth group, among the demons that cause trouble and disease, we can again find words of Arabic/Persian origin. Here, I also included the word *xārpan* in parentheses; however, we saw above that a Chuvash folk etymology had led to its becoming a disease demon. The death demon of subgroup b), *Esrel*, is one of the elements that is not an archaic borrowing and has largely retained its original function.

Regarding the sixth larger group, it is worth mentioning that Chuvash beliefs do not abound in monster-type creatures, but the Persian *āstaxa* appearing here (as well as in many other Turkic languages) is interesting because it probably displaced the Turkic-etymon word *sazağan* meaning 'dragon' from Turkic languages which has been preserved in Hungarian to this day: *sárkány* 'dragon' (cf. Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 695–697). Another member of the group, Turkic-etymon *verě šelěn* is not identical with *āstaxa*, the main difference between them being that *āstaxa* is more of a zoomorphic monster, whereas *verě šelěn* is a mythical creature capable even of transformation.

Thus, we can conclude that most of the mythical beings originating from Islam (and the Arabic and Persian languages), appear as supernatural mediators, local spirits and demons in the Chuvash belief system. It is also important to add that a good number of Turkic-etymon elements are also present in all groups, so presumably, the Arabic/Persian elements became part of the already existing categories.

As for the etymological distribution of the names of the most common mythical beings, see Diagram 25.1.

Almost three-quarters of the names are of Turkic etymon;<sup>23</sup> the proportion of Arabic/Persian elements is about 25 %;<sup>24</sup> 4 % of the names are of Finno-

23 Naturally, this group is not homogeneous; some elements can be traced back to Old Turkic, some are Chuvash developments, and it also includes elements borrowed from Tartar.

24 If we considered the more complete system of mythical creatures (with hundreds of creatures who are invoked in prayers and whose function is often unknown), this ratio would be smaller; however, it is important that their ratio is not insignificant specifically among the more important, generally-known creatures. Besides the proportions, it is important



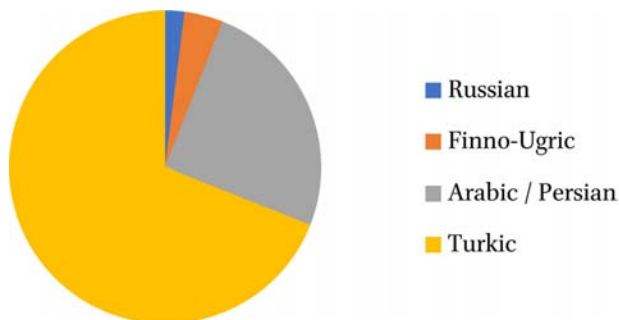


DIAGRAM 25.1 Etymological distribution of the Chuvash names of mythical beings

Ugric and 2% are of Russian origin. This distribution is surprising when we know that Russian Orthodox Christianity has been trying to convert the Chuvash for centuries—although not always with the same intensity.<sup>25</sup> Besides, the proportion of Russian elements is also narrowed by the fact that Christianity, in its official form represented by priests serving among the Chuvash, does not acknowledge (and thus does not spread) demonic or helpful spirits.<sup>26</sup> This could be said about Islam in a more permissive way, but in the case of the Chuvash, the influence of Islam is in any case secondary—either because it was Tartar-mediated and non-missionary (the strong Tartar influence can be shown in several areas of culture) or because it was only present as a substrate in the Chuvash belief system.

On the basis of Scherner's book, I would definitely estimate the Arabic/Persian elements of the entire Chuvash vocabulary as being below 10%, so it also appears to be an important fact that the proportion of Arabic/Persian elements in this area of religious vocabulary (among the names of mythical creatures) is much higher. Of course, it is also a fact that the vast majority of these elements entered Chuvash through Tartar mediation, and that almost half of them were originally not religious terms.

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to highlight that the being which can be regarded as the most direct opposite to God, the *kiremet*, also belongs to this group.

25 The history of Orthodox missionary work was dealt with in detail by Nikol'sky (1912); and Denisov 1959: 158–363.

26 There are, however, some interesting examples. One of them is the figure of *Mikul tură* (from the name of Saint Nicholas and the Chuvash word *tură* 'god/icon') (e.g. Sboev 2004: 87; Ašmarin 1928–1950/VIII: 237–238), which first turned into a cultic place and then a mythical being from a holy picture in a church. There are several records suggesting that the church or the house of the priest or the sexton could also become a *kiremet*, a place of sacrifice (cf. Goto 2007: 154–155).

The question posed at the beginning of the article (the role of Islam in Chuvash beliefs) cannot, of course, be answered unequivocally by examining the names of mythical creatures alone. The problem is much more complex and would require a detailed examination of several other facts (e.g., the system of rites, textual examination of prayers, the chronology of the borrowing of Tartar elements), as well as the involvement of results from other disciplines. The main purpose of this article was just to get a closer look at a small sub-area.

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## On Perfectly Good-Looking Morphological Comparanda and Their (Sometimes, However, Lacking) Significance for Hypotheses of Language Relationship

*Some Marginal Footnotes on the (Still Ongoing?) Altaic Debate*

*Stefan Georg*

In recent years, few (if any) papers which touched on the debate about the possible mutual relationships between Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, and possibly also Korean and Japanese, failed to mention (often in the opening paragraph) that this ‘perennial’ discussion is ‘still ongoing’ with ‘unabated vigour’. But is it?

It may indeed be the case that the vigour which once characterized this debate may have abated to some degree, and that nowadays fewer dissident voices (on ‘Altaic’ as a valid family, that is) make themselves heard—but this may also be my very personal impression, possibly due to selective perception. What has certainly *not* abated, is the stream of publications which declare this debate done and dusted, and *of course* decided in favour of the assumption of genealogical (divergent) relationship of these (and only these) five language families. The, so far, last milestone of this is certainly the publication of the impressive volume Robbeets and Savelyev 2020.

And when I call it *impressive*, I hasten to add that it is certainly also *important, well-conceived and executed* and certainly *indispensable* for decades to come, and that its editors and contributors earned with it the well-deserved gratitude of all practitioners of Altaic linguistics and the philological disciplines which—though each of them well able to live and strive alone—constitute this large field.

This does not mean that there is nothing to be unhappy with in this handbook (and for which handbook of this size and scope could such a thing ever be said?), and it may not come as a major surprise to anybody familiar with this field that this—still—concerns the very question of the mutual relations between the languages concerned. Quite expectedly, the central chapters about genealogical classification and comparative matters defend Altaic as a genealogical grouping, and they also do offer linguistic data to underpin this.

In the few pages which follow, I want to revisit just one of the realms in which the proponents of the genealogical hypothesis claim considerable progress to have been made in the last decades, namely the realm of *verbal morphology*. One of the editors, M. Robbeets, has devoted considerable effort to the demonstration that the languages in question do indeed possess a core of truly shared morphological elements (mostly suffixes), the very existence of which is claimed to be sufficient to end this almost bicentennial debate (according to my way of thinking, it begins with Schott 1836, with everything published before this, including the often quoted, but rarely read, Strahlenberg, belonging at best to its *prehistory*, but this is open to discussion), now once and for all with Altaic again vindicated (and this time for good). She devoted a whole book to this (2015), but her list of cognate suffixes may already be found (with later adjustments in details, some new entries and some eliminations in the course of time, and some rather drastic changes in terminology) as early as 2007 (Robbeets 2007a, b) and is repeated in Robbeets 2020 in tabulated form only—below, I reproduce what I perceive as its gist, in shorthand form (it is not my intention to omit or distort anything of substance here, so the interested reader remains referred to its authoritative presentation in their original publications, and especially the book-length discussion of these items in Robbeets 2015):

TABLE 26.1 Proposed morphological comparanda of Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Korean and Japanese (“Altaic”)

No.	Recon-struct	Label	Represented in	As e.g. in
1	* <i>ana-</i>	negation, negative verb (171–191) <sup>a</sup>	J, K, Tung, Mong <sup>b</sup>	Nanai <i>ana</i> ‘negative noun’ (190)
2	* <i>ə-</i>	negation, negative verb (192–202)	Tung, Mong, Tk	Ewenki <i>e-</i> ‘negative verb’ (193–194)
3	- <i>la-</i>	manipulative (213–227)	Tung, Mong, Tk	Mong. <i>altan</i> ‘gold’ → <i>alta-la-</i> ‘to gild’ (221)
4	- <i>na-</i>	processive (227–239)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	Nanai <i>jolo</i> ‘stone’ → <i>jolo-na-</i> ‘to petrify’ (234)

a All page numbers in this table refer to the, sometimes lengthy, treatment(s) of these elements in Robbeets 2015.  
b Robbeets mentions (but does not illustrate or discuss) a Mongolian [an-] negation, no mention or discussion of this in Robbeets 2015.

TABLE 26.1 Proposed morphological comparanda (*cont.*)

No.	Recon-struct	Label	Represented in	As e.g. in
5	*(-)ki-	'do, make', iconic (239–246)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	Man. <i>lor</i> 'sound of some animals' → <i>lor-gi-</i> 'to chirp, twitter, hum' (242)
6	*-mA-	inclination (246–255)	J, K, Tung, Mong	Udihe <i>xoton</i> 'city' → <i>xoto-mo-</i> 'go to the city' (253)
7	*-gA-	inchoative (255–266)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	OTk. <i>ada</i> 'danger' → <i>ada-k-</i> 'to be or come into distress' (264)
8	*-ti-	causative (276–292)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	OTk. <i>bedü-</i> 'to be/become big, great' → <i>bedü-t-</i> 'to make grow, increase, rear' (291)
9	*-pU-	reflexive-anticausative (292–301)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	Ewenki <i>solı-</i> 'to mix up' → <i>solıp-</i> 'to become mixed up' (298)
10	*-dA-	fientive (301–308)	J, Tung, Mong, Tk	Mong. <i>nere</i> 'name' → <i>nere-de-</i> 'give a name' (305)
11	*-rA-	anticausative (309–315)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	OTk. <i>süči-</i> 'be sweet' → <i>süči-r-</i> 'to become sweet' (314)
12	*-gi-	creative, anti-causative (315–324)	J, K, Tung	Jap. <i>tat-</i> 'stand' → <i>tat-e-</i> 'erect (tr.)' (< *- (C) i-) (317)
13	*-rA	lexical nominalizer (w/variants) (339–361)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	OTk. <i>kes-</i> 'cut' → <i>kes-er</i> 'adze'
14	*-mA	lexical nominalizer (w/variants) (361–379)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	OTk. <i>ör-</i> 'plait' → <i>örüm</i> 'something knitted' (377)
15	*-n	lexical nominalizer (w/variants), converb (379–396)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	Mong. <i>nisü-n</i> 'fly-CV' (393)
16	*-x/ka	resultative lexical nominalizer (396–416)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	Manchu <i>je-</i> 'to eat' → <i>je-ke</i> 'eaten' (403)
17	*-sa	resultative lexical nominalizer (417–435)	J, Tung, Mong, Tk	Mong. <i>ide-</i> 'eat' → <i>idesi</i> 'food'



TABLE 26.1 Proposed morphological comparanda (*cont.*)

No.	Recon-struct	Label	Represented in	As e.g. in
18	*-i/-Ø	nominalizer (455–466)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	OTk. <i>tög-</i> ‘to pound, crush’ → <i>tög-</i> <i>i</i> ‘cleaned/crushed (cereal)’ (464)
19	*-x/kU	nominalizer, infinitive (466–481)	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	Mong. <i>yabu-</i> ‘to go’ → <i>yabu-qu</i> ‘the process of going’ (476)
20	-Ø	imperative <sup>c</sup>	J, K, Tung, Mong, Tk	Mong. <i>yabu-</i> ‘to go’ → <i>yabu-Ø</i>

c Not discussed in Robbeets 2015.

I will not comment on Robbeets’ reconstructs for her proto-language, nor will I, here, discuss the legitimacy of the lower-level reconstructs these are based on (i.e. whether Proto-Turkic, Proto-Mongolic, etc. do have these morphological elements in the first place, and whether everything which is known from their attestation, function, history etc. lends itself to a meaningful comparison between the constituent branches of Altaic and *a fortiori* to the reconstructs presented here); further, I will not say anything on Robbeets’ functional labeling of these forms (which underwent quite considerable changes over the years). For the argument at hand, I will treat these comparisons as *argumenti causa* legitimate, though, pending further analysis, I *do not necessarily think that they (all) are*. I acknowledge, though, that Robbeets devoted a whole book (2015) to the justification of these and accept that her, often painstaking, discussion of each and every one of these elements deserves (and should receive) detailed scrutiny on its own. The column ‘as in ...’ serves illustrative purposes only and is not intended to distract from (or paint an unnecessarily unfavourable picture of) Robbeets’ discussion of all these elements in her original publications.

Since I *do not know*, whether the Altaic/Transeurasian languages are genealogically related or not,<sup>1</sup> I will admit at this point that, *if they are*, a list of morphological comparanda like the one in the table above (or some parts of

1 But I do not think that I have to hide my continuing skepticism towards the hypothesis that they are—I think that they are not, and I do think that there are very good reasons for thinking like this, but this, of course, does not translate to anything which may be labelled as knowledge.

it) *could* be part of a meaningful argument to the end of demonstrating this. But before this has happened, it may be useful, indeed it is necessary, to ask, whether this list is, in itself, *specific* enough to be *significant*, i.e. whether it describes a unique set of morphological elements, common to the languages at hand, but not to others, which are not part of the hypothetical genealogical grouping it is meant to vindicate.

I do not think that it is, since a rather casual look at one (to be fair: two relatively closely related) language(s) from the Volga region (and from the uncontroversial Uralic language family), Cheremis (or Mari) and Mordvin, reveals almost the whole roster of these suffixes (or reasonably, sometimes perfectly, similar suffixes) with comparable or, again, sometimes identical, functions in these languages as well, to wit: see Table 26.2.<sup>2</sup>

If these affixes in Cheremis (and Mordvin) exist and have the functions illustrated here, and I eagerly await the demonstration that they do not, the similarities of form and function they display with the *Altaic* affixes (and reconstructs) on Robbeets' list can *only*<sup>3</sup> mean:

- a) these commonalities are indicative of 'Ural-Altaic' as a genealogical grouping;
- b) the Cheremis/Mordvin affixes were borrowed from somewhere else (say, from Turkic languages with which these languages, or some of the higher genealogical nodes they belong to—'Volga-Finnic', 'Finno-Ugric' or even Uralic—have been in intense contact with in the past;
- c) the commonalities between the two lists are fortuitous resemblances *without any historical significance at all*.

Robbeets herself (2014: 203) excludes the first possibility, *and so do I*. She is quite clear about this, saying that, concerning any such comparison of Altaic with Uralic data, "we are unable to test the assumed sound correspondences (...) against regular sound correspondences established on the basis of lexical

2 I hope I will be forgiven for omitting detailed references here; most of these elements can easily be found in the specialist literature—for my modest purpose I used Vasil'ev, Savatkova and Učaeu 1991, Wichmann 1953, Lehtisalo 1936, and Alhoniemi 1993. Items #9 and #18 are from (Erzya-)Mordvin, the other ones from Cheremis, with no attempt to differentiate the two major variants of this language, though most examples are from Eastern Cheremis.

3 I am confident that the (*logically* possible) conclusion that, because of these observations, Cheremis (and/or Mordvin) would ultimately have to be taken out of Finno-Ugric and Uralic and joined to Robbeets' *Altaic* (or, then, *Transeurasian*, a term, which, ironically, *then* could indeed be somewhat legitimate, at least in this writer's humble opinion) as its sixth member does not really need any comment here.

TABLE 26.2 Cheremis (and Mordvin) comparanda to “Altaic” morphological markers

## No. Cheremis (or Mordvin) example

- 1 *ana* negation with the 1st p. pl. of verbs
- 2 *o-* < \**e-* negative verb, ‘not to be’
- 3 *kürtñö* ‘iron’ → *kürtñö-la-* ‘to clad with iron’
- 4 *βij-* ‘to be straight’ → *βij-ana-* ‘to become straight’
- 5 *rošt* ‘noise’ → *rošt-k-* ‘to emit (some) noise’
- 6 *molo* ‘different’ → *mole-ma-* ‘to change, become different’
- 7 *laβara* ‘dirt’ → *laβar-γa-* ‘to become dirty’
- 8 *pur-* ‘to go in, enter’ → *pur-ta-* ‘to bring in, make go in’
- 9 (*nej-a-* ‘to see’ → *nej-a-v-* ‘to be seen’)
- 10 *lüm* ‘name’ → *lüm-δa-* ‘to name, to call’
- 11 *ert-* ‘to pass (time)’ → *ert-ar-* ‘to spend (time)’
- or
- il-* ‘to live’ → *ələ-ž-* ‘to come to life’ (if < \**-r-* ?)
- 12 *ere* ‘clean, pure’ → *erə-k-ta-* ‘to clean’
- 13<sup>a</sup> —
- 14 *kolə-* ‘to die’ → *kolə-mo* ‘dead’
- 15 *tolə-* ‘to come’ → *tolə-n* ‘come-cv’
- 16 *βüδəl-* ‘to wrap’ → *βüδəl-ka* ‘wrapped’
- 17 *moδa-* ‘play’ → *moδəš* ‘game’
- 18 (*kul-* ‘to die’ → *kul-i* ‘dead’)
- 19 *palš-* ‘to help’ → *palš-ək* ‘help’
- 20 *tol-* ‘to come’ → *tol* ‘come!’

a I was not able to find any reasonably good(-looking)-*r*-suffixes in Cheremis or Mordvin with the required function(s)—I did manage to find some rather weak or bad looking ones, though—, so I am happy to leave this cell empty.

comparison.”<sup>4</sup> I concur, but I do have to stress here that the claim that everything is fine with intra-Altaic lexical comparison and the sound-correspon-

4 A very similar list as the one given here, then based on Robbeets (2007a, b) alone (and since then slightly updated to catch up with the the various changes Robbeets’ list underwent until its most recent version in 2020), was presented on the occasion of the symposium *Altaique ou pas?*, organized by Guillaume Jacques and Anton Antonov on 10 Dec 2011 in Paris, where M. Robbeets and the writer of these lines had been invited to exchange their thoughts on the matter. It has also found some circulation in the form of an informally distributed piece

dences based on these cannot go without the comment that this, indeed, is well-known as the position of Robbeets' and the Moscow-based school of Altaic comparativism she is heavily indebted to, but that the corpus of lexical comparisons, which underlies this position, has met with too many objections from the scholarly community to be regarded as anything in the way of the *communis opinio* of the field.<sup>5</sup>

Between possibilities b) and c), further scrutiny may (and certainly will) be able to tell b)-cases apart from c)-cases, but I do not think that this is necessary at this point, because the list, as it stands, illustrates rather straightforwardly that (if, again, 'Ural-Altaic' is to be excluded):

The interplay of areal interaction between unrelated languages *and* pure chance-similarities is (and in this case *was*) able to produce practically the *same* picture of allegedly historically shared morphological comparanda as the one presented in Robbeets' works (2015, 2020) as *evidence* for the genealogical relationship of Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Korean, and Japanese.

In other words: If the comparanda found for Cheremis/Mordvin and Altaic are not sufficient (or not at all indicative) for grouping *these* two entities together in the genealogical sense, and I (and very likely M. Robbeets, too, if I am allowed to say this here) think they *are not*, the ones found *within* five-term-Altaic *are not either*. Borrowing and chance alone were, then, able<sup>6</sup> to produce this roster of superficially comparable/similar elements, the list of 20 allegedly 'shared' elements between the Altaic/Transeurasian languages is therefore, as it stands,<sup>7</sup> *inconclusive*.

Did I *disprove* the validity of 'Altaic/Transeurasian' with this short and rather dry exercise? Of course, I did not.

Everything this 'exercise' is meant to emphasize is the fact that, after all those decades, even centuries, of heated debate, even the latest (and quite painstakingly formulated) version of this hypothesis was and is not able to get beyond

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of gray literature under the working title of *The poverty of Altaicism*—it could be that this statement of Robbeets' constitutes a—however faint—echo to this, but maybe it's only this writer's vanity which makes him prone to think so.

5 I cannot go further into this here, but cf., i.a. Georg 2009.

6 And, while I admittedly *think* they did, I only *say* here that they *could have been able* to do so.

7 It goes without saying that the very shortness of Robbeets' list made the task of compiling this control list relatively easy, and a substantial increase of good morphological comparanda for the former might eventually render this argument obsolete, but please note that the emphasis here lies on *good*.

the enumeration of morphological comparanda (in the realm of the verb, said to be quite important for and indicative of any genealogical hypothesis), which can, rather effortlessly, also be found in languages *not* covered by the initial claim.

Again, I do not know, whether the Altaic/Transeurasian hypothesis is wrong, but it seems to be inevitable to state that, so far, all attempts to demonstrate its validity have been *unsuccessful*.

Let me close this short contribution with some rather personal remarks.

When I took up my studies of Altaic languages and linguistics back in 1984 or so, I began as an ardent believer in this relationship. The critics I read back then simply made me angry, and I thought, in my youthful arrogance, that they simply needed to learn the Indo-Europeanist methodology I was about to learn at that time myself, *and they would see!* No, it turned out that it was me who had to 'see', and I had to change my mind on this. But after a period of utter disappointment, after contemplating to give up on all these languages and to study Tibeto-Burman or Finno-Ugric instead, I realized that this disappointment was not a nuisance—it was a finding.

And I cannot emphasize strongly enough, that it was mainly one person, one true teacher, who made me realize this—that there was something wrong with 'Altaic' in the first place, but that this, at the same time, was and is nothing to be worried about, that it was not a loss at all, or, if a loss, then only a *loss of an old error*, the very stuff scientific progress is made of.

Though I, during the more than three decades since then, sometimes used the epithet (originally coined as a snide) '*Anti-Altaicist*' for myself (at times with some pride, I admit), the teacher I am talking about never did so, and he certainly will not approve of being addressed with this name today. He never declared *Altaic* (in any of its extant versions) to be an outright absurdity, and he never went as far as calling it finally and utterly *disproven*. On the contrary, all the skepticism he showed towards this and other hypotheses was always palpably and only driven by his unquenchable thirst to know and to always know more about the historical processes (processes of language history among them) which shaped the ethnolinguistic makeup of the vast continent of Eurasia. Such an attitude will simply never be content with any 'truth', which is simply proclaimed, rather than sought for, and it will always be perfectly happy that, whatever the term 'truth' may actually refer to, it can only be approached asymptotically.

It should come as no surprise to anybody that the teacher I am talking about here was and is—András Róna-Tas.

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## Siberian Draculeesses

*Elisabetta Ragagnin*

The most successful term referring to vampires, namely the word ‘vampire’ itself, as is widely known, is etymologically Turkic. It is an agent noun derived from the verbal stem *oop-* ‘to gulp down’; see, a.o., Stachowski K. (2005), User (2010) and Ragagnin (2013).

In the long history of linguistic and cultural interactions in Eurasia, Turkic has provided various neighbouring languages with quite a lot of terms pertaining, a.o., to the semantic field of magics, witchcraft and supernatural beings. For instance, Hungarian *boszorkány* ‘witch, sorceress’ can be traced back to West Old Turkic *\*basarkan* corresponding to East Old Turkic *basırkan* ‘the one who is oppressing (during sleep), nightmare, the one causing a nightmare’ from *bas-* ‘to press’ augmented by the suffixes *-(X)rkA-* and *-Xn* (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 158–160). Besides, two key figures in Mongolian shamanism, *udagan* and *böe*,<sup>1</sup> ‘shamanness’ and ‘shaman’, respectively, are both of clear Turkic origin; see Janhunen (1986), Doerfer (1963: 233–234), Choi (1992) and Ragagnin (2019). On the other hand, Old Turkic *yelvi* ‘sorcery, witchcraft’ (Clauson 1972: 919b–920a) does not have a straightforward Turkic etymology; Erdal (1991: 336) argued that it might be an Early Mongol loanword (see below). Similarly, several names with reference to supernatural evil creatures are of foreign origin.

I wish to dedicate to professor Róna-Tas András (*Tanár úr*) on the occasion of his round birthday, with affection, admiration and eternal gratitude for all his contributions to Turcology, Mongolic, Central Asian and Altaic studies, some considerations or, better put, share some thoughts, on three names referring to cannibal and, at times, *vampiresque* Sayan Turkic witches, namely *šulmus* ~ *šulbus*, *albīs* and *jelbege* ~ *jilbaya*.

Let’s first of all have a look at our ladies in action from selected passages of Sayan Turkic folklore.

As is often the case, our witch lives in rather isolated places, in a solitary white *yurt* or a small hut covered by birchbark in the deep forest. Her lonely

1 For the etymological connection of Hungarian *bölcs* ‘wise’ to the same Turkic lexical source, see Róna-Tas and Berta (2011: 170).

and rather boring life is shaken up by a hunter passing by. Needless to say, she is extremely attractive, at least when the hunter is with her. The hunter gets totally bewitched by her extraordinary beauty and forgets everything else. She cooks for him delicious food and has a magic spell on his hunt. However ...

[...] *bir-le xün čoru-p čoraaš-tiŋ kančap bar-gan aʔš-čem*  
 one-PTC day move-CB move.CB-GEN how go-VBN food  
*čüve-l? Čeženi-daa či-ir-ge kiži tot-pas*  
 thing-PTC how much-PTC eat-VBN-DAT person be full up- NEG.VBN  
*kiži aʔšta-p öl-ür deg. Bo çerle anaa eves*  
 person be hungry-CB die-VBN like this PTC okay COP.NEG  
*boor dees-tiŋ kel-ir iŋye-zin-den erte-žik*  
 become.VBN say.CB-GEN come-VBN time-POSS3-ABL early-DER  
*čed-ip kel-geš čadīr-i-niŋ doora-zin-dan bakīla-aš*  
 reach-CB come-CB tent-POSS3-GEN queer-POSS3-ABL take a look-CB  
*čüggle ugaan-in oskun-mayn algir-ip kaan.*  
 barely intellect-POSS3.ACC lose-NEG.CB scream-CB hit.POST  
*köör-ge ög-de olur-ar kaday-i čes*  
 see.VBN-DAT dwelling-LOC sit-VBN woman-POSS3 copper  
*dirgak-tar-lig čes xaay-lig čaŋgis karak-tig iyi diš-tig barba*  
 nail-PL-DER copper nose-DER single eye-DER two tooth-DER sack  
*deg išt-i-niŋ damir-lar-i kög-er-e ber-gen Šulbus*  
 like inside-POSS3-GEN vein-PL-POSS3 blue-DER-CB give-POST Šulbus  
*kaday apar-gan olur-uptur. Šulbus kaday-daa bod-u-nuŋ*  
 woman become-POST sit-EVID šulbus woman-PTC self-POSS3-GEN  
*eegi-ler-in-den eʔt-ti čar-a kes-keš bir paš-če dül-üp*  
 rib-PL-POSS3-ABL meat-ACC split-CB cut-CB one pot-DIR cook-CB  
*a bir paš-če bod-u-nuŋ barba deg emün-den*  
 but one pot-DIR self-POSS3-GEN sack like breast-POSS3-ABL  
*saay tud-up olur-uptur. Ulug čes xaay-i-bile ot-tu*  
 milk.CB hold-CB sit-EVID big copper nose-POSS3-with fire-ACC  
*köze-višaan melegey-ni mege-le-dim kara čööt-tü*  
 stir-CB fool-ACC trick-DER-PAST1SG wretched-ACC  
*kažar-la-dim ximiren-ip olur-uptur.*  
 astute-DER-PAST1SG humm-CB sit-EVID

‘One day after having gone hunting the hunter thought: “Where does all the food end up? No matter how much one eats, one never gets enough, it always seems to be starving. This cannot be normal”. One time, he came back earlier than usual and secretly peeked into the tent and, almost losing his mind, he shrieked for what he saw. The woman living in that



tent had copper claws, a copper nose, one eye, two teeth and a (horrible) sack-like belly with blue veins. That woman had evidently turned into a *šulbus*-witch. The *šulbus*-witch was cutting off slices of meat from her own ribs and putting it to cook in one pot. At the same time, she was squeezing milk out of her own (ugly) sack-like breast and pouring it in another pot. With her huge copper nose she was stirring the fire (like a pair of bellows) humming “I fooled the fool, I deceived the wretched man!” [...]’ (from the fairy tale *Čadirlig diirej* ‘The demon in the tent’ [Aleksiev et al. 2010: 162]).

Etymologically, Sayan Turkic *šulbus* ~ *šulmus* goes ultimately back to Sogdian *šmnw* ‘demon, devil, Satan’ with clear Mongolic mediation. Cognates occur in several older and modern Turkic and Mongolic varieties; cf. Khabtagaeva (2009: 190) for details and examples. In Old Turkic Christian texts, the term *šmnw* refers to the Devil (Zieme 2015: 130; Wilkens 2021: 651). According to Birtalan (2004: 967, 1043–1044), after the conversion to Buddhism the term *šulmas* or *šimnus* was incorporated into Mongolian Buddhism and folk religious mythology, often used as a synonym for *manggu*. It is therefore not strange that cognates of Mong. *šulmas* or *šimnus* are well documented in Steppe Sayan Turkic<sup>2</sup> but do not occur among Taiga Sayan Turkic varieties which are minimally influenced by Buddhism.<sup>3</sup>

Sayan *šulbus* ~ *šulmus* are characterized by having a horrible physical appearance whose predominant features include, as we have just seen above, a copper<sup>4</sup> nose and copper nails, a single cyclopic eye on the forehead, long breast and protruding entrails. *Šulbus*’ copper nose is multifunctional. Whereas in the fairy tale above *šulbus kaday* uses it for fanning the flames, in other versions she may employ it to suck blood from her victims. For parallels to the Mongol supernatural creature *mayu šibayun*, see Birtalan (2004: 1007–1008).

2 Tuhan (Uygar-Uriankhay), belonging to Steppe Sayan Turkic and spoken by less than 10 speakers in the Tsagaan Üür County to the East of Khövsgöl lake (Ragagnin 2018 and 2018a), departs from the rest of Steppe Sayan Turkic displaying the form *šulam* a rather recent loan phonetically quite close to Khalkha Mongolian.

3 Taiga Sayan Turkic comprises Tofan, the Toju variety of Tuvan and some varieties of the Tere-Khöl area, as well as Soyot of Buryatia and Dukhan in Northern Mongolia. For a general view on Sayan Turkic, see, a.o., Ragagnin (2011: 23–28).

4 Walter Heissig had already pointed out that the copper nose represents a highly important folkloric isogloss connecting Europe with Inner Asia; for instance, the demoniac *Frau Perchta* of the Old Germanic folklore was also called *Schnabelperch* i.e. ‘beaked Perch’ or *Eisenber[ch]ta* i.e. ‘iron-Ber[ch]ta’. In-depth researches on Eurasian connections in this regard are urgently needed. Besides, the designation of the ancient Mongol demonesses as *jes qungsi-yartai* ‘copper-nosed’ clearly points to the use of copper shaman masks (2007: 97–98).

At hand are also the features that Mongolic and Sayan Turkic *šulbus* ~ *šulmus* share with the Mesopotamian female demons Lilith and Lamaštu. They are all female evil demoniac beings of the succubus type depriving men of their sexual vigour by joining them during sleep and a *lamia* who kidnaps small children and/or sucks their blood; see, a.o., Capelli (2012).

In the documented Sayan Turkic oral literature, the term *šulbus* ~ *šulmus* may also occur together with *albīs* as a compound as seen in the passage below from Erika Taube's Altai Tuvan materials:

Als ich einmal auf der Jagd war, stand in einer menschenleeren Gegend eine große weiße Jurte. Ich trat ein und ließ mich, ohne es zu wissen, mit einem Almys-Schulmus, einem furchtbar häßlichen Wesen ein. Gibt es noch irgendein Mittel, mich zu retten? Der Lama schlug seine heilige Bücher auf, warf seine Würfel und sagte dann: "Die, mit der du dich eingelassen hast, ist ein mächtiges Schulmus-Weib, sie wird dich ganz und gar zugrunde richten. Du bist in großer Gefahr, und es wird schwierig sein, dich wieder von ihr zu trennen. Wenn überhaupt ein Entkommen möglich ist, dann nur durch die Kraft des Burgans. Wir müssen eine List anwenden, sonst wird sie dich nicht freilassen." Und der Lama fuhr fort: "Es gibt einen Weg zur Rettung. Ziehe ihr ein einzelnes Haar heraus und bringe es her! Wenn Dir das gelingt, dann wird sich schon ein Ausweg finden lassen!" [...]

From the fairy tale 'Das Gift des Schulmus-Weibes und die Macht des Burgans',  
TAUBE 1977: 36

Sayan Turkic *albīs* are not gender-specific. Depending on the situation, *albīs* can be a beautiful woman for a man or an attractive man for a woman (Aleksseev et al. 2010: 27). Among the Altay Sayan Turkic peoples of China *almīs* and *jes tirgak*<sup>5</sup> are synonyms of *šulbus* ~ *šulmus* (Yuša 2018: 179).

Etymologically, Sayan Turkic *albīs* 'she-devil' has a Mongolic origin. It derives from *albin* 'demon, devil, evil spirit' augmented by the plural suffix -s. Cognates occur throughout Mongolic and beyond; see Khabtagaeva (2009: 190 and 2019: 101), Nugteren (2011: 267) and Birtalan (2004: 939–940). For the relation between *albīn*, *albīs* and the female demon *albasti*, especially dangerous for women in childbed, see Doerfer (1965: 109–110), Tatarincev (2000: 97–98), Johansen (1959), Dyrenkova (2012) and Dallos (2019). Interestingly enough, in Dukhan the term *ävlin*—a metathesized Oyrat Mongolian form—may be used

5 The corresponding Kazakh term is *žeztirmaq* 'witch with metal claws' (Shnitnikov 1966: 99a).

by some speakers as a synonym of *Badəxšaan*, a small, elf-like blond forest creature of the high Taigas, that secretly drinks reindeer milk in the night. Before going back to the forest, it may paint a reindeer's tail and stomach with red colour or twist its horns, showing thus supernatural strength. Sometimes, it may also put a flowery collier around reindeer's neck.<sup>6</sup> For Dukhan culture, *Badəxšaan* clearly is a kind of Boogeyman. Dukhan parents generally warn their small children not to play outside when it is dark because *Badəxšaan* may join them to play with and abduct them. For some other Dukhan speakers, however, *ävlin* is characterized by supernatural strength and evilness in its deeds, though sharing some common traits with *Badəxšaan*. For more details, see Ragagnin (2018b).

Yakut data are also extremely interesting in this respect. As already pointed out by Doerfer (1965: 109), Yakut appears to display two different terms related to *albīs*, namely *abaahī* 'demon'—displaying clearly taboo-induced phonetic distortion—and *albas* 'xitrost', ulovka' (Slepcov 1972: 37a). On the other hand, Yakut *albīn* 'xitryj, xitroct', obman'' (Slepcov 1972: 37b) and *ilbis* 'Hinterlist, hinterlistig, Blutgier, Kriegsgeist' (Stachowski 1995: 129–130) are generally traced back to Mongol *albin* and *ilbi*, respectively; further, see Stachowski (1993: 31), Kałužiński (1961: 56, 170) and Räsänen (1969: 170–171).

Finally, in other fairy tales we encounter *jelbege* ~ *čilbaya*. See the following selected passages from Erika Taube's Altai Tuvan materials from Mongolia:

Einmal fingen die drei Brüder einen Hasen. Sie schenkten ihn ihrer einzigen jüngeren Schwester, damit es ihr nicht so langweilig sei. Eines Tages hatte das Mädchen mit dem Hasen gespielt und nicht auf das Feuer achtgegeben. Sie fürchtete sich, aber da fiel ihr ein: Erzählt man nicht, dass ein Wesen, das man Dschelbege nennt, immer Feuer habe? Sie ging einen großen Fluß entlang, und während sie so ging und ging, sah sie aus einem mit Rinden bedeckten Dschadyr Rauch aufsteigen. Sie trat ein, und da saß die alte Dschelbege, benutzte eines ihrer Ohren als Bett und das andere als Decke. "Gutes Kind, woher bist du gekommen?" fragte sie, und das Mädchen nannte ihr den Grund: Sie sei ausgegangen, um Feuer zu finden. Jede sprach: "Iß erst etwas, dann nimm dir Feuer und geh!" Sie rief ihre beiden Hündinnen, die gelbe und die schwarze; häßliche böartige Wesen, stellte den Zinkessel zurecht, und als die Hündinnen sich schüttelten,

6 One of my Dukhan peers told me that his mother saw *Badəxšaan* on a rock by a river combing its long blond hair. This Siberian picture surely reminds us of Loreley sitting on a cliff above the river Rhine.

fielen so viele Läuse in den Kessel, daß er voll wurde. Die briet die Dschelbege für das Mädchen. Nachdem es gegessen hatte, zerstach die Dschelbege den Rochschoß des Mädchens, schüttete Asche hinein und legte die Glut oben darauf. Das Mädchen lief nach Hause. Aber wo die Asche, eine Spur bildend, durch den zerstochnen Rochschoß auf den Boden fiel, sprossen junge Weiden hervor. Am nächsten Tag kaum waren die Brüder zur Jagd aufgebrochen, kam die Dschelgebe-Alte, die auf einer geflückten Hündin dieser Spur gefolgt war, zur Jurte und sprach: "Sind deine Krüppel da? Ist dein Blinder da? Elendes Weibsbild, gib einen deiner kleinen Finger hin." Die Dschelbege sog und sog und ging zurück. Als die Brüder heimkehrten, hatte das Mädchen alle Farben aus dem Gesicht verloren. Auf ihre Fragen antwortete sie jedoch nicht [...].

From the fairy tale 'Er Agyyn', TAUBE 1977: 28

Am Abend fesselte man der weißen Kamelstute die Füße, aber am Morgen war sie fort; sie war und blieb verschwunden. Baj Nasar brach auf und suchte die weiße Kamelstute. Als er zum Chushurlug Chuduk kam, lag die Kamelstute auf der Erde und neben ihr eine Dshelbege, die sich mit einem ihrer Ohren zugedeckt hatte und das andere Ohr als Bett benutzte. Er rief "Großmutter, Großmutter, stehe auf und bring dieses Kamel her!" Sie antwortete: "Nein! Denn wenn ich aufstehe, kann ich mich nicht setzen, mein Sohn, und wenn ich sitze, kann ich nicht aufstehen. Steig du vom Pferd und nimm dir selbst das Kamel!" Als er abgestiegen und gerade dabei war, das Kamel fortzuführen, packte die Dschebege den Alten und sprach: "Ich werde dich fressen!" [...].

From the fairy tale 'Baj Nasar', TAUBE 1977: 46–47

[...] So vor sich hinredend, sass die Dschelbege, bei der Jurte und bekam Lust, irgendeinen von den vieren zu fressen. Nach einer Weile griff sie sich das Mädchen Gestikbej, verschlang es und rannte fort. Am nächsten Tag, als die Dämmerung hereinbrach, näherte sie sich wieder, warf einen Blick durch ein Loch in der schwarzen Jurte, und nachdem sie, wieder die gleichen Worte vor sich hinmurmeln, ein Weilchen gewartet hatte, verschluckte sie auch den Knaben Ottukbaj und lief davon [...]

From the fairy tale 'Die beiden Alten mit den Sieben gelben Ziegen', TAUBE 1977:

102<sup>7</sup>

7 For further Altai-Tuvan fairy tales, see Taube (1978).

Cognates of Altai Tuvan *jelbege* are found throughout steppe and taiga Sayan Turkic, e.g. Tofan *čil-baya* ~ *čel-baya* ‘čjort, oboroten’ (Rassadin 2016: 515), Soyot *čel-baya* ‘ved’ma’ (Rassadin 2006: 156), standard Tuvan *čilbīga* ‘čudovišče; oboroten’ and *čilbīga kaday* ‘ved’ma, baba-jaga’ (Tenišev 1968: 555a).<sup>8</sup>

As for the etymological trajectory of this term, Rassadin (1971: 197) traced it back to Old Turkic *yél* + *böke* (cf. Clauson 1972: 324b), a form that is documented in Maḥmūd al-Kašgarlī’s *Diwān Luyāt at-Turk* ‘Compendium of the Turkic Dialects’ (Dankoff and Kelly 1985: 221). The same etymology is presented by Ölmez (2007: 118a). Neighbouring South Siberian Turkic languages provide further interesting comparative materials. In Khakas for instance, the verbal stem *čilbi-* has two meanings, namely ‘wave about’ and ‘shamanize, ban an evil spirit’,<sup>9</sup> whereas the term *čilbigen* refers to a monster occurring in fairy tales (Subrakova 2006: 966b). In Sagai folklore, among the supernatural emissaries there is also the seven-headed *čelbegen* (Chadwick and Zhirmunski 1969: 109). On the base of such data, a further etymological option would consider *čelbegen* or *čelbege* a deverbal formation from *čelbe-* ~ *čilbi-* (cf. Old Turkic *yelpi-* ‘to fan, to winnow’ [Clauson 1972: 920a; Wilkens 2021: 886]), augmented by the suffix *-GAN* or *-GA*, denoting subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs; cf. Erdal (1991: 376–387).<sup>10</sup>

My final issue concerning *albin*, *albīs*, *jelbege(n)* and Old Turkic *yelvi* is simple and straightforward: may they all originate from one and the same term, namely from a reflex of the ultimately Greek term *δίαβολος* i.e. the true personification of evil with the mediation of another language? Could the intermediary be Syriac, the language of Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia?<sup>11</sup>

As already proposed by Erdal (1991: 336, fn. 383) “Old Turkic *yelvi* (‘sorcery, witchcraft’) must have been borrowed from an Early Mongol form such as *elbe*(+ *sün*) corresponding to Written Mo. as *ilbe*, *ilbi*, with an initial *y* added, possibly, by analogy with *yel*. Early Turkic *yelvi*, \**yelbi* was borrowed back into

8 The Tuvan term *čilbak* ‘grjaznij, čumazyj’ (Tenišev 1968: 555a) i.e. ‘scruffy’, also occurring in *čilbak-kis* ‘scruffy girl’—the name of an imaginary hero who was given a female name with clear apotropaic function—may also be a related term. Our witches generally have rather untidy and ruffled hair.

9 Extended meanings may also include ‘to perform magics and sorcery’.

10 Whether Tuvan *čilbīy-* ‘stanovit’sja grjaznym’ (Tenišev 1968: 555b) belongs here is arguable.

A connection may also exist with Kazakh *žalma-* ‘to eat greedily’ and *žalmawız* ‘glutton, voracious’, often occurring in folkloric texts (Shnitnikov 1966: 90a); cf. *Dschalmaus* literally translated by Radloff (1870: 154) as ‘snap-mouth’, and referring to a monster which licks men up and swallows them.

11 On East Syrians activities, see, a.o. Borbone (2015).

Written Mo. as *yilbi* [jilbi], *yelbi*, *yilvi* [jilvi].<sup>12</sup> Considering that pre-8th century Mongolic presence is *now* attested in written records (see Vovin 2018), Marcel Erdal's option is very likely.<sup>13</sup>

Now, what if, Syriac *d.b.l.s* (← Greek *δίαβολος*), which, though not occurring in Central Asian Christian sources analysed by Sims-Williams (2016) but nevertheless attested in the work of the East Syrian (Nestorian) lexicographer Bar Bahlūl (Reynolds 2004: 682), would be our main lexical source? Various steppe peoples including Turkic and Mongol groups might have employed such an originally Greek word mediated by Syriac to refer to various kinds of supernatural beings and/or phenomena. The Syriac cognate of Greek *δίαβολος* is considered by various scholars to be the source of *iblis* 'devil' occurring in the Quran.<sup>14</sup>

The first three consonants *d-b-l* easily yield to forms such as *yelvi* / *ilbi* / *jilbi* etc. The last consonant *-s* may have been considered as a plural marker and thus dropped or substituted by the singular marker *-n*.

A cognate of *d.b.l.s*. may have independently entered Old Turkic or, as already proposed by Erdal (1991) was copied from Early Mongol into Old Turkic.

Possibly, the Syriac term was borrowed twice: one copy had front syllables (*yelvi* / *ilbi* / *jilbi*) and developed semantics connected to 'sorcery, witchcraft, magics and tricks', whereas the other had back syllables (*albīn*, *albīs*, etc.) and came to define more specifically evil beings such as devils and demons, thus enriching Inner Asian languages with another demoniac term.

Finally, I wonder if incantation bowls and/or various kinds of amulets, found copiously in Mesopotamia, and often portraying the demons to be protected from, such as Lilith, may have played a role in this concern.<sup>15</sup>

12 For a different etymological explanation, see Uçar (2012).

13 Generally, otherwise, the direction of borrowings is Turkic → Mongolic. Mongol loans in Old Turkic are very few; one example is *balbal* (Schönig 2003: 405–406).

14 In the Quran two are the terms in use for the Devil: *al-šayṭan* and *iblis*, depending on the different roles played by the Devil. *Al-šayṭan* is used when the Devil is "the tempter", who leads Adam to sin, whereas the term *iblis* (without article) is used to describe the Devil as "the Rebel" who refuses God's command to bow to Adam (Reynolds 2004: 680).

As for *iblis* there is no straightforward and accepted etymology. A widespread view considers *iblis* a loanword in Arabic ultimately from Greek *δίαβολος* the term in use for the Devil in the New Testament. Mingana argued that this lexeme did not enter directly from Greek into Arabic, but rather passed through Syriac *dbls* (as *dīblūs* or *diyābūlūs*); further see Reynolds (2004) and Wensinck and Gardet (2012).

15 For instance, for Manichean incantation bowls, see Canepa (2011).

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## Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	NEG	negative
CB	converb	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	POST	postterminal
DER	derivation	PTC	particle
DIR	directive	SG	singular
EVID	evidentiality	VBN	verbalnoun
GEN	genitive		

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# A Recently Discovered Inner Mongolian Pentatonic Fifth Shifting Tunes, and Their Turkic and Hungarian Connections

*János Sipos*

Several tunes of the old Hungarian pentatonic musical layers descend from the octave.<sup>1</sup> In some of these, the descent is free, while in others quite regular repetitions and transpositions can be observed. Fine examples of these regular forms are the *fifth shifting* tunes the second half of which are four notes lower than the first one. In this paper, I am going to outline the spread of the pentatonic fifth shifting tunes and the interrelations of major fifth shifting styles.

The first to describe the Hungarian fifth shifting tunes was Béla Bartók.<sup>2</sup> Zoltán Kodály gave a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of fifth transposition, adding Cheremis and Chuvash analogies to the Hungarian tunes.<sup>3</sup> The investigations of László Vikár and Gábor Bereczki in the Volga-Kama region proved that the fifth transposition only prevailed on both sides of the Cheremis-Chuvash border, within a strip of some 100 km in width, gradually

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- 1 Unless otherwise stated, I use the term pentatonic for different pentatonic scales without semitones.
  - 2 Bartók listed the typical cadences (line ending tones) and noted that the tunes of A<sup>5</sup>B<sup>5</sup>AB structure often had variants close to the ABCD form, and vice versa. Bartók discovered the fifth-transposing structure in Slovak folk music and established that Cheremis tunes displayed a peculiar structure, which corresponded to the A<sup>5</sup>B<sup>5</sup>AB scheme in essentials. He presented three such tunes in the Appendix (Bartók 1924: 285). “In essentials” meant that all three Cheremis tunes had A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>4</sub>AB structure, which acquired the scheme of A<sup>5</sup>B<sup>5</sup>AB when the first half was transposed an octave higher. According to László Vikár’s on-the-spot observations, these two forms are not separated by the Cheremis and the pitch of the starting note determines whether A<sup>5</sup>B<sup>5</sup>AB or A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>4</sub>AB will be sung, and unlike in Hungarian music, the A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>4</sub>AB form is more frequent.
  - 3 Although most of his examples are from the Volga-Kama region, Kodály did not restrict the possibility of analogies to this area. However, relying on the fifth shifting tunes, the A<sup>5</sup>BAB and A<sup>4</sup>BAB forms and other parallel tunes, he concluded that “certain basic elements of music may evolve similarly among different groups of people living far from one another without contact ... Such conspicuous essential correspondence of melody structure, phraseology, rhythm as these, however, cannot be a matter of chance. We must presume a common source” (Kodály 1937: 37).

disappearing with the growing distance.<sup>4</sup> Extending this finding, Lajos Vargyas noted that this style was missing from the folk music of Mordvins, Votyaks, Bashkirs as well as the Kazan and Miser Tatars.<sup>5</sup>

Bence Szabolcsi added analogous Kalmuck, Baikal Mongol and Chinese melodies to illustrate fifth transposition<sup>6</sup> and he tied the Hungarian style to “a peculiar stylistic variant of pentatony which predominated all great cultures everywhere: that of Inner Asia”. He also spoke about more general melodic parallels between the pentatonic layers of Hungarian folk music and the folk music of a vast area connecting many peoples and cultures.

Let us summarize the findings. In West Europe there are only traces of sporadically occurring non-pentatonic fifth transposition, while among our neighbors (Moravians, Slovaks) fifth transposition is mostly a secondary development upon Hungarian influence. In Hungarian areas there are numerically few but widespread tunes representing fifth shifting. Further away, in the Volga-Kama-Belaya region, around the Cheremis-Chuvash border lives a flourishing fifth shifting style, whereas it is practically unknown in adjacent areas to it. One can find individual tunes in Peru, for example, that almost perfectly coincide with some Hungarian fifth shifting tunes.<sup>7</sup> In addition, sporadic fifth transposition can be come across in Mongolia and China as well.<sup>8</sup>

4 There was a long polemic about the genetic relationship of Hungarian and Volga-Kama region fifth transposition. Vikár (1993: 167–168) writes: “Undoubtedly there are a few descending or clearly fifth shifting Hungarian pentatonic tunes that have close Cheremis or rarely Chuvash analogies. ... is that sufficient ground to conclude that there is direct kinship here? ... e.g., the Hungarian ‘peacock’ motif is simple and natural which might appear, without any special external influence, in the Cheremis, Chuvash, or, for that matter, Mongolian, Celtic or Indian musical language which are so-far known to be exclusively pentatonic.” He argues that an area of great migrations like the Volga region cannot easily preserve very old elements, and what is more, the Cheremis people of archaic eastern culture do not know fifth transposition. He deems it unlikely that a style such as fifth shifting along the Cheremis-Chuvash border could flourish for millennia. By contrast, Lajos Vargyas (1980: 28) says, “there is such a great degree and mass of similarity between Hungarian and Volga-region fifth shifting styles and tunes with fifth transposition that they must be attributed to a common origin.”

5 Vargyas (1980: 13) writes, “Quite different from the folk music styles of these peoples is the narrow strip of land south of the Volga, along the Cheremis-Chuvash border where broadly arched pentatonic fifth shifting tunes predominate almost exclusively the music of both ethnic groups.”

6 Szabolcsi (1979: 107–109). Of them, Kodály also referred to the Chuvash, Baikal Mongolian and Kalmuck tunes (1939–1976: 97).

7 E.g. a song from Peru: ||: G-G-G-G | F-F-F-D | C-C-F-G | D :|| F-D-C-D | bB-bB-bB-G, | F-F-D-C | bB || F-D-C-D | bB-bB-bB-G, | F-F-D-C | G, ||, Ördög (1997: 114).

8 C. Nagy (1947: 76, 80–81), Szabolcsi (1979: 107–108), CMPH VIII/A: 12.

## 1 Fifth Transposition in the Music of Turkic Peoples

Let us first examine if there are pentatonic fifth shifting tunes in the folk music of Turkic groups.<sup>9</sup>

Only traces of pentatonic scales can be discovered in *Anatolian Turkish* folk music, and only a few tunes of the fifth shift structure were spotted in the whole studied stock.<sup>10</sup> They, too, were mainly two-line forms with some natural correlations between the first part descending to D and the second descending to G, including, accidentally, partial fifth shifting as well (figure 28.2Aa).

Not even a trace of the fifth shift structure can be discovered in the folk music of *Azeri Turks* singing mainly narrow-range diatonic tunes.<sup>11</sup> That is no surprise, as in Azerbaijan an Iranian and Caucasian substrata became gradually Turkified.

The same applies to the folksongs of the *Mangishlak Kazaks* on the other side of the Caspian Sea.<sup>12</sup> Neither pentatony, nor the fifth shift could be discovered in this southwestern Kazak area where narrow-compass diatonic tunes are predominant.

At the same time, the music of the *Karachay* and *Balkar* people on the northern side of the Caucasus includes fifth shifting tunes.<sup>13</sup> However, because of their melody contour, diatonic scale,  $\frac{3}{4}$  meter, singing in third and the vocal harmonic accompaniment these tunes are fundamentally different from the fifth shift melodies in Hungarian and Volga-Kama region music (figure 28.2Aa, b).

In the stock of *Tatar* and *Bashkir* pentatonic melodies parallel motion, and the repetition of melody sections a fourth or fifth lower is frequent.<sup>14</sup> The music of these peoples includes the potential of the fifth shift, yet the fifth

9 Since no many synthesizing monographs are available of the music of these peoples, it is theoretically possible that there are fifth shifting tunes where I have not found them. However, the spectacularness of the fifth shifting tunes makes it unlikely that none would be included in Turkic folksong collections with many thousands tunes I overviewed.

10 I collected 1500 tunes in Anatolia in 1987–1993 and published three books in connection with my collection (Sipos 1994; 1995; 2000). I have returned there almost every year since, presently studying the music of the Alevi-Bektashi and the Anatolian Karachay people.

11 I collected some 600 tunes among the Azeris, the closest language kin of the Anatolian Turks, in 1999 (Sipos 2004) and studied the available Azeri publications e.g. AHMT-2, Isazade-Mammadov (1975), Krader (1966).

12 In the county of Mangishlak of southwestern Kazakhstan I led a folk music expedition in 1997 (Sipos 2001).

13 I collected some 600 tunes among Karachays in the Caucasus and Turkey.

14 Sources of the cited tunes: Nigmedzjanov (1970; 1976; 1983) and Vikár-Bereczki (1999). I collected from Tatars staying in Szeged in 1996, and also in Turkey.

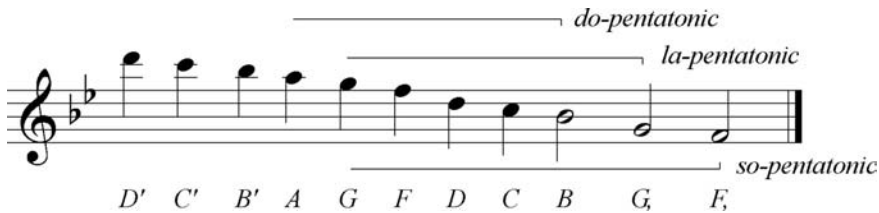


FIGURE 28.1 Scales and notes

shifting style has not developed here. In our example, the second half of the tune follows the first at approximately 4–5 notes away (figure 28.2Aa, c).

The *Mongolian Kazaks* live some 3000 miles east of the Kazaks of Mangishlak, in West Mongolia.<sup>15</sup> The language of the two Kazak populaces is practically identical, yet their music is utterly different. The Mongolian Kazak tunes move along pentatonic scales, but the role of transposing melody lines or motifs is insignificant. Among the 400 tunes I studied, none included fifth shift. In figure 28.2A+Bb, d, several notes of the first section are repeated a fifth lower, but the contour of the second half of the melody deviates so markedly from the first that it cannot be taken for its transposition.

In the *Tuvan* material I examined there is no fifth shifting tune.<sup>16</sup> A single tune was found whose first melody section was repeated a fourth lower, but this repetition was not accurate, either (figure 28.2A+Bb, e).

Some scholars claim that the folk music of *Yellow Uyghurs* is 'like Hungarian folk music', because allegedly it contains many fifth shifting tunes.<sup>17</sup> In the publications and sound materials I have only found a few tunes in which at least partial fifth shifting could be discerned. One of them is shown in figure 28.2A+Bb, f.

Fifth shifting structure can only be sporadically found in *Kyrgyz* folk music.

Based on the examination of large materials, I can state that this kind of tunes are extremely rare or even nonexistent among the folksongs of Gagauz, Karaim, Nogai, Kumuk, Turkmen, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Uyghur, Siberian Turk and Yakut people.

15 I was acquainted with the songs of Kazakhs living in Bayan-Ölgiy (Mongolia) from the material of two expeditions and from publications, e.g. KA1 1983.

16 Kirgiz (1992).

17 I read the available articles of the Chinese musicologist Zhang Rei and his pupil Du Yaxiong, I have studied some 200 Yellow Uyghur tunes and listened to and transcribed the Uyghur tunes in the sound archives of the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Zhang 1985; Gong 1995; YUG). Gyula Décsi was kind to show me the article submitted by Du Yaxiong for the *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* during the Permanent International Altaic Congress in 1996. Csajághy's argumentation of 1998 about Hungarian-Uyghur tune analogies does not appear convincing.

*Anatolia*

a)

*Karachay-Balkar*

b)

*Tatar*

c)

FIGURE 28.2A Fifth shifting tunes of some Turkic-speaking people a) Anatolian (TRT: 1452), b) polyphonic Karachay-Balkar tune, c) partial Tatar fifth shifting with  $a^5$   $b$ - $a^5$   $c^4-5$ - $a$   $c^4-5$ - $a$   $c$  scheme of barring (Kljucarev 1955: no. 102)



*Mongolian Kazakh*

d)

*Tuvan*

e)

*A4*

*A*

*Yellow Uyghur*

f)

*A5-4*

*A*

FIGURE 28.2B Fifth shifting tunes of some Turkic-speaking people d) Mongolian Kazak's partial fifth transposition (KA1 1983: no. 242), e) Tuvan fourth shifting tune (Kirgiz 1992: no. 9), f) Yellow Uyghur partial fifth shifting

## 2 Fifth Transposition in Inner Mongolia

Having studied more than seven hundred Mongolian tunes, I found that about one-tenth of them display fifth shifting character.<sup>18</sup> The tunes are from members of the Mongolian *Baarin*, *Kharchin*, *Arhorchin*, *Keshikten* and *Khorchin* tribes living in Inner Mongolia close to the northern border of China.<sup>19</sup> Let us get acquainted with the most characteristic types of these tunes.

The G-D-C-G, descent dominates many Mongolian *la*-pentatonic fifth shifting tunes of two lines, which means that the sometimes quite varied melody line of the tunes has an important rest on these notes, usually the last longer tone of the sections or bars (figure 28.3).

There are several *la*-pentatonic fifth shifting tunes of four lines as well (see the | symbol that separates the lines/sections of the melodies). The overwhelming majority also have G-D-C-G, cadences (that is last important notes of the sections). Despite the similar cadences and the very strict fifth transposition (except the high beginning of the third line), the melodic line of these tunes display great diversity. Let us see a few examples. Fig. 28.4, a, begins low and has seven syllables to a line; the first lines of the tripodic (three bars in a line) fig. 28.4, b, begins higher, the lines of fig. 28.4, c, are longer and more varied and the sixteen-syllabic lines of fig. 28.4, d, move up even higher. However, the main pillars of the melodic line are the same.

The *sol*- and *do*-pentatonic fifth shifting tunes in Inner Mongolia usually comprise two lines, and the higher beginning of the second half is frequent here as well. In the *sol*-pentatonic group, a subgroup with F-C-B-F, inner cadences are salient (figure 28.5, a–b, and the four section 28.5, c). It is typical of the classic homogeneity of the regional style that transposing these tunes a note upward, we receive tunes with the predominant G-D-C-G, cadence scheme of *la*-pentatonic tunes, and often outline similar melody lines as well.

It is noteworthy that in the music of the Evenkis living in Inner Mongolia this musical style also plays an important role: some one quarter of the studied tunes in the Evenki volume includes fifth shift.<sup>20</sup>

18 MOSH, MO1, MO3. I use the phrase ‘fifth shifting character’ when I generally allude to tunes with perfect or partial fifth transposition.

19 Ligeti (1933) and MOSH.

20 29 of the 133 tunes in the EV volume.

a)

b)

c)

Detailed description: The figure displays three musical examples, labeled a), b), and c), each consisting of two staves of music written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). Example a) features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. Example b) includes a variety of note values, rests, and a triplet of eighth notes. Example c) is characterized by a steady eighth-note rhythm throughout. All three examples conclude with a double bar line.

FIGURE 28.3 Two-lined Mongolian tunes



FIGURE 28.4 Four-lined Mongolian *la*-pentatonic fifth shifting tunes with G-D-C-G, cadences but different melodic lines



FIGURE 28.5 Mongolian *sol*-pentatonic fifth shifting tunes with F-C-B-F, cadences. a–b) two lines, c) four lines

### 2.1 Comparison of Tunes Containing Fifth Shift

I compared the fifth shifting tunes of the Volga-Kama region, Inner Mongolia, and Hungary as to scale, form, cadences, melody motion and melody line. Lack of space prevents me from embarking on this comparison, just as I must ignore the *sol*- and *do*-pentatonic tunes now. What we look at more closely is the question, which are the common *la*-pentatonic fifth shifting melody groups in the music of different peoples.<sup>21</sup> Fifth shifting tunes can be characterized well by the line-ending notes and the motion of the first lines; hence the tunes are categorized based on these criteria.

21 The studied Hungarian pentatonic fifth shifting tunes are from Kodály (1937), the Chuvash



FIGURE 28.6 Group of C-D-F-G cadences, the first lines are convex

### 2.1.1 C-D-F-G, Cadences

The first lines of the tunes in this type are hill-shaped, the hill being a note higher in Cheremis and Chuvash songs.<sup>22</sup> These tunes realize quite similar musical ideas. As figure 28.6 shows, the Mongolian tunes present the idea in brief, the Evenki with few syllables but more ornaments, the Hungarian in balanced octosyllabic lines, and the Cheremis-Chuvash tunes with many syllables, which allow for greater freedom in the musical lines.<sup>23</sup>

and Cheremis tunes from Vikár-Bereczki (1971; 1979). The Mongolian and Evenki tunes are cited from MOSH, MO1 and MOE. The similarity between individual tunes is not too informative, but analogies between tune groups may be revealing. Therefore, I only considered tune groups that comprise at least three melodies being different to some extent but conveying the same musical core idea. Thus, the truly significant musical ideas that take several shapes are more powerfully represented, and the less significant ones are ignored to give salience to the point. It is to remember then that single examples to be quoted in the following represent a tune group of many similar tunes.

22 In this pentatonic style the single G-D step downwards does not cause two hills to appear in the Cheremis and Chuvash tune beginnings. This time the melody line moves between C and B', while in the tunes of the other Turkic groups B' is only included as a grace note.

23 Though the published forms are the typical ones, shorter Cheremis lines can also be exemplified (e.g., Vikár-Bereczki 1971: 1 No. 270), but even that is more animated than the Hungarian tunes. Let me note, however, that the Hungarian example Kodály cited (1937: 23) is



FIGURE 28.7 Tunes with D-D-G-G, cadences, the first lines are convex

### 2.1.2 D-D-G-G, Cadences

Convex shape(s) in the first line characterizes this group too, but in the music of the different Turkic populations these tunes constitute mixed, inhomogeneous groups. As figure 28.7 shows, Evenki songs have short lines, while Hungarian, Chuvash and Cheremis songs have lines of medium length. Some Cheremis tunes belonging here duplicate the first part, creating an  $A^5A^5_vAA$  structure repeated a fifth lower then.

### 2.1.3 F-D-B-G, Cadences

This kind of tune with the characteristic G-C-F motif<sup>24</sup> is prevalent in nearly every Hungarian area in numberless variants. Figure 28.8, a, illustrates that the fifth transposition is not always accurate in these Hungarian songs (that is why I present the whole melody). Figure 28.8, b, is first lines of a 13-syllable variant of the same tune. Among the rest of the studied ethnic groups this form does not constitute a considerable type. Though one finds a similar cadential scheme

also jumping up and down over as wide a range as the Cheremis-Chuvash songs, though in the latter an initial G-D step would never occur, starting the tunes normally with a leap upwards.

- 24 In some cases, line 2 ends on B. Besides, there are Hungarian fifth shifting tunes with F-D-B cadences whose first line is woven around the note G.



FIGURE 28.8 Group of F-D-B-G cadences with different motives

among the Cheremis tunes, their accents and convex melody lines are very different from the concave shape of the Hungarian tune at issue (figure 28.8, c).<sup>25</sup>

#### 2.1.4 G-D-C-G, Cadences

The first line of these Hungarian tunes consists of two valleys (fig. 28.9, a),<sup>26</sup> similarly to the North Chinese example (fig. 28.9, b). As to other Turkic groups the first line is usually undulated: begins upward from D, then sinks to C and rises to G again.<sup>27</sup> The second line traces the same shape with an additional descent to D. It is noteworthy, that there are many Evenki tunes of similar character consisting only of two short lines. By contrast, the majority of Mongolian and Cheremis tunes are four lined, their first lines presenting the undulated motion over many syllables (fig. 28.9, c, d, e). Chuvash songs of the same cadential scheme display a great diversity of melodic lines.<sup>28</sup>

25 E.g., Vikár-Bereczki (1979) no. 280.

26 At the end of the second valley there might be a slight descent.

27 Some Cheremis tunes in this cadential group have a convex first line or have wider compass than the Chuvash and Hungarian tunes. While the highest pitch of these Hungarian tunes is G or A, of the Chuvash tunes B' or rarely C'—excepting the real (exact) fifth shifting tunes where the highest note is usually A—one may find quite a number of Cheremis songs that linger on B' relatively long and step up to C' in the first line.

28 Vikár-Bereczki (1979: no. 303–310).



*magyar (Kodály 1937-76: No.9)*

a)  Musical notation for the Magyar cadence, consisting of two staves. The first staff starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). It contains a sequence of eighth and quarter notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar note values, ending with a double bar line.

*kinai*

b)  Musical notation for the Kinaï cadence, consisting of two staves. The first staff starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). It contains a sequence of eighth and quarter notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar note values, ending with a double bar line.

*mongol*

c)  Musical notation for the Mongol cadence, consisting of two staves. The first staff starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). It contains a sequence of eighth and quarter notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar note values, ending with a double bar line.

*mongol*

d)  Musical notation for the Mongol cadence, consisting of two staves. The first staff starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). It contains a sequence of eighth and quarter notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar note values, ending with a double bar line.

*cseremisiz*

e)  Musical notation for the Cseremisiz cadence, consisting of two staves. The first staff starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). It contains a sequence of eighth and quarter notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar note values, ending with a double bar line.

FIGURE 28.9 G-D-C-G, cadences with different motives

To sum up, in the three fifth-shifting areas *la*-pentatonic scale is the most frequent and the *do*-pentatonic is the rarest. In each *do*-, *sol*-, and *la*-pentatonic group the Cheremis and Chuvash melodies are closest to one another. In the most important *la*-pentatonic groups we see Cheremis, Chuvash and Hungarian tunes as well. The cadences F-D-B-G only occur in Hungarian and Cheremis tunes, while the G-D-C-G, cadences are important in the music of almost every

group studies above. As for *do*- and *sol*-pentatony, only the F-D-B-F, cadential group of the Evenkis is large enough, it does not form characteristic tune groups in the music of other Turkic people.

We can say that Cheremis and Chuvash fifth shifting melody styles are closest to each other, joined from farther away by the Hungarian style. On the other side is the Mongolian group, closely related to the Evenki tunes. The link between the blocks is constituted by *la*-pentatonic melodies with G-D-C-G, and, less dominantly by *sol*-pentatonic melodies with F-C-B-F, cadential sequence.

### 3 Conclusion

Can these similarities have cultural or ethnic background pointing beyond the musical ties?

The fifth-shift musical form, built on a semitone-free pentatonic scale, lives in three areas: Inner Mongolia (mostly Mongols), the Volga-Kama region (the area of the once Mongol-led Golden Horde), and Hungarian territories. Although I do analytical (contemporary) comparative folk music research, let me do a thought experiment in connection with the descending (and especially fifth shift) melodies of these three pentatonic areas.

Between the two ends of the steppe great migrations took place, mainly from east to west, some groups of the peoples living in the eastern areas reaching the western borders of the steppe, the foreground of the Caucasus, also Hungary, and even some European areas more to the west. It is quite possible that the peoples and tribes making up the Avar, the Mongols or the western Hun Empire included descendants of Inner Mongolian ethnic layers migrated westward after the collapse of these empires.<sup>29</sup>

It is also not unlikely that similarly to Turkic that became the *lingua franca* of the steppe the very impressive pentatonic music spread from east to west as a common areal music of the eastern steppe and underwent variations in the great Asian empires. The soldiers involved in the long imperial wars often

29 At the time of the Khazar Empire other Turkic peoples living in the foreground of the Caucasus and west of it, for example in areas where the Hungarians lived prior to their influx into the Carpathian Basin also had ancestors from the eastern edge of the steppe. This, in theory, also allows for the linking up of the fifth shifting structure in Inner Asian and Hungarian folksongs.

lasting for several years had plenty of time to learn songs from each other and develop the common pentatonic descending tune style.<sup>30</sup>

What is startling is that the fifth shift structure evolved within the descending pentatonic musical realm in the music of so few peoples, although in such a melodic melodies parallel motion between musical lines is frequent. What is more the distance between the lines easily might as well be a fifth, because this interval is not too large for a person with an average range of voice to repeat a bar or a musical phrase a fifth lower. These tunes are spectacular, to boot, and yet easy to learn because of the repetitions: some melodies consist of the repetition and transposition of a single motif. At any rate, within the descending pentatonic tune style the evolution of the fifth shifting tunes was a logical process that could have taken place independently at places far removed from one another.

As far as we know today, the phenomenon of pentatonic fifth transposition as a more complex style is found in three places: among the Hungarians, along the Cheremis-Chuvash border in both ethnic groups and among the Mongolians and Evenkis in Inner Mongolia. As has been revealed, besides the fundamental similarities there are also more or less differences between the Hungarian, Volga-Kama region and Inner Mongolian fifth shift styles.

Some say that fifth shifting on the Chuvash-Cheremis border is a Hungarian legacy, others claim that it may be a more recent development. Nor is it impossible that the fifth shift was brought along by the Bulgar Turks from the east preserved by the Chuvash people, a peripheral, non-Islamized Turkic tribe of the Black Bulgar Empire. The Islamic majority of the Black Bulgars assimilated to the conquering Turks speaking a language of the Kipchak type after the 13th century, hence ethnically they may live on in the Kazan Tatars. Indeed, the folk music of the Tatars including parallel pentatonic lines implies all potentiality of the emergence of a fifth shifting style, just the last spark is missing. Neither is it inconceivable that this musical form emerged in the Volga-Kama area upon some Mongolian influence.<sup>31</sup>

Although the Hungarian language is of Finno-Ugric origin, during the ethnogenesis considerable Turkic and other elements commingled with the Hungarian-speaking tribes.<sup>32</sup> For centuries, the Hungarian tribes mixed with Sabirs,

30 It cannot be a very ancient Mongolic-Turkic tradition as it does not occur with every Turkic group and besides, it is a highly advanced form.

31 Sinor (1967): "there are a lot of demonstrable Mongolic effects in the Finno-Ugric-Chuvash-Turkic basin around the Volga about which, as far as I know, little if anything has been written."

32 Archeological finds have revealed that in the Volga-Kama region and in the Ural the

Onogurs and Khazars, before three Kavar Türk tribes revolting against the Khazars joined them.<sup>33</sup> The ancestors of several peoples living within the Khazar Empire had come from the very Mongolian region where the now discussed fifth shifting style cropped up, and the same applies to the Avars found by the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin as well as to the Cumans and Pechenegs who joined them later. There were opportunities galore for Hungarians to get in touch with peoples descending from Inner Asian ancestors during their history and to learn and shape the pentatonic descending melodies.

In the ethnogenesis of the Hungarians the stress has been laid on Turkic elements, whereas the fifth shifting tunes were also sung by Mongolians and Evenkis in Inner Mongolia.<sup>34</sup> The Hungarian and Mongolian languages share some 250–300 words, some still in use today.<sup>35</sup> It is thought provoking to ponder Futaky's hypothesis (2001) claiming that "some elements of the disputed part of the late prehistoric, ancient Hungarian vocabulary may presumably derive from the Carpathian Avars who (also) spoke a precedent of today's Mongolian and Manchurian-Tungusic and came into contact with the Hungarians after the latter's settlement."

Linguists prove that there is some relationship between the Mongolian and Hungarian languages. It is now indifferent whether this relationship is direct or indirect, for if a larger stock of Mongolian words could make it into Hungarian at some point of time, then the musical interaction could equally take place.

When could this interaction take place? The first answer is that the Hungarians learned these songs from the Turkish tribes from whom most of their loanwords also belong. Theoretically, responses that explain the origin of these songs with substrata are also possible.

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nomadic way of life breeding large livestock appeared in the 4th c. AD, and the Kazan historians associate it with the first settlement of Turkic peoples. At any rate, the Hungarians were certainly reached by the waves of the Hunnish migration.

- 33 As Constantine writes, these tribes taught the Hungarians their own language, they also learnt Hungarian, and in the 10th century both languages were still in use. Similarly, via a transitional bilingual state did probably the integration of other Turkic and non-Turkic peoples take place.
- 34 As is known, various peoples including Mongols and Turks lived in the steppe empires. Researchers agree that in the course of their history Mongolic, Turkic and Manchu peoples were very closely related.
- 35 The majority only lives on as dialect words in both languages, or is extinct. Most researchers opine that in both languages they are Turkic loan words that passed into Mongolian after the long Mongolian-Turkic coexistence, and into Hungarian from a Turkic language related to Black Bulgars and to contemporary Chuvash, maybe before the settlement, as the most widely accepted theory claims.

There is growing consensus among historians that large masses of Avars in the Carpathian Basin survived the Frank and Bulgar campaigns ended in the early 9th century.<sup>36</sup> Ethnically and linguistically the Avars were not homogeneous, some researchers defining their language as Turkic, others as Mongolic.<sup>37</sup> This mixed population of ethnic fragments of various Turkic and Mongolic (later Slavic languages too) was met with by the conquering Hungarians.<sup>38</sup> If the Avars did sing pentatonic fifth shifting tunes, they might present us with another possibility to explain the link between the eastern and Hungarian pentatonic fifth shifting musical styles.<sup>39</sup>

I have to stress again that the above historical argumentations are theoretical experiments. There is no systematized musical material at our disposal that would be required to be acquainted with the contemporary folk music of the studied ethnicities. We must do—for good—without the material that the ancestors of the known ethnic groups sang before or at the time of the Hungarian settlement in the Carpathian Basin. Yet it can be presumed that some important musical styles preserve their essential features for a long time, which may hold up the hope of an insight into the musical past.

36 Although in 795 Charlemagne did subdue and then destroy the enormous Avar Empire on power for 300 years with its center in the Carpathian Basin, there is information that in 875, close to the Hungarians' influx and settlement the Avars were still living there under their own khagans and in areas which the Franks had not reached—e.g. the Great Plain or beyond the Tisza river—they were probably even more numerous.

37 Let me cite now Lajos Ligeti's opinion: "Here this language is said to be Turkic since Vámbéry; Pelliot thought it was Mongolic ... In view of the duality displayed by the anthropological and material cultural remains of the Avars, it is not unlikely that this duality also existed in the language." He also wrote that "Bayan's Avars actually spoke Mongolic; the rest spoke a peculiar Turkic (of Chuvash?) character" (Ligeti 1986).

38 Presumably "they were to constitute the masses, the bulk of the commoners under the new ruling people, the Hungarians" (Veszprémy 1996).

39 Of course, Turkic influence was received by the Hungarians after their settlement as well. Large crowds of Pechenegs of a Kipchak-Turkic tongue settled in the Hungarian Kingdom in the 11th–12th centuries. Some of the Cumans moved to Hungary in 1239 because of the advancing Mongols. Unfortunately, nothing of these peoples' music survives, or more exactly, there is no knowing what they contributed to the enrichment of the Hungarian folksong stock. The ethnic groups that arrived later also originated along the eastern border zone of the steppe just as the Mongols, other Turkic peoples or Avars, and it was perhaps because some layers in the music of the immigrant Cumans were similar to the musical strata of the people already living there that no trace of Cuman music has survived e.g., in the *Kúnság* region of Hungary.

## Abbreviations

AHM <sub>1</sub>	Bülbüľ Memmedov. 1977. <i>Azerbaycan Halq Mahnıları Vol. 1</i> [Azeri Folksongs 1]. Baku: Genclik.
AHM <sub>2</sub>	Bülbüľ Memmedov. 1982. <i>Azerbaycan Halq Mahnıları Vol. 2</i> [Azeri Folksongs 2]. Baku: Isig.
BEL	Beliaev, Viktor M. 1975. <i>Central Asian Music</i> . Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.
EV	<i>Evenki arad-un dayuu</i> [Evenki Folksongs]. Köke Qota. 1983.
KA <sub>1</sub>	<i>Mongolia qazaqtardın halq änderi</i> [Folksongs of the Mongolian Kazakhs]. 1983. Ölgıy.
MNT VIII/A–B	Vargyas Lajos (ed.). 1992. <i>A Magyar Népzene Tára VIII/A–B. Népdaltípusok 3</i> [Collection of the Hungarian Folk Music VIII/A–B, Folksong Types]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
MO <sub>1</sub>	<i>Joo-uda arad-un dayuu</i> [Folksongs of Joo-Uda Mongols]. Köke qota. 1981.
MO <sub>3</sub>	<i>Aju bajidal jang jangsıl-un dayuu</i> [Mongolian tradional songs]. 1981. Köke qota.
MOE	<i>Mongyol arad-un mingyan dayuu</i> [Thousand Mongolian folksongs]. Vol. 2. Köke qota.
MOSH	Emsheimer, Ernst. 1943. Music of Eastern Mongolia (collected by Haslund-Christensen). In: <i>Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of dr. Sven Hedin, VIII. Ethnography 4, The music of Mongols</i> , Stockholm: Tryckeri A.B. Thule.
TRT	Publications of the Turkish Radio and Television.
YUG	<i>Yu-gu, tung-xiang, bao-an, tu-zu melodies</i> . 1986. Beijing.

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## Turcica and Mongolica in Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī's *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*

István Vásáry

Muʿīn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī who dedicated his historical work to the Timurid Iskender, ruler of Fars and Isfahan (1409–1414), is one of the minor historians of the early Timurid period. His person was for long unidentified and called, in the wake of W. Barthold, as the ‘Anonymous of Iskender’. Until the beginning of the fourteenth century he closely follows Rashīd al-Dīn’s narrative in treating the events of the Chingisid states, but for the subsequent period he used some other independent source. Notwithstanding his negligence and unreliability in matters of genealogy and chronology, Naṭanzī’s work is a unique and valuable source for the fourteenth century. Since Jean Aubin’s edition of the Paris MS in 1957 the full text has been at our disposal. Already W. Barthold and V.G. Tizengauzen put forward the suggestion that the unusual abundance of Turkic and Mongolian phrases in the second part of the work treating the fourteenth century may be a hint that his source may have been a piece of native Turkic historiography. The latter, labelled by V.P. Iudin as ‘oral historiography of the steppe’, has the special value that it was to a great extent based on the oral tradition of the Turkic and Mongol nomads, so sometimes preserved a more authentic tradition than the outsider Persians and Arabs. This paper makes an attempt to follow this track of thought and prove by a few examples that Naṭanzī, in treating the events of the fourteenth century, heavily drew on native Turkic sources.

### 1 Introduction

Muʿīn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī who dedicated his historical work first to the Timurid Prince Iskender, ruler of Fars and Isfahan 1409–1414 (AH 812–817), then to the Timurid Shāhrukh, was one of the minor historians of the early Timurid period. His person was for long unidentified and called, in the wake of W. Barthold, as the ‘Anonymous author of Iskender’ (Аноним Искендера). But later, Barthold himself, on the basis of Davlatshāh’s *Tadhkara*, identified the unknown author with a certain Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī who also wrote

a by now lost biography of Iskandar. Nothing else is known about his person and life.<sup>1</sup>

Muʿīn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī's historical work was written eight years after Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī's chronicle and twelve years before Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāme*. Unlike the latter two works, it is an unofficial, independent version of Timur's history. Naṭanzī completed his work in Shiraz and dedicated it to Timur's grandson, Mirzā Iskandar b. ʿUmar shaykh b. Temür, lord of Fars in 1413–1414 (AH 816). Iskandar, who ruled in Fars in 1409–1414 (AH 812–817), was dethroned, expelled and blinded by Shāhrukh b. Temür, in 1414 (AH 817), and later, in 1415–1416 (AH 818) was killed by his brother Rustam. After the expulsion of Iskandar by his uncle Shāhrukh, Naṭanzī discarded the eulogy dedicated to Iskandar, and substituted it with a new one addressed to Shāhrukh which he offered to him in Herat.

There are two redactions of Naṭanzī's historical work which have been preserved in three copies, viz:

1. The London MS copied on 18 June 1463 (30 Ramadan 867 AH) (British Library, Or.1566);
2. The St. Petersburg MS copied on 12 May 1497 (10 Ramadan 902 AH) (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg [Институт Восточных рукописей Российской Академии наук, Санкт-Петербург], C 381; earlier 566bc);
3. The Paris MS, date of copying unknown (Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers 1651).

The London and St. Petersburg copies are almost identical, they must have been copied from a common original, presumably the copy dedicated to Iskandar. The Paris MS is shorter than the two others, the eulogy of Iskandar is missing and bears the title *Muntakhab al-tavārikh-i Muʿīnī* 'Selection of Histories by Muʿīn'; consequently it must have been copied from the newer version dedicated to Shāhrukh. The section concerning the history of the Jochid Ulus was published and translated into Russian, on the basis of the St. Petersburg MS by Tizengauzen (1941: pp. 232–242, \*126–138), while the Paris MS was published by Aubin (1957).

Concerning the early Mongol period Naṭanzī completely drew on Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārikh*, but for the later Mongol period and Timur's age he relied

1 On Naṭanzī and his work, see Bartol'd (1928: 54; 1973a; 1973b), Tizengauzen (1941: 126–138), Aubin (1336/1957), Romodin (1973: 112–113), Woods (1987: 89–93), Şafā Ḍabīḥallāh (1369/1990–1991: 481–482), Aka (1994: 8/n. 12; 9/n. 17; 10/n. 35; 16/n. 55; 29/n. 107; 31/n. 9; 102/n. 23), Kim (1999: 296) and Aigle (2014).

on some other unknown sources. According to Barthold 'the author made use, however, of the legendary tales on the history of the Jaghatāy Khāns to a greater extent than the other historians. The character of these tales show that they were taken from Mongolian or Uighūr sources, not Muslim; ...' (Barthold 1928: 54). Since Barthold it has become common opinion that these sources must have been the notes or chronicle of Uyghur scribes of the Chagatay khans. This is clearly demonstrated by the large number of rarely used Mongolian and Turkic words in Persian that are characteristic in the description of the events of the later Mongol period. It is also indicative that the Persian syntax is often disarrayed and there are traces of its being translated from Turkic. E.g. one of the most characteristic examples for that is the phrase *ilchīyān-i Urūs khān Kapak Mangghūt bāshliq* 'the envoys of Urus khan, with the Manghit Kepek at their head' (Tizengauzen 1941: 240<sub>29-30</sub>). The existence and use of Turkic sources is further corroborated by the fact that Naṭanzī uses a rather simple style uncharacteristic of Persian works of the period.

Beginning with Barthold, several scholars referred to the epic character of these 'foreign', i.e. Turkic sources (or source) utilized by Naṭanzī. His reports on the events sometimes greatly differ from those to be found at Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, but overlap with Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's reports preserved in 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī's *Maṭla'ī sa'dayn* ('The rising-place of the two lucky constellations'). Of course, there are certain events which are related only in one or two of these sources while missing in the other one or two. This authorizes us to suppose that another native Turkic source different from that used by Shāmī was also utilized in compiling these works (S.L. Volin *apud* Tizengauzen 1941: 126). Later, Ghaffārī (1564–1565) and Ḥaydār Rāzī (1611–1619) made extensive use of Naṭanzī's work or the original Turkic source used by all of them (the latter conjecture is less probable).<sup>2</sup>

It has long been recognized that Naṭanzī handled his sources in a most uncritical way. He was utterly careless in chronological matters, consequently most of his chronological data are erroneous and cannot be relied on. His genealogies are also sometimes confused and corrupted.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, his work contains precious pieces of data not to be found elsewhere, especially with regard to the Chagatay Ulus and the eastern half or the Left Wing of the Golden Horde.<sup>4</sup> Deweese also asserts that 'Naṭanzī's reliance upon oral mate-

2 For these Persian historians and the parts of their works concerning the Golden Horde, see Tizengauzen (1941: 210 composite ff. and 213 ff.).

3 For the shortcomings and confusion of Naṭanzī's genealogies, see Aka 1994 (see footnote no. 1 above); Sabitov (2008a; 2008b: 120–121).

4 For the earlier history of the Left Wing, see Allsen (1987). Sometimes Allsen too much relies on

rial, no doubt similar to the accounts collected by Ötemish Hājji, in many cases makes his work an important record of oral tradition (however dimly reflected), but has also rendered its chronological and genealogical details quite confused, ...' (DeWeese 1994: 117).

So it is beyond doubt that Naṭanzī heavily drew on native Turkic oral tradition but the problem remains how and whence he obtained that knowledge since southern Iran, i.e. Fars where he lived and served the Timurid court, seemed to be far away from the direct Turkic influence of the Jochid Ulus territories. The existence of some Turkic (Uyghur) chronicle that could have served as a source for Naṭanzī's information concerning the Jochid Ulus, was first mooted by Barthold (1928: 54) and repeated by others (e.g. Tizengauzen 1941: 126). This supposition would explain the special pieces of information and the abundant use of Turkic and Mongolian terms in the text but would leave another question without answer. Namely, a written chronicle even if based mainly on epic oral tradition shows some sort of coherence which is lacking in Naṭanzī's narrative. If one considers the *Chinggis-nāma* of Ötämish Hājji<sup>5</sup> it becomes palpable what I am aiming at. It was based on oral traditions and the author concentrated on collecting and fixing a consistent line of tradition. If the text errs it is generally not the author but the tradition itself which he presents, that is in blunder. Or, if a Persian historian of the Timurid period draws on various written sources, he tries to melt the different pieces of information into one, coherent whole; if his sources are reliable and he has a sharp critical sense and historiographic concept, his work can be utilized as a sound and creditable historical source. In the light of what has been said so far, the problem with Naṭanzī's *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh* is that it is neither a reliable source of the 'oral historiography of the steppe' nor a dependable source of Persian historiographic tradition. It is rather a medley of miscellaneous information collected from various sources and put together at random. So A. Gaev is partly right in claiming that 'Naṭanzī created rather a work of 'art' [*художественное произведение*], and in doing so he arbitrarily reinterpreted the scattered historical facts and topics that had become known to him and with the help of his fantasy compiled and assembled them into a uniform tableau' (Gaev 2002: 14). The second half of this statement can be fully approved of but I would doubt whether the term 'work of art' could be applied for the *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh*. To a certain extent each work of historiography can be regarded as a

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Naṭanzī's confused chronology, see DeWeese (1994: 93/n. 54). For the latest excellent monograph on the Left Wing, see Uskenbai (2013).

5 For all details concerning this unique work, see Iudin and et al. (1992). For the best latest edition, see Kawaguchi and et al. (2008).

piece of art, at least according to the Persian tradition and the authors' intents. But realizations often fall short of intents. While Juvainī's *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* can really be considered a real piece of art, in addition to and irrespective of its being a reliable, first-rate historical source, Naṭanzī's *Muntakhab al-tavārikh* is a mediocre work of Persian historiography not completely devoid of certain merits. These merits referred to latterly are mainly limited to some details taken over from the Turkic oral tradition and not found elsewhere.

So most probably no written Turkic source was directly at Naṭanzī's disposal who in all likelihood did not master any Turkic dialect to such an extent that could have enabled him to reading and understanding a Turkic text. That is why I find Zh. Sabitov's idea very productive who has recently put forward the suggestion that Naṭanzī's source on the Jochid Ulus could be an eyewitness who had fled or simply emigrated from the Jochid Ulus (Sabitov 2010: pp. 151, 154). Judging by the wealth of information concerning the Left Hand of the Jochid Ulus he must have been a former resident of the *Kök Orda* 'Blue Horde' (erroneously called *Aq Orda* 'White Horde' at Naṭanzī). The pieces of information culled from this person must have been put down in Persian translation either by himself or by somebody else. Naṭanzī must have acquired these Persian notes going back to Turkic oral tradition, and utilized them in compiling his historical work. That is why we find valuable details and precious crumbles of information in his text but the whole narrative and chronology is totally upside down.



1. First, I will review the contents of Naṭanzī's chapter on the Jochid Ulus,<sup>6</sup> taking into consideration both versions: the longer one preserved in the London (L) and St. Petersburg (StP) copies, and the abridged version preserved in the Paris copy (P). Then I will make a scrutiny concerning the number and character of all the Mongol and Turkic lexical elements occurring in this passage.

<b>Ṭabaqa-i avlād-i Jūchī khān va avḍā' va aḥvāl-i ishān</b>	68
Dhikr-i julūs-i Bātū	69
Dhikr-i julūs-i Barkāy	72
Dhikr-i julūs-i Mūngkā Timur	74
Dhikr-i julūs-i Tūdā Mūngkā	75
Dhikr-i julūs-i Tūqtā	77

<sup>6</sup> The numbers refer to the page numbers in Aubin's edition (Aubin 1336/1957).

<b>Zikr-i (shu'ba-i) salāṭīn-i Kuk Urdā</b>	82
Dhikr-i julūs-i Jānībīk khān ibn Uzbek khān	83
Dhikr-i julūs-i Birdībīk khān (ibn Jānībīk)	85
Dhikr-i julūs-i	
<b>Zikr-i shu'ba -i salāṭīn-i Āq Urdā</b>	88
Dhikr-i julūs-i Īrzan (ibn Sāsī Būqā)	88
Mubārak khvāja	89
Jimbāy	89
Dhikr-i julūs-i Ūrus khān ibn Jimbāy	92
Dhikr-i julūs-i Tīmūr bīk khān (ibn Muḥammad khān)	93
Dhikr-i julūs-i Tūqtāmīsh (ibn Tūy khvāja oghlān)	96
Dhikr-i julūs-i Tīmūr Qutlugh khān ibn Tīmūr bīk khān (ibn Muḥammad)	98
Dhikr-i julūs-i Tīmūr sulṭān (ibn Tīmūr Qutlugh ibn Tīmūr bīk)	99
Dhikr-i julūs-i Jalāl al-Dīn sulṭān (ibn Tūqtāmīsh)	100
Dhikr-i Chākīra oghlān	101–102

2. Now I proceed to an investigation of all the Mongol and Turkic lexical elements occurring in the passage on the Jochid Ulus.

- Turkic *bašliq* (BAŠLYQ) StP 240<sub>30</sub> 'at the head, beginning with'.
- Mongol *boljar* (BWLJAR) StP 241 'stipulation, contract, agreement, appointed time, term; rendezvous' (Lessing 119); 'Treffpunkt, Ort und Zeit eines verabredeten Zusammentreffens' (TMEN 1: no. 107).
- Mongol *boljavul* (BWLĠAWLAN) StP 242<sub>5</sub> '(reconnaissance) patrol; a squadron sent out to locate the enemy'; 'Spähtrupp; Abteilung, ausgesandt um die Feindlage zu erkunden' (TMEN 1: no. 111): attested only in Naṭanzī's text (P 425).
- Turkic *bulqaq* (BLQAQ) StP 231<sub>21</sub>, 234<sub>26</sub> / *bulġaq* (BLĠAQ) P 89<sub>9</sub> 'turmoil, anarchy; revolt'; 'Bürgerkrieg, Rebellion Unterworfenen' (TMEN 2: no. 768).
- Mongol *jerġe* (JRKH) StP 234<sub>21</sub>, P 89<sub>2</sub> 'sort, kind, category; class, rank; level; order degree; stage' Lessing 1045; 'Treiberkreis, milit.: kreis- oder halbkreisförmige Formation zur Umzingelung des Feindes; Rangstufe' (TMEN 1: no. 161).
- Turkic *Lipqa* (LBQA) StP 232<sub>6</sub>, 237<sub>27</sub>, 238<sub>6</sub> Turkic name for 'Lithuania'. A very early occurrence of this term is in Naṭanzī's work.—*az ḥadd-i Libqa ki nihāyat-i ma'mūra-i shimālast tā ḥudūd-i Kafa* (StP 237<sub>27</sub>).
- Turkic *ong qol va sol qol* (AWN K QWL W SWL QWL) P 87<sub>9–10</sub> 'left wing and right wing'.
- Mongol *oran* (AWRAN) StP 242<sub>14</sub>: *oran-i buzurg* 'throne [lit. the high place]' (TMEN 1: no. 43).—A partial Persian translation of Mong. *yeke oran* 'id.'.
- Turkic *Özi/Özü* (AWZY) P 78<sub>12</sub> 'the Dnieper'.

- Mongol *qadaġa* (QDĠH) StP 240<sub>6</sub> ‘strong order, urgent command’; ‘strenger Befehl, Dringlichkeit, Eile’ (TMEN 1: nos. 270, 271).
- Mongol *qubi* (QWBY) P 88<sub>17</sub>, (QWPY) StP 234<sub>19</sub> ‘part, share, portion; allotment; one’s own lot, concern, or affair; copy or issue (of a book, magazine, newspaper, etc.)’ (Lessing 976); ‘Anteil an Territorium, den jemand von einem Herrscher als Erbe oder Lehen erhält’ (TMEN 1: no. 294): attested only in Naṭanzi’s text (P 88<sub>17</sub>, StP 234<sub>19</sub>).
- Mongol *quriltay* (QWRYLTAY) StP 234<sub>11</sub> ‘assembly, gathering, meeting, congress’; ‘große Versammlung der mo. Magnaten, Thing’ (TMEN 1: no. 305).
- Mongol, Turkic, and Persian composite *soyurġamiši* (SYWRĠAMYŠY) *kardān* P 87<sub>27</sub> ‘to favour, to give grants’; *soyuryal*, *soyuryamiši* ‘the sovereign’s favour, grant (be it land or ranks and posts)’ from *soyurya*- ‘to show favour’ ‘Gnade erweisen’ (TMEN 1: no. 229).
- Mongol *sūbe* (SWBH) StP 234<sub>19</sub>, P 88<sub>17</sub> ‘Wall, umwallter Platz, Schutz, Grenze’ (TMEN 1: no. 227).—Mo. *sibege(n)*, *sibei* / *uu᠐ᠭᠡ* ‘tall fence, paling or enclosure of sticks or poles; palisade; barricade; mountains with sharp ragged summits; long pole for pushing a boat’ (Lessing 694) → West Mongol *šibe’e*, *šibē*. The phonetic structure of the different forms reflected in the Persian sources is worthy of attention. Instead of š- we find s-, and the vowel *ü*—in place of *i*—must have come about owing to the labializing effect of *b*.
- Mongol *süre’en* (SRAAN) StP 242<sub>3</sub> ‘war cry’;<sup>7</sup> cf. *süre*- ‘to awe, inspire fear’, *sürīj-e* ‘majestic, impressive, or frightening appearance’, *sürkei/sürekei* ‘terrible, frightening, terrific’, *sürlig* ‘threatening, awe-inspiring; majestic, magnificent, exalted’, *sürtei* ‘mighty, majestic, magnificent, impressive; daring; terrible, threatening’ (Lessing 745); ‘Kriegsgeschrei’ (TMEN 1: no. 221).
- Turkic *Ten* (TN) P 78<sub>13</sub> ‘the river Don’.
- Turkic *töre* (TWRA) StP 236<sub>14</sub>, 238<sub>18</sub> ‘customary law’.
- Mongol *ulus* (ALWS) P 89<sub>4</sub> ‘people, nation; country, state; empire, dynasty’ (Lessing 873); also TMEN 1: no. 54.
- Mongol *urdutmiši* StP 241<sub>20</sub> (recte: *udrutmiši*) (ARDWTMYŠY) *kardān* ‘to pretend to flee; to make a feint of flight’ ← *udurit*- ‘to ride forward, to ride to the fore’ P 87<sub>27</sub> ‘eine Scheinflucht machen’ (TMEN 1: no. 42); attested only in Naṭanzi’s text.
- Turkic *urug* (AWRWĠ) StP 234<sub>19</sub>, P 88<sub>16</sub> ‘progeny, offspring; descendant; clan’.

7 Tizengauzen (1941: 137, n. 2) read the word erroneously as SPRAAN, and could not interpret it properly.

- Turkic *yaġi* (YAĠY) P 737 ‘enemy; rebel’; ‘Feind, Rebell’ (TMEN 4: no. 1801).
- Mongol, Turkic *yasaq* (YASAQ) StP 238<sub>19</sub>, P 90<sub>10</sub> ‘the imperial law, law of Chinggis’; ‘rule, government, administration’ (Lessing 1039); ‘Ordnung’ (TMEN 1: no. 148; 4: no. 1789).
- Turkic *yïġin* (YĠIN) StP 234<sub>11</sub>, P 88<sub>6</sub> ‘heap, pile, mound; mass (of people)’; ‘Haufen’ (TMEN 4: no. 1938).
- Turkic, and Persian composite *yaylaqmiši* (YYLAQMYŠY) *kardan* P 78<sub>13</sub> ‘to have summer residence’; ‘übersommern, die Zeit im Sommerlager verbringen’ (TMEN 4: no. 1942), from *yaylaq* ‘Sommerresidenz (des Herrschers)’ (TMEN 4: no. 1941).
- Turkic *yurt* (YWRT) P 80<sub>3</sub>, 89<sub>2</sub> ‘home, country, territory’; ‘Wohnort’ (TMEN 3: no. 1914).

## 2 Conclusion

Twenty-five words and phrases were subjected to examination, twelve of them were of Mongolian and thirteen of Turkic origin. Three geographical names (*Özi* for the Dnieper, *Ten* for the Don, and *Lipqa* for Lithuania) are from the Turkic, and three Mongolian words can be found only in Naṭanzī’s work (*bolġavul*, *qubi*, and *udrutmiši kardan*). In sum: all of these data, the heavy presence of Turco-Mongolian terms in Naṭanzī’s text, some of them being their only occurrence in Persian texts, bear witness to the fact that Naṭanzī drew on Persian texts that must have been raw and rudimentary translations from a Turkic informant’s first hand report.

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## On Color Terms in Dagur

*Bayarma Khabtagaeva*

According to linguistic classification, Dagur is one of the archaic Mongolic languages. This language is unique: it is connected to the Old Mongol language Khitan, and, additionally, it has a close relationship with Manchu<sup>1</sup> and Solon Ewenki,<sup>2</sup> two Tungusic languages. The latter fact gave rise to the opinion that Dagur belonged in the Tungusic language family, which has a strong Mongolic influence (for details, see Poppe 1930 and 1934–1935).

Dagur does not have a standard variety. Today, the Dagurs live in China in four geographically separate groups: the Amur, the Nonni, the Hailar, and the Xinjiang. There is mutual intelligibility between the dialects of these groups, although there are differences between these varieties. The Nonni Dagurs speak the Butha and the Qiqikar dialects, while the other three groups use independent dialects (for more details, see Tsumagari 2003). Unfortunately, the four different dialect groups are not researched equally, with the Butha dialect of the Nonni Dagur from the northern group being best described (Todaeva 1986; Engkebatu 1983, 1984, 1985, 1988). The differences between the dialects have not been studied extensively either. To decide whether Dagur is a descendant of Common Mongolic or Para Mongolic, including Khitan, we should separate the native Dagur vocabulary from the Mongolic elements borrowed from other Mongolic languages and from Tungusic loanwords.

This paper is extension of the paper on *Etymological remarks on the Dagur body parts names*, which is now in a publication process (Khabtagaeva 2021). Another motivation to write this paper was an earlier published author's paper on Mongolic color names (Khabtagaeva 2001), where the Dagur data were not examined. In the present paper I focus on the general color terms and object color terms of Dagur from the etymological and morphological perspectives.

1 Earlier, Dagurs knew the Manchu language and the Manchu script was official until the 1930s (Todaeva 1986: 3–9; Tsumagari 2003: 129; Khabtagaeva 2012: 337–339).

2 The speakers of Dagur and Solon Ewenki live near each other in the western area of Manchuria, China. Historically, they lived in the Middle Amur region in the Zeya basin (now on the Russian side of the border) and in 1654 the Chinese Qing government moved them from their original homeland to the south (Janhunen 1997: 128; Khabtagaeva 2012: 337).

In total, fifty-three terms were collected from the works of Engkebatu (ed. 1983, 1984)<sup>3</sup> and Todaeva (1986) concerning the Butha dialect (referred to as Butha Dagur below), the materials of the present author's fieldwork<sup>4</sup> (2017 September, Hulunbuir China) and the dictionary compiled by Tumurdei and Tsybenov (2014) regarding the Hailar dialect (referred to as Hailar Dagur below).

## 1 The Etymological Background of Dagur Color Terms

From an etymological perspective, most terms are of Mongolic and Turkic origins, exhibiting the archaic and special Dagur phonetic features. This group also includes some Dagur words with internal development lacking in other Mongolic languages. A separate group involves Tungusic loanwords from Manchu and Solon Ewenki, and, in addition, few words are of unknown origin. There are also some re-borrowings, i.e. some Mongolic words were borrowed into Tungusic and then from Tungusic into Dagur.

### 1.1 *The Common Mongolic Color Terms*

There are basic and special color terms in Dagur. The first group includes color terms used with general meaning, while the color names of second one have limited use (e.g. horse color names). From an etymological point of view, the basic color terms are mostly of Mongolic or Turkic origin. The Turkic loanwords were borrowed in the early period, they are presented in almost all Middle and Modern languages.

### 1.2 *Basic Color Terms*

The terms of Mongolic origin have clear morphological evidence, the first two words below have the Mongolic suffix +*GAn*, which is a productive denominational noun suffix forming color names (Khabtagaeva 2001: 99) and numbers, e.g. *nigen* 'one' < \**ni* + *GAn*, *jiryuyan* 'six' < \**jir* 'two' and \**ju* 'three' + *GAn*, *doloyan* 'seven' < \**dolo* + *GAn*.

3 The data from Engkebatu's dictionaries is also checked in the index compiled by Alonso de la Fuente (2013).

4 I would like to thank my colleagues and friends from Charles University Prague Dr. Veronika Zikmundová and Dr. Veronika Kapišovská with whom I conducted the fieldwork. Also, I would like to thank all our consultants and contacts in Hulunbuir, China.

'White': Butha Dagur *čigān*, Hailar Dagur *čigā(n)*<sup>5</sup> < Mongolic \**čayan* 'white' < \**ča*+*GAn* {Mongolic suffix forming color names}:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *čayayan* ~ *čayan*; Secret History *čaqā'an*; LeidenV *čaqān*; Ibn-Muhanna *čayān*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *čayān* ~ *čaqān*; Hua-yi yi-yu *čaqān* ~ *čayān*; IstanbulV *čayān*; Zhiyuan Yi yu *čaqān* ~ *jaqan*; Literary Mongolian *čayan*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *cagān*; Buryat *sagān*; Kalmuck *cayan*; Onon and Manchurian Khamnigan *cagān* (Nugteren 2011: 298);

Mongolic → Tungusic: Solon Ewenki *čigān* 'white'; Manchu *čagan* 'white; white paper, document' (SSTMJa 2: 380–382; Doerfer 1985: no. 409; Rozycki 1994: 42); also cf. the early Mongolic loanword in Manchu *šanyan* ~ *šanggiyan* 'white; white smoke' and Sibe *šiaṇə*<sup>n</sup> 'white' (Okada 1962: 225; Rozycki 1994: 193; Zikmundová 2013: 221).

Possibly, the Dagur color name was directly borrowed into Tungusic Solon Ewenki. The change of initial syllable \**ča* > *či* in the Dagur form is unclear, it also peculiar for some Mongolic languages of Qinghai-Gansu region as Mongghul, Mangghuer, Baoan and Santa. This fact assumes the presence of another earlier form \**čigan* besides \**čagan*. The base of the Mongolic word is the form \**ča*, from which were derived other Mongolic words connected to color names were derived, e.g. *časun* (< \**ča*+*sUn*) 'snow', *čayasun* (< \**ča*+*GA(n)*+*sUn*) 'paper', *čayi*- (< \**ča*+*yi*-) 'to become white', etc. (Khabtagaeva 2001: 99, 115).

'Red': Butha, Hailar<sup>6</sup> Dagur *hulān* < Mongolic \**hulayan* 'red' < \**hula*+*GAn* {Mongolic suffix forming color names}:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *ulayān*; Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu *hula'an*; Yi yu *fula'an*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *hulā*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *hula'an* ~ *hulān* ~ *ulān*; LeidenV *hulān*; Rasulid Hexaglot *hulān*; Literary Mongolian *ulayan*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *ulān*; Kalmuck *ulan*; Buryat *ulān*; Onon Khamnigan *ulān* (Nugteren 2011: 363);

Mongolic → Tungusic \**hula* 'red': Siberian Ewenki dial. *hulama*; Solon Ewenki *ulān*, cf. *hulān* (Ivanovskij 1894: 33); Manchu *fulahun* ~ *fil-*

5 Cf. Hailar Dagur *čigā am* 'refined grain'; *čigā arg* 'milk vodka'; *čigā bal* 'sesame'; *čigā jarem* 'young fish, fry'; *čigā suaig* 'white wormwood'; *čigān mor* 'dun (colour of horse)'; *čigān muēgē* 'penny bun (lat. *Bolétus edulis*)'; *čigān nuwā* 'cabbage', etc. (Tumurdei and Tsybenov).

6 Cf. Hailar Dagur *hulān bargas* 'tamarisk (lat. *Tamarix*)', *hulān kuām* 'esophagus', *hulān hutām* 'newborn baby', etc. (Tumurdei and Tsybenov).

*giyan* ‘reddish’; Sibe *fulawū* (Okada 1962: 227; SSTMJJa 2: 343–344; Rozycki 1993: 80; Zikmundová 2013: 211).

The preservation of Middle Mongol initial *h-* in Dagur proves language as archaic, this is one of the important phonetic features in Dagur. Possibly, the Solon Ewenki form was borrowed from Dagur where the loss of initial consonant *h-* is an internal phenomenon in Solon (for more details, see Khabtagaeva 2012: 341). The base of the Mongolic word is *\*ula*, from which other Mongolic words connected to color were derived, e.g. *ulayi-* (< *\*ula+yi-*) ‘to become red’, *ulayan-a* (< *\*ula+GAnA*) ‘oxalis’, *ulabur* (< *\*ula+bUr*) ‘reddish’, etc. (Khabtagaeva 2001: 99, 106, 145).

‘Light blue’: Hailar Dagur *čengen* < Mongolic *čengkir* ‘light blue, bluish’ < *\*če+ngkir* {Mongolic suffix forming color names: Khabtagaeva 2001: 129} and *čegen* ‘white, whitish, light’ < *\*če+GAn* {Mongolic suffix forming color names}:

Middle Mongol *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *čengker* ~ *čengkir*; cf. also Literary Mongolian *čangkir*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *cenxer*; Buryat *senxir*; Kalmuck *tsäjkr*; Khamnigan *n.a.*;

+

Middle Mongol *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *čegen*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *cegēn*; Buryat *segēn*; Kalmuck *tsegēn*; Onon Khamnigan *cegēn*;

Mongolic → Tungusic: Manchu *šeyen* (< *\*čegen*) ‘snow-white, whitish’; cf. Sibe *šianǰa*<sup>n</sup> ‘white’ (Okada 1962: 227; Zikmundová 2013: 75).

The Dagur form *čengen* looks as a hybrid of Mongolic *čegen* and *čengkir*.<sup>7</sup> The base of color term is *\*če*, which is also clearly connected to *\*ča* and semantically designates ‘white, whitish’ color. Besides *čayan* (< *\*ča+GAn*) ‘white’, there is also *čegen* (< *\*če+GAn*) ‘light, whitish’, which proves the close connection between the terms. Cf. also other words connected to this color, e.g. *čeyi-* (< *\*če+yi-*) ‘to be snow white, to dazzle’, *čeyidem* (< *\*če+yi-dAm*) ‘a kind of kumiss’ (Khabtagaeva 2001: 127, 154). The relation of Tungusic Sibe form *šianǰa*<sup>n</sup> looks closer to Dagur than to Manchu *šeyen*.

7 The Mongolic color term was borrowed into Yakut *d’ängir* ‘virid; transparent, clear, bright, light’ (Khabtagaeva 2019: 255).

The next group of Dagur color names has a stable Turkic etymology. All these terms are also present in other Middle Mongol sources and Modern Mongol languages. They were clearly borrowed in the early period of Turkic-Mongolic linguistic contacts:

‘Gray’: Hailar Dagur *bor*<sup>8</sup> < Mongolic *\*boro* ‘grey, brown; dark, swarthy (face); plain, simple, ordinary; coarse, rough’ ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu *boro*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *buro*; Mukaddimat al-Adab, Rasulid Hexaglot *bora*; Literary Mongolian *boro*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *bor*; Kalmuck, Buryat *boro*; Onon Khamnigan *boro* (Nugteren 2011: 285);

Mongolic → Tungusic ‘gray’: Siberian Ewenki dial. *boro*; Solon Ewenki *boro*; Manchu *boro* (SSTMJa 1: 96; Doerfer 1985: no. 136; Rozycki 1994: 35; Khabtagaeva 2017: 67);

Mongolic ← Bulgar Turkic *\*bōrǒ*: cf. Old-Turkic *bōz* ‘gray’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 86–93, Doerfer TMEN 2: 335, Räsänen VEW 80b, 82a, Clauson ED 388b, Sevortjan 1978: 172 and SIGTJa 2001: 605–606).

From a phonetic point of view, the form *bor* presents a typical change in Dagur, specifically, the loss of an unaccented vowel in the final syllable, due to word stress on the first vowel.

‘Green, blue’: Butha Dahur *kukə*, Hailar Dagur *kuku*<sup>9</sup> < Mongolic *\*köke* ‘blue, sky-blue; green; ash-colored’ ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *köke*; Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu, Yi yu *kökö*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *kökö* ~ *kükü*; Mukaddimat al-Adab, Rasulid Hexaglot *köke*; Literary Mongolian *köke*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xöx*; Kalmuck *kök*; Buryat *xüxe*; Onon Khamnigan *kükü* ~ *kökö*; Manchurian Khamnigan *kükü* (Nugteren 2011: 424–425);

Mongolic → Tungusic: Siberian Ewenki dial. *kuku*; Solon Ewenki *xöxö*; Manchu *kuku*; Sibe *kuk* (SSTMJa 1: 426b; Doerfer 1985: no. 291; Rozycki 1994: 145; Zikmundová 2013: 216; Khabtagaeva 2017: 110);

8 Cf. Hailar Dagur *bor taul* ‘rabbit (lit. gray hare)’, *bor čolō* ‘flint (lit. gray stone)’ (Tumurdei and Tsybenov).

9 Cf. Hailar Dagur *kuku nuwars* ‘green grass’, *kuku borčo* ‘golden bean’, *kuku tejer* ‘blue sky’, etc. (Tumurdei and Tsybenov).

Mongolic ← Turkic \**kōkē*: cf. Old Turkic *kōk* ‘sky colored, blue, blue-grey’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 77–85, Räsänen VEWT 287, Doerfer TMEN 3: 640–642, Clauson ED 708b, Sevortjan 1980: 66–68 and SIGTJa 2001: 60, 604).

The Dagur forms went through a typical phonetic change of the Mongolic palatal *ö* > \**ü* > *u* in the first syllable, which is a common phonetic feature with Khamnigan Mongol (Janhunen 1990: 19) and Buryat. Additionally, vowel harmony was lost in Dagur. The Common Dagur-Khamnigan form \**kuku* was probably borrowed into the Tungusic Manchu and Ewenki dialects.

‘Yellow’: Butha Dagur *šar* ~ *šar<sup>a</sup>*; Hailar Dagur *šar* < Mongolic *sira* < \**sira* ‘yellow’ ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *šir-a*; Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu, Yi yu, Mukaddimat al-Adab, Rasulid Hexaglot *šira*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *sira*; Literary Mongolian *sir-a*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha, Kalmuck *šar*; Buryat *šara*; Onon Khamnigan *šira* ~ *sira* (Nugteren 2011: 492); Mongolic → Tungusic: Solon Ewenki *šára* ‘yellow’ (Ivanovskij 1894: 29); Mongolic ← Turkic \**s’ārā*: cf. Old Turkic *sariġ* ‘yellow’ (for details on Turkic origin, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 64–68, Doerfer TMEN 3: 220–221, Räsänen VEWT 403b, Clauson ED 848a, SIGTJa 2001: 601 and ESTJa 2003: 206–208).

As in non-archaic Mongolic languages, including Khalkha, Buryat and Kalmuck, the Dagur form *šar* was affected by regressive assimilation (for details on the Mongolic phonetic feature, see Poppe 1955: 36–38). This feature shows a later development in Dagur or the borrowing from other Mongolic language.

‘Black’: Butha Dagur *xar* < Mongolic *qara* < Turkic;

cf. Mongolic: Middle Mongol: cf. Preclassical Mongol *qar-a*; Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu, Yi yu, Zhiyuan Yiyu, Mukaddimat al-Adab, Rasulid Hexaglot *qara*; Literary Mongolian *qar-a*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha, Kalmuck *xar*; Buryat, Onon Khamnigan *xara* (Nugteren 2011: 404); Mongolic ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qara* ‘black’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 17–38, Räsänen VEWT 235, Doerfer TMEN 3: 426–433, Clauson ED 643b, Stachowski 1993: 253, ESTJa 1997: 286–288 and SIGTJa 2001: 601).



Etymologically, the term is of Turkic origin. The Turkic word was borrowed into Mongolic and then into Tungusic. Cf. below Hailar Dagur *karā* 'black', which is a clear borrowing from Tungusic.

'Brown, also chestnut in Hailar Dagur': Butha Dagur *kurəl*; Hailar Dagur *kurul* ~ *kullu* < Mongolic \**küren* 'dark brown, maroon, deep violet' ← ? Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Yi yu *kürge*; Rasulid Hexaglot *küren*; Remaining sources *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *küreng* ~ *küren* ~ *kürin*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xiüren*; Kalmuck *kürj*; Buryat *xürin*; Onon Khamnigan *kürin*;

Mongolic → Tungusic: Barguzin Ewenki *kurin* ~ *kurij* 'brown'; Solon Ewenki *kuri*; Manchu *kuren* 'chestnut-colored, dark brown' (SSTMJa 1: 427; Doerfer 1985: no. 225; Rozycki 1993: 147; Khabtagaeva 2017: 113).

The Mongolic original final consonant *-n* changed to *-l* in Dagur forms, which is atypical for Dagur. Generally, the the final *-n* is preserved<sup>10</sup> or deleted.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, the assimilation of the syllable *rul* > *llu* occurred in Hailar Dagur (cf. the similar examples below, *bōrol* ~ *bōlol* 'gray', and *sāral* ~ *sālal* 'gray, yellowish brown'). Etymologically, the Mongolic word is of unknown origin. All color names of Mongolic origin are derived with the suffix +*gAn*, and the color name with its various forms, *küreŋ* ~ *küren* ~ *kürin* due to its unclear morphological analysis, is possibly a loanword. Following Doerfer (TMEN 1: 463–464), Clauson (1972: 761b) connects the Mongolic color name with Turkic *küzän* 'polecat'. The Turkic animal name was also borrowed into Mongolic as *kürene* 'skunk, polecat, weasel' and Hungarian *görény* 'polecat' (for details, also see ESTJa 1997: 87; Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 356–357).

10 E.g. Literary Mongolian *ökin* 'girl, daughter' ~ Dagur *ugin*; Literary Mongolian *jujayan* 'thick' ~ Dagur *jujān*; Literary Mongolian *könggen* 'easy' ~ Dagur *xungen*; Literary Mongolian *jiryuyan* 'six' ~ Dagur *jirgōn*; Literary Mongolian *arban* 'ten' ~ Dagur *harban*; etc.

11 The deletion of the final consonant *-n* is regular in nouns, while it is mostly preserved in adjectives and numerals (see the previous footnote). E.g. Literary Mongol *odun* 'star' ~ Dagur *hod*; Literary Mongolian *ünin* 'haze, mist' ~ Dagur *honi*; Literary Mongolian *eligen* 'liver' ~ Dagur *heleg*; Literary Mongolian *čikin* 'ear' ~ Dagur *čiki*; etc. (Todaeva 1986: 29, 33).

### 1.3 *Special Color Terms*

The use of special color terms is limited. Like in other Mongolic languages, in Dagur this category includes mostly horse color names:

‘Motley, multi-colored; piebald’: Butha Dagur *alag* ~ *alar*; Hailar Dagur *alār* < Mongolic *alay* ‘multicolored, spotted, variegated, motley’ ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *alay*; Secret History *alay*; Hua-yi yi-yu *alaq*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *ala*[*q*], Ibn-Muhanna *ala* and Mukaddimat al-Adab *ala* (← Turkic); Rasulid Hexaglot *alaq*; Literary Mongolian *alay*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *alag*; Kalmuck *alvg*; Buryat, Onon Khamnigan *alag* (Nugteren 2011: 267);

Mongolic → Tungusic ‘motley’: Siberian Ewenki dial. *alay*; Solon *alāy*, *alar*; Manchu *alha*; Sibe *alya* (SSTMJa 1: 27b; Doerfer 1985: no. 185; Rozycki 1994: 15–16; Khabtagaeva 2017: 58);

Mongolic ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *āla* ‘parti-colored, dappled, mottled, spotted, blotchy’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 70–76; Sevortjan 1974: 129; Doerfer TMEN 2: 95–97; Räsänen VEW 15a, Clauson ED 126a and SIGTJa 2001: 607–608).

There are two different forms in Dagur, in one of them the final consonant *-g* changed to *-r*, i.e. the word underwent rhotacism, which is a typical phonetic feature in Dagur (for more data and details, see Poppe 1955: 121–122; Todaeva 1986: 33–35; Darbeeva 1996: 83; Khabtagaeva 2012: 339). While the second form where the final consonant is preserved, more possibly belongs to the recent loanwords from another Mongolic language. Etymologically, the Mongolic color term is of Turkic origin.

‘Gray; roan’: Butha Dagur *bōrol* ~ *bōlol*; Hailar Dagur *bōrul* < Mongolic \**būral* < *buyurul* ‘gray, gray-haired, grayish’ ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Mukaddimat al-Adab, Rasulid Hexaglot *būrul*; Literary Mongolian *buyurul* ~ *buyural*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha, Buryat *būral*; Kalmuck *būr*l; Onon Khamnigan *būral*;

Mongolic → Tungusic: cf. Solon Ewenki *bōral* ‘ash gray (horse)’; Manchu *burulu* ‘roan horse (red hair mixed with white)’; Nercha Ewenki *būrul* ‘with mixed color hair’ (Hauer 1: 128; SSTMJa 1: 114b; Doerfer 1985: no. 284; Khabtagaeva 2017: 70).

Mongolic ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *boǵrul* [*qōy*] ~ *buǵral* ‘[a sheep] with a white throat’ (Clauson ED 318a).

The change of Mongolic *\*u > o* in different positions is a regular development in Dagur<sup>12</sup> (Todaeva 1986: 12). This change appears in the Solon Ewenki form, which proves the borrowing of the Mongolic word from Dagur (Khabtagaeva 2012: 342). Besides, in Dagur the form *bōlol* the assimilation *rol > lol* occurred, cf. another Dagur term *kurul* 'brown' with a second form *kullu*, where a similar assimilation happened: *rul > llu*. From an etymological point of view, the Mongolic word was connected to Turkic *bog̃rul qōy* 'a sheep with a white throat' by Doerfer (1985: no. 284).

'Colored, variegated': Butha Dagur *čōxor* ~ *čōkor*; Hailar Dagur *čōkur* < Mongolic *\*čōkor* < *čoqor* 'variegated, dappled, spotted, mottled; pock-marked':

cf. Middle Mongol: Zhiyuan Yiyu *čouqor* ~ *čouqar*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *čōqur*; Rasulid Hexaglot *čoqur*; Literary Mongolian *čooqor* ~ *čoqor*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *cōxor*; Kalmuck *tsōxor*; Buryat *sōxor*; Onon Khamnigan *cōxor*;  
Mongolic → Tungusic 'motley, pock-marked': Siberian Ewenki dial. *čoyur*; Solon Ewenki *sōxor*; Manchu *čohoro* (SSTMJa 2: 402; Doerfer 1985: no. 319; Rozycki 1994: 49; Khabtagaeva 2017: 75).

The Dagur form preserved the original Mongolic affricate in initial position, which reflects the Middle Mongol form (for more Dagur data and change, see Todaeva 1986: 30). The Solon Ewenki form with initial *s*- represents an early date of Mongolic borrowing, evidenced by regular change *č- > s-* in original Tungusic words (for more details, see Khabtagaeva 2012: 343–344).

'Grayish, ash gray': Hailar Dagur *həryēn*<sup>13</sup> < Mongolic *\*heriyen* < *eriyen* 'motley, variegated' < *\*heri*+*GAn* {Mongolic suffix forming color names}:

cf. Middle Mongol *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *eriyen*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha, Kalmuck *erēn*; Buryat, Onon Khamnigan *eryēn*.

12 E.g. Literary Mongolian *buduy* 'paint, dye' ~ Dagur *bodōr*; Literary Mongolian *yutu-* 'to be[come] depressed or despondent' ~ Dagur *goto-*; Literary Mongolian *nutuy* 'pasture, nomad grounds, homeland' ~ Dagur *notog*; Literary Mongolian *qurdu* 'quick, fast, rapid, swift, nimble, prompt' ~ Dagur *hordon*; etc.

13 Cf. *mogui heryēn* 'motley as a snake' (Tumurdei and Tsybenov).

The etymology of the Mongolic word is unknown. It seems to be native Mongolic due to the morphological structure, specifically, the suffix +*GAn*, which forms color names, cf. *ča+yan* ‘white’, *ula+yan* ‘red’, *ya+yan* ‘pink’, etc. The Dagur form appears with the initial consonant *h-*, which is typical of Middle Mongol sources and Modern archaic languages, but this data is missing. More likely, Dagur represents an original Mongolic form *\*heriyen* with the initial consonant *h-*. An interesting example of semantic change in Dagur is from ‘motley, variegated’ to ‘grayish, ash gray’.

‘Gray, ashy color, mousey color; yellowish brown’: Butha Dagur *sāral* ~ *sālal*; Hailar Dagur *sārəl* < Mongolic *\*sāral* < *sayaral* ‘ashen, dun-colored’:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *sayāral*; Rasulid Hexaglot *saral*;  
Literary Mongolian *sayaral* ~ *saral*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *sāral*;  
Kalmuck *sārĭ*; Buryat *hāral*; Onon Khamnigan *sāral*;  
Mongolic → Tungusic: Manchu *sarġa* ‘a gray-colored horse’; Nercha  
Ewenki *sāral* ‘color of isabell; brown’ (Rozycki 1994: 175; Khabtagaeva  
2017: 126).

Besides the form *sāral*, Dagur has an assimilated form *sālal*, which exhibits what seems to be a regular change in Dagur (cf. above *kurul* ~ *kullu* ‘brown’ and *bōrol* ~ *bōlol* ‘gray’).

‘Light bay’: Butha Dagur *širyā*; Hailar Dagur *šarəg* < Mongolic *\*siryā* ‘whitish-yellow (horse)’ < *sira* ‘yellow’ + *GA* {Mongolic denominal noun/adjective suffix: Khabtagaeva 2001: 148} ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *širqa*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *širyā*;  
Literary Mongolian *siryā*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha, Buryat *šarga*;  
Kalmuck *šaryp* ~ *šaryp*; Onon Khamnigan *širga* ~ *šarga* (Nugteren  
2011: 492);  
Mongolic ← Turkic *\*s’ārā*: cf. Old Turkic *sāriġ* ‘yellow’;  
Mongolic → Tungusic: Siberian Ewenki *sirga* ‘bay (horse)’; Solon *šaryä*,  
*sirga*; Manchu *sirga* ‘a light bay horse; roe deer’ (SSTMJa 2: 95; Doerfer  
1985: no. 302; Rozycki 1994: 184; Khabtagaeva 2017: 127).

‘Light bay’: Butha Dagur *xula* < Mongolic *\*qula* ‘fawn-colored, tawny, bay, having a black stripe along the spine; with black tail and mane (horse)’ ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qula* 'brown horse'; Yiyu *qula*; Ibn-Muhanna *qulačın* 'red-haired'; Literary Mongolian *qula*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xul*; Kalmuck *χulu*; Buryat *xula*; Onon Khamnigan *xula*;

Mongolic ← Turkic: \**qula*: cf. Old Turkic *qula* 'dun with a black mane and tail' (Clauson ED 617a);

Mongolic → Tungusic: Barguzin Ewenki *kula* 'light bay (horse)'; Nercha Ewenki *kola* 'light brown horse with black mane and tail'; Manchu *kūlan* 'a yellow horse with black tail and mane' (SSTMJa 1: 428; Doerfer 1985: no. 298; Rozycki 1994: 148; Khabtagaeva 2017: 111).

## 2 The Dagur Color Terms Borrowed from Tungusic

There are six color terms in Dagur which were borrowed from Tungusic. The sources of borrowings are Solon Ewenki or Manchu languages. Some color names belong to re-borrowings, from an etymological point of view they are of Mongolic or Turkic origin, which came to Dagur via Tungusic.

### 2.1 Basic Color Terms

'Black': Hailar Dagur *karā*<sup>14</sup> ← Tungusic \**karā* ← Mongolic \**qara* ← Turkic \**qara*:

Dagur *karā* ← Tungusic 'black (*color of horse*)': Solon Ewenki *xarā* < \**karā*; cf. Northern Tungusic: Siberian Ewenki dial. *karā*; Manchu *hara*; Sibe *kara* (SSTMJa 1: 379; Hauer 1: 419; Dorji 1998: 260; Zikmundová 2013: 216);

For other Mongolic and Turkic data, see above Butha Dagur *xar* 'black'.

The final vowel *ā* in Dagur proves the borrowing from Tungusic Solon Ewenki.

'Light blue, green': Butha Dagur *nasūn*, Hailar Dagur *nasən*<sup>15</sup> < \**nasun* ← Tungusic \**nahún* < \**nayún* ← Mongolic \**noyōn* < \**noyo* + *GAn* {Mongolic suffix forming color names};

Dagur ← Tungusic: Solon *nahún* (Ivanovskij 1894: 30); cf. Manchu *nohon* 'greenish'; Sibe *noyūn* 'greenish';

14 Cf. Hailar Dagur *karā nog* 'black dog' (Tumurdei and Tsybenov).

15 Cf. Hailar Dagur *nasən dilwē* 'green fly' (Tsybenov and Tumurdei).

cf. Northern Tungusic: Barguzin, Nercha Ewenki dial. *nogōn* (← Buryat); Manchu *ńowanggiyan* (< \**ńoŋ+giyan*) 'green'; Sibe *ńuŋńe*<sup>n</sup> ~ *ńiuŋńie*<sup>n</sup> 'green' (Okada 1962: 227; SSTMJ<sub>a</sub> 1: 601–603; Doerfer 1985: no. 133; Zikmundová 2013: 219).

The Dagur color term was connected with Solon Ewenki (Poppe 1930: 87; Todaeva 1986: 156) and was clearly borrowed from Tungusic Solon Ewenki, where the delabial vowel *-a-* < \**-o-* is found and the change of original intervocalic \**ɣ* via \**h* to *s* in Dagur is occurred. The labialization of Tungusic \**o* > *a* in different positions sporadically occurred in Solon Ewenki,<sup>16</sup> e.g. Tungusic \**ollo* 'fish' > Solon *al'ō*, \**oŋokto* > Solon *anoktō*, \**toyo* 'fire' > Solon *tawo*, etc. The change of Tungusic intervocalic \**ɣ* > *h* in Solon requires more explanations. Regularly, the Tungusic \**VɣV* is preserved in Solon, e.g. \**tuye* 'winter' > Solon *tuyu*, \**deyi* 'bird' > Solon *deyi*, \**diyin* 'four' > Solon *diyi*<sup>n</sup>, etc. (Cincius 1949: 234–235; Benzing 1955: 30). Etymologically, the Tungusic word is obviously connected to the Mongolic color name. It seems that the base of the Tungusic word is \**ńo*, with a palatalized consonant.

'Blue': Butha, Hailar Dagur *šilān*<sup>17</sup> ← Tungusic *silān* ← Chinese:

Dagur ← Tungusic: Solon Ewenki *silān* 'blue, green' (Ivanovskij 1894: 28);  
Manchu *silan* 'blue canvas, blue cloth' (Hauer 3: 793).  
← Chinese *xilán*(*bù*) 细蓝(布) 'blue cloth'.

Obviously, the Dagur term was borrowed from Solon Ewenki, originally from Manchu. In turn, the origin of Tungusic forms is unclear.

The Solon Ewenki form was connected with the Common Tungusic verb \**čula-* 'to be[come] blue', cf. Siberian Ewenki dial. *čulama* 'blue, green', Negidal *čilanki* 'color'; Nanai *čila* 'blue' (SSTMJ<sub>a</sub> 2: 412b). Here, the change of Solon *s-* < Common Tungusic \**č-* can be explained with regular change.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, authors of SSTMJ<sub>a</sub> (2: 82b) connected the Solon Ewenki form with Manchu *silan* 'blue canvas' (Hauer 3: 793), which is ultimately of Chinese origin and looks more proper. The further change of Solon *si-* > *ši-* is an internal Dagur development.

16 Solon data are collected from Ivanovskij 1894.

17 Cf. Hailar Dagur *šilān ilgātiy eus* 'Japanese gentian (*lat.* *Gentiána scábra*)' (*literally* grass with blue flowers) (Tsybenov and Tumurdei).

18 The change of Tungusic \**č* > *s* in different positions is a regular, e.g. \**čalban* 'birch' > Solon *salba*<sup>n</sup>, \**časki* 'further' > Solon *saškī*, \**iče-* 'to see' > Solon *ise-* (Cincius 1949: 210).

## 2.2 *Special Color Terms*

‘Palomino’: Butha Dagur *saudar*; Hailar Dagur *saudār* ← Tungusic: Solon Ewenki \**sūdār* ← Mongolic \**čabidar* ‘reddish-yellow with white mane and tail (horse)’ < \**ča+btUr* {Mongolic denominal noun/adjective: Poppe GWM §111}:

Dagur ← Tungusic: Solon Ewenki *sūdār* ‘palomino’ ← Mongolic:  
cf. Middle Mongol: Yiyu *čabidar*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *čabdar*; Literary Mongolian; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *cav’dar*; Kalmuck *tsäbdṛ*; Buryat *sabidar*; Khamnigan *n.a.*;

Mongolic → Tungusic: Manchu *čabdara* ~ *čabdari* ‘a brown horse with white mane and tail’; Nercha Ewenki *cabidar* ~ *cabedar* ‘a fox with white mane and white tail’ (SSTMJa 2: 375; Doerfer 1985: no. 316; Rozycki 1994: 41; Khabtagaeva 2017: 71).

The initial consonant *s*- and the long vowel *ā* in the second syllable in the Dagur form proves the borrowing from Solon Ewenki. The Mongolic initial *č*- is always preserved in Dagur<sup>19</sup> (Poppe 1955: 110; Todaeva 1986: 30), while the Mongolic *č*- in Solon changed to *s*-<sup>20</sup> (Khabtagaeva 2012: 343), as in the original Tungusic words<sup>21</sup> (Cincius 1949: 210; Benzing 1955: 35). The morphological structure of the word proves the Mongolic origin.

‘Completely white (*horse color*)’: Hailar Dagur *sōr* ← Tungusic:

Tungusic: Manchu *suru* ‘white horse’ (Hauer 3: 834; SSTMJa 2: 131a).

The etymology of Dagur word is unclear. It is obvious that the term is connected to Manchu.

19 E.g. Literary Mongolian *čayasun* ‘paper’ > Butha, Hailar Daur *čās*; Literary Mongolian *čola* ‘title’ > Butha Dagur *čol*; Literary Mongolian *čoči*- ‘to become suddenly frightened or started’ > Butha Dagur *čoči*-, etc.

20 E.g. Solon *soxo* ‘temple (*body part*)’ ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *čoqo*, Butha Dagur *čoko*; Hailar Dagur *čoku*; Solon *sanča* ‘shirt’ ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *čamča*, Dagur *čanči* ‘clothing’; Solon *saxil* ‘lightning’ ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *čakilyan*, Dagur *čakilgān*, etc.

21 E.g. Tungusic \**čalban* ‘birch’ ~ Solon *salban*; Tungusic \**iče*- ‘to look’ ~ Solon *ise*-; Tungusic *čai* ‘tea’ (← Chinese) ~ Solon *sai*, etc.

### 2.3 Hybrid Color Term

‘Dark red, scarlet, crimson’: Hailar Dagur *hutān*<sup>22</sup> ← Tungusic *\*huta* ‘fiery red’ and Mongolic *\*hulān* ‘red’:

cf. Tungusic *\*huta*: Siberian Ewenki *hutama* (< *\*huta* + *mA* {Ewenki denominal noun/adjective suffix: Boldyrev 1987: 76–77}) ‘fiery, red, golden’; Lamut *hutaña* (< *\*huta* + *ñA*) ‘shiny, bright, crimson’ (for more Tungusic data, see SSTMJJa 2: 356).

The etymology of Dagur word is unknown. Possibly, the word belongs to a hybrid category, which consists of Tungusic base *\*huta* and Mongolic term *hulān* ‘red’. It seems that the Dagur word formed according to analogy *hulān* > *hutān* with a changing intervocalic consonant.

## 3 Chinese Loanwords

### 3.1 Basic Color Terms

‘Gray, ash color’: Hailar Dagur *hoišē* ← Chinese *huīsè* ‘gray’;

‘Pink’: Hailar Dagur *hondān* ← Chinese *hóngde* ‘red’.

## 4 Secondary Color Names

There are color names in Dagur which were originally names of body parts or natural phenomena, i.e. the meaning of the color name was secondary (for this category in other Mongolic languages, see Khabtagaeva 2001: 97):

‘Light brown’: Hailar Dagur *həlag*, cf. *literally* ‘liver’ < Mongolic *\*heligen* ‘liver; breast, belly; blood relative’ > *eligen*:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *eligen*; Secret History *helige(n)* ~ *elige*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *heligen*; Hua-yi yi-yu *heligen*; Yiyu *helige*; Leiden *helegen* ~ *helege*; Ibn-Muhanna *heligen*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *eligen*; Rasulid Hexaglot *helige*; Literary Mongolian *elige*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *eleg*; Kalmuck *elgn*; Buryat *el’ge(n)*; Onon Khamnigan *ilige(n)* ~ *elige(n)* ~ *iligi(n)* (Nugteren 2011: 353).

22 Cf. *hutān nar* ‘fiery red disk of the sun’ (Tumurdei and Tsybenov).



'Multicolored': Hailar Dagur *ilgātiy* < *ilgā* 'flower' + *tiy* {Dagur POSS.C}:

Dagur *ilgā* 'flower' ← Tungusic: cf. Siberian Ewenki *ilaya*; Solon Ewenki *ilgā* (← Manchu); Manchu *ilha*; Sibe *yilka* (SSTMJa 1: 304; Zikmundová 2013: 225).

## 5 The Morphological Characteristics of the Dagur Color Terms

### 5.1 Derivation

#### 5.1.1 Denominal Noun/Adjective Suffixes

From the morphological perspective, there are seven special Dagur suffixes added to color terms. Functionally, they have a diminutive character and form adjectives designating slight shades of colors. Etymologically, four of them are of Mongolic origin, one is of Tungusic origin, and two suffixes are of unknown origin.

##### 5.1.1.1 +*čēr*

The Dagur suffix is connected to the productive Mongolic suffix +*čAr*, which has a diminutive function (Poppe GWM § 113). The suffix is added to Mongolic color names, e.g. *alayčar* 'colorful' < *alay* 'multicolored, spotted, variegated, motley', *boročar* 'greyish, brownish' < *boro* 'grey', *noyočar* 'greenish' < *noyoyan* 'green', *qaračar* 'blackish' < *qara* 'black', etc. (Khabtagaeva 2001: 116). In Dagur, the suffix exists in the Butha dialect and has only one variant with a long vowel:

- *čigāčēr* 'whitish' < *čigān* 'white' ~ Literary Mongolian \**čayačar* (B.Kh.);
- *kukāčēr* 'greenish, bluish' < *kukə* 'blue, green' ~ Literary Mongolian \**kökečer* (B.Kh.).

##### 5.1.1.2 +*diy*

The Dagur suffix is related to the productive Mongolic suffix +*dAi*, which also has a diminutive function; it is productive in Buryat (Dondukov 1964: 89) and is used with color terms too, e.g. Buryat *nogōdoi* 'greenish' < *nogōn* 'green', *ulāдай* 'reddish' < *ulān* 'red' (Khabtagaeva 2001: 117). The suffix is present in the Hailar Dagur dialect:

- *hulādiy* 'reddish' < *hulān* 'red' ~ Literary Mongolian \**ulayadai* (B.Kh.);
- *čigādiy* 'whitish' < *čigān* 'white' ~ Literary Mongolian \**čayayadai* (B.Kh.).

##### 5.1.1.3 +*kan*

The Dagur suffix is clearly of Mongolic origin and also has a diminutive function. It is one of the most productive suffixes in Mongolic languages (Poppe

GWM §124) and is added to color terms too, e.g. *čayaqan* ‘whitish’ < *čayan* ‘white’, *kökeken* ‘bluish’ < *köke* ‘blue’, *qaraqan* ‘blackish’ < *qar-a* ‘black’, etc. (Khabtagaeva 2001: 118). I found only one piece of data in Butha Dagur with this suffix:

- *šarakan* ‘yellowish’ < *šar* ‘yellow’ ~ Literary Mongolian *siraqan*.

#### 5.1.1.4 +*lbin* / +*l'in*

This suffix is the most productive in Dagur, forming color terms designating slight shades. According to Todaeva (1986: 51), the suffix has a similar function as the Common Mongolic suffix +*btUr*, which also forms color terms designating slight shades (Poppe GWM §111; Khabtagaeva 2001: 146). The Hailar dialect has the variant +*lbin*, while the Butha dialect has two variants +*l'in* and +*lbin*. From an etymological point of view, the suffix is of unknown origin. It seems that it is connected with the Tungusic Solon suffix +*lb'en* (e.g. *ulālb'en* ‘reddish’ < *ulān* ‘red’), but due to a small number of examples it could be borrowed in Solon from Dagur. There is a diminutive suffix +*l'jAn* in Manchu<sup>23</sup> (Gorelova 2002: 156) and +*lAn* / +*lUn* / +*rUn* in Sibe (Zikmundová 2013: 74–75), which may also be related to the Butha Dagur variant +*l'in*. In spite of the fact that the suffix is the most productive in Dagur, the origin is still unclear:

- *hulālbin* (Butha), *hulālbin* ~ *hulārbin* (Hailar) ‘reddish’ < *hulān* ‘red’;
- *čigāl'in* (Butha), *čigālbin* (Hailar) ‘whitish, pale white’ < *čigān* ‘white’;
- *kukāl'in* (Butha), *kukulbin* (Hailar) ‘greenish, bluish’ < *kuku* ‘blue, green’;
- *šarāl'in* (Butha), *šarelbin* (Hailar) ‘yellowish’ < *šar* ‘yellow’.

#### 5.1.1.5 +*lan̄i*

There is one term in Butha Dagur with this suffix. The Mongolic compound suffix consists of the denominal verbal +*lA-* (Poppe GWM §245) and deverbal noun/adjective suffix -*ŋi*<sup>24</sup> (Todaeva 1986: 52), which is also added to color terms, e.g. *qaralanggi* ‘blackish’ < *qara* ‘black’ (Khabtagaeva 2001: 129):

- *šarlan̄i* ‘yellowish’ < *šar* ‘yellow’ ~ Literary Mongolian *siralanggi* (B.Kh.).

#### 5.1.1.6 +*nčēl*

There is one piece of data in Butha Dagur with the denominal noun/adjective suffix +*čēl*, which designates a slight shade and is of unknown origin:

- *kukānčēl* ‘greenish, bluish’ < *kuku* ‘blue, green’.

23 E.g. *adaliliyan* ‘somewhat similar’ < *adali*, *ambakaliyan* ‘rather large’ < *ambaka*, etc.

24 E.g. Butha Dagur *xulden̄i* ‘frozen’ < *xulde-* ‘to freeze’.

5.1.1.7 +*mĀ*

There is one color term in Hailar Dagur with the suffix +*mĀ*, which is clearly connected with the productive Tungusic suffix +*mĀ* (Boldyrev 1987: 76–79). It derives color names in Ewenki dialects, e.g. *hulama* ‘red’, *čulama* ‘green’, *diktime* ‘blue’, *lupčume* ‘blackish’, *bagdama* ‘white’, *altama* ‘golden’, etc. (Nedjalkov 1997: 327).

– *karmā* ‘black’ < *kar* ‘black’.

## 5.1.2 Denominal Verbal Suffixes

There are two denominal verbal suffixes +*lA*- and +*rA*- in Dagur which are added to color terms and form verbs denoting acquirement of a quality. Both of them are of Mongolic origin and connected to each other (Poppe GWM § 246). Regarding the suffix +*lA*, it has different variants in Dagur: the Hailar dialect uses it without final vowel, while Butha dialect—with final long vowel. The Mongolic suffix +*rA*- is also used without the final vowel in the Hailar dialect, while in Butha with the final vowel:

- Hailar Dagur *čigāl*-, Butha Dagur *čigālā*- ‘to become white’ ~ Literary Mongolian *čayala*-;
- Hailar Dagur *šarel*- ~ *šalle*-, Butha Dagur *šarla*- ‘to be[come] yellow’ ~ Literary Mongolian *sirala*-;
- Hailar Dagur *kukur*-, Butha Dagur *kukere*- ‘to be[come] green (*about plants*); to turn blue (*about skin*), to bruise’ ~ Literary Mongolian *kökere*-.

## 5.2 Compounds

The intensity and the faintness of colors in both Dagur dialects are formed with special words. The words *xarəŋgoy*, *gul*, *pat*, *por* are used to designate intensity, the words *gegeēn* and *čal* to designate light colors. If the terms *xarəŋgoy* ‘dark’ and *gegeēn* ‘light, bright’ are known in other Mongolic languages too, the rest of the words are used only in Dagur. The term *gul* ‘whole’ was borrowed from Manchu.

## 5.2.1 Intensive Colors

*xarəŋgoy* ‘dark’ ~ Literary Mongolian *qarangyui* ‘dark[ness], dusk’:

- *xarəŋgoy kuku* ‘dark green’, cf. *kuku* ‘blue’;
- *xarəŋgoy hulān* ‘bright red, scarlet’, cf. *hulān* ‘red’;
- *xarəŋgoy šar* ‘earthy color’, cf. *šar* ‘yellow’.

*gul* ‘no impurities, whole’ ← Manchu *gulu* ‘plain, simple, monochrome’ (Hauer 1: 382):

- *gul hulān* ‘completely red’, cf. *hulān* ‘red’;
- *gul čigān* ‘completely white’, cf. *čigān* ‘white’.

*pat* 'very':

- *pat kar* 'very black', cf. *kar* 'black';
- *pat xarəŋgoy* 'very dark', cf. *xarəŋgoy* 'dark'.

*por* 'very':

- *por hulān* > *pollān* 'very red', cf. *hulān* 'red'.

### 5.2.2 Light Colors

*gegēn* 'light, bright' ~ Literary Mongolian *gegegen* 'bright, brilliant; daylight, morning dawn light':

- *gegēn kuku* 'light-blue, sky-blue', cf. *kuku* 'blue';
- *gegēn nasun* 'greenish', cf. *nasun* 'green';
- *gegēn hulān* 'bright red', cf. *hulān* 'red';
- *gegēn šar* 'light-yellow, yellowish', cf. *šar* 'yellow';
- *gegēn šarəg* 'palomino (*horse color*)', cf. *šarəg* 'light bay'.

*čal* 'bright':

- *čal kuku* 'bright green', cf. *kuku* 'blue'.

## 6 Conclusion

The aim of this paper is to show the uniqueness of Dagur language through the representation of the color terms from the perspective of etymology and morphology.

In all, fifty-three different color terms of the Dagur language are discussed. Seventeen of them can be considered as the basic color terms, seven colors are the colors of horse labels, while the remaining twenty-nine color terms are morphologically formed with different suffixes or via compounding with another word for the intensity of the colors.

From an etymological perspective, of twenty-two terms, thirteen are of Common Mongolic origin, six are Tungusic borrowings, two were borrowed from Chinese, and one color term, *hutān* 'dark red', has a hybrid Mongolic–Tungusic etymology. Almost every color term in Dagur is related to two Tungusic languages: the Solon Ewenki variety and the Manchu language. The terms were borrowed or re-borrowed from / into these languages, which proves a very close linguistic contact among them. The etymological background of the basic color terms and the special color terms of animals in Dagur, and their relation to Tungusic Solon Ewenki and Manchu, are outlined in the following two tables.

TABLE 30.1 The basic color terms in Dagur

Basic color terms	Dagur form	Etymology	Solon and Manchu
white	<i>čigān</i>	Mongolic <i>čayan</i> < *ča+GAN	Dagur → Solon <i>čigān</i>
black	<i>xar</i> (Butha) <i>karā</i> (Hailar)	Mongolic <i>qara</i> ← Turkic Tungusic <i>karā</i> ← Mongolic ← Turkic	Mongolic → Manchu Hailar Dagur ← Solon
red	<i>hulān</i>	Mongolic <i>hulān</i> < *ula+GAN	Dagur → Solon <i>ulān</i> (cf. Ivanovskij: <i>hulān</i> )
dark red	<i>hutān</i>	hybrid word: Tungusic * <i>huta</i> ‘fiery red’ and Mongolic <i>hulān</i> ‘red’	–
blue	<i>kukə</i> (Butha), <i>kuku</i> (Hailar) <i>šilān</i>	Mongolic <i>köke</i> ← Turkic Tungusic <i>silān</i> ← Chinese	Mongolic → Manchu <i>kuku</i> ‘blue’ Dagur ← Solon <i>silān</i> ‘blue, green’ ← Manchu <i>silan</i> ‘blue canvas’
light blue	<i>čeŋgen</i>	hybrid word: Mongolic * <i>čeŋkir</i> ‘light blue’ + * <i>čegen</i> ‘whitish’	cf. Sibe <i>šiaŋə</i> <sup>n</sup> ‘white’ (← Mongolic)
green	<i>nasūn</i> (Butha), <i>nasən</i> (Hailar)	Tungusic * <i>nahún</i> ← Mongolic * <i>nogōn</i> < <i>noyo</i> +GAN	cf. Solon <i>nahún</i> , Manchu <i>ňohon</i>
yellow	<i>šar</i>	Mongolic <i>sira</i> ← Turkic	Dagur → Solon <i>šāra</i>
brown	<i>kural</i> (Butha)	Mongolic <i>küren</i>	–
light brown	<i>həlag</i> (Hailar)	Mongolic <i>heligen</i> ‘liver’	–
gray	<i>bor</i>	Mongolic <i>boro</i> ← Turkic	Mongolic → Solon <i>boro</i> , Manchu <i>boro</i>
	<i>hoišē</i>	Chinese	–
grayish	<i>haryēn</i> (Hailar)	Mongolic <i>eriyen</i> ‘motley, variegated’	–
pink	<i>hondən</i>	Chinese ‘red’	–
colored, multicolored	<i>čōxor</i> ~ <i>čōkor</i> (Butha), <i>čōkur</i> (Hailar) <i>ilgātiy</i> (Hailar)	Mongolic <i>čoqor</i> Tungusic	Dagur → Solon <i>sōxor</i> , Mongolic → Manchu <i>čohoro</i> ‘flower’: Solon <i>ilgā</i> , Manchu <i>ilha</i>

TABLE 30.2 The special color terms for animals in Dagur

Color terms for animals	Dagur form	Etymology	Solon and Manchu
white	<i>sōr</i>	Tungusic	Manchu <i>suru</i> ‘white horse’
gray	<i>bōrol</i> ~ <i>bōlol</i> (Butha), <i>bōrul</i> ’ (Hailar) ‘gray, roan’	Mongolic <i>buyurul</i> ‘gray, gray-haired, grayish’ ← Turkic	Dagur → Solon <i>bōral</i> ‘ash gray horse’, Mongolic → Manchu <i>burulu</i> ‘roan horse’ Mongolic → Manchu <i>sarla</i> ‘a gray-colored horse’
	<i>sāral</i> ~ <i>sālal</i> (Butha); <i>sāral</i> (Hailar) ‘gray, yellowish brown’	Mongolic <i>sayaral</i> ‘ashen, dun-colored ( <i>horse</i> )’	
palomino	<i>saudar</i> (Butha), <i>saudār</i> (Hailar)	Tungusic ← Mongolic <i>čabidar</i> ‘reddish-yellow with white mane and tail ( <i>horse</i> )’ < *ča+btUr	Dagur ← Solon <i>sūdār</i> ← Mongolic; Mongolic → Manchu <i>čabdara</i> ~ <i>čabdari</i> ‘a brown horse with white mane and tail’
light bay	<i>xula</i>	Mongolic <i>qula</i> ← Turkic	Mongolic → Manchu <i>kūlan</i> ‘a yellow horse with black tail and mane’
	<i>širyā</i> (Butha), <i>šarəg</i> (Hailar)	Mongolic <i>siryā</i> ← Turkic	Mongolic → Solon <i>šaryā</i> , <i>sirga</i> ; Manchu <i>sirga</i> ‘a light bay horse; roe deer’
chestnut	<i>kurul</i> ~ <i>kullu</i> (Hailar)	Mongolic <i>küren</i>	Mongolic → Solon <i>kuri</i> , Manchu <i>kuren</i> ‘chestnut’
colored, variegated, motley	<i>alag</i> ~ <i>alar</i> (Butha), <i>alār</i> (Hailar)	Mongolic <i>alay</i> ← Turkic	Hailar Dagur → Solon <i>alāy</i> , <i>alar</i> ; Mongolic → Manchu <i>alha</i>

### Abbreviations

Buryat	Čeremisov 1973
Clauson ED	Clauson 1972
ESTJa 1997	Levitskaja, Dybo and Rassadin 1997
Doerfer TMEN	Doerfer 1963–1975
Hua-yi yi-yu	Lewicki 1959
Ibn-Muhanna	Poppe 1938

IstanbulV	Ligeti 1962
Kalmuck	Ramstedt 1976
Khalkha	Bawden 1997
LeidenV	Poppe 1927–1928
Literary Mongolian	Lessing 1996
Manchu	Hauer 1952
Manchurian Khamnigan	Janhunen 1990
Mukaddimat al-Adab	Poppe 1938
Onon Khamnigan	Damdinov and Sundueva 2015
Poppe GWM	Poppe 1964
Preclassical Mongol	Tumurtogoo 2006
Rasulid Hexaglot	Golden 2000
Räsänen VEWI	Räsänen 1969
Secret History	Haenisch, Erich 1939
Sibe	Zikmundová 2013
Siberian Ewenki	SSTMJa; Khabtagaeva 2017
SIGTJa 2001	Tenišev 2001
Solon Ewenki	SSTMJa; Ivanovskij 1894; Poppe 1931; Lie 1978; Dorji 2013
SSTMJa	Cincius 1975
Yi yu	Apatóczy 2009
Zhiyuan Yiyu	Kara 1990

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